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THE BLACK MAGIC IN CHINA KNOWN AS *KU* *

H. Y. FENG and J. K. SHRYOCK

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A NUMBER of ideas and practices are grouped together under the Chinese term *ku*.¹ These ideas and practices justify the use of the phrase "Black Magic"; that is, magic whose purpose is to injure someone. In this sense the word is contrasted with *wu*,² "White Magic," or magic whose purpose is beneficial. The phrase "Black Magic" is too general, however, for the Chinese term *ku* refers to certain particular methods of black magic, which are, so far as the authors are aware, peculiar to certain cultures of South-Eastern Asia. In ancient times this specific feature of culture may have been spread over a wider area.

At present, *ku* is used primarily as a means of acquiring wealth; secondarily as a means of revenge. The method is to place poisonous snakes and insects together in a vessel until there is but one survivor, which is called the *ku*. The poison secured from this *ku* is administered to the victim, who becomes sick and dies. The ideas associated with *ku* vary, but the *ku* is generally regarded as a spirit, which secures the wealth of the victim for the sorcerer.

Archaeological evidence indicates that the word *ku* is at least as ancient as the Chinese script itself. The earliest reliable specimens of Chinese writing are inscriptions on the shells of tortoises and on the shoulder-blades of cattle, found in a Yin-Shang site at An-yang, Honan, in 1899. An ancient form of the word *ku* has been identified on these fragments. This form is more pictorial than the present form of the word, and shows clearly two insects in a receptacle.³

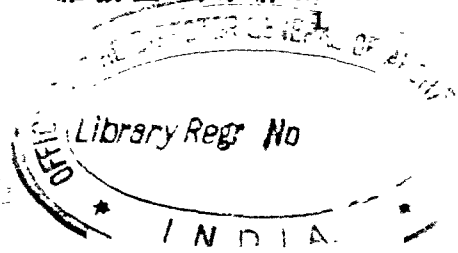
This written word therefore has existed in approximately its present form for at least three thousand years. The ideographic nature of Chinese writing and the continuity of Chinese literature have the effect that while a written symbol may acquire new mean-

* The preparation of this article was made possible by a grant from the Faculty Research Fund of the University of Pennsylvania.

¹ 蠱; formed by ch'ung (insects, worms, etc.) 蟲 over min (vessel, dish) 皿.

² 巫.

³ 殷虛文字類編 chüan 13. By 羅振玉, 商承祚編.



ings and associations in the course of time, these seldom entirely supersede and eliminate the older meanings, as may happen in phonetic systems. Consequently, while some of the meanings attached to the word *ku* may be older than others, we can be fairly sure that the oldest meaning has not been lost.

The *Shuo wen*, a dictionary of about A. D. 100, says, "*Ku* is worms in the belly. The commentary on the *Spring and Autumn Annals* (the *Tso chuan*) says, 'Vessel and worms make *ku*, caused by licentiousness. Those who have died violent deaths are also *ku*.' ⁴ The word vessel signifies the utility of the thing." As is indicated by this definition, the Chinese written word is formed by the radical meaning "insects" or "worms" placed above the radical meaning "vessel" or "dish."

In the Pre-Han literature, the word is used in five different ways. It indicates (1) a disease, (2) evil spirits, (3) to cause doubt, or a woman inveigling a man, (4) a worm-eaten vessel, and grain which moulders and is blown away, and (5) a divination symbol. Some of these meanings have become attached to the word by analogy.

The use of *ku* as a disease may be illustrated by a passage from the *Tso chuan*.

"In the first year of duke Chao (541 B. C.), the marquis of Chin asked the help of a physician from Ch'in, and the earl of Ch'in sent one named Ho to see him. Ho said, 'The disease cannot be cured. It is said that when women are approached [too frequently] the result is a disease resembling *ku*. It is not caused by a spirit, nor by food (the methods of magic); it is a delusion which has destroyed the mind.' " When asked what he meant by *ku*, he replied, " 'I mean that [disease] which is produced by excessive sexual indulgence. Consider the word; it is formed by the words for vessel and for insects. It is also used for grain which [moulders and] flies away. In the *Book of Changes*, a woman deluding a man, and wind throwing down [the trees of] a mountain, are *ku*. All these have the same signification.' "

The fundamental idea of *ku* as a disease is based on an analogy. The human body is regarded as a vessel, into which the disease spirits enter like insects. Many early peoples have regarded disease as due to the possession of the body by an alien spirit. Ex-

⁴ This passage is later quoted in full.

cessive sexual indulgence causes a man to lose his virility, his soul. This is not *ku*, but the effect is similar to the effect of *ku*. Therefore a woman inveigling a man has come by analogy to be called *ku*.

It will be shown that ancient Chinese ideas associated the wind with the generation of worms. This is applied to mouldering grain, either in the sense that the chaff is blown away by the wind, or that worms generate in the grain, become insects and fly away. It appears that the essential idea behind these meanings of *ku* is a loss of soul.

In the *Shih chi feng ch'an shu*,⁵ it is said that "Duke Teh of Chin instituted the *fou* sacrifice, killing dogs at the four gates of the city to dispel the *ku* plague." The *Ch'in pen chi*⁶ says, "In the second year (of Duke Teh) dogs were killed to ward off *ku*." Dogs have frequently been used in Chinese apotropaic practices, from ancient times until the present.

In the *Shan hai ching*⁷ it is said, "Again east 300 li, there is the mountain called Ching-chiu, and there is an animal like the fox, having nine tails and the voice of a baby. It eats men, but those who eat it are immune to *ku*." A commentary remarks on this passage,⁸ that such men will not "encounter evil atmosphere." This appears to identify *ku* with malignant atmospheric conditions, something like poison gas. But it might also be interpreted as indicating the presence of evil spirits, or something created by black magic.

Cheng Ssu-nung, in his commentary on the *Ta tsung po*,⁹ said, "At present, people kill dogs in sacrifice to stop the wind." Kuo P'u,¹⁰ in his commentary on the *Erh ya*, remarks, "The modern custom of sacrificing dogs in the highways is said to stop the wind." Such customs are very old, and have survived to the present in the belief that the blood of black dogs is an effective antidote to magic. While these latter references are not from pre-Han literature, they probably reflect pre-Han beliefs.

⁵ 史記封禪書.

⁶ Chap. 5 of the *Shih chi*. The passage is quoted by De Groot, *Religious System of China*, Vol. V, p. 826.

⁷ 山海經第一南山經.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Commentary by Kuo P'u 郭璞.

⁹ 周禮注疏 chüan 18. 春官大宗伯引鄭司農注.

¹⁰ 爾雅釋天第八 "祭風曰磔" commentary by Kuo P'u.

The *Book of Changes* is an ancient work on divination, consisting of the explanations of sixty-four hexagrams, or figures secured in divination. The eighteenth hexagram is formed by the *ken* trigram placed above the *sun* trigram. The *ken* trigram is a symbol of mountains, of resting and stopping, and of the youngest son. The *sun* trigram symbolizes wind or wood, flexibility, penetration, and oldest daughter. The entire hexagram is called *ku*. The text of the *Book of Changes* dealing with the hexagram as a whole, which is probably the oldest strata of the text, is as follows:

"*Ku* indicates great progress and success. There will be advantage in crossing the great river." . . . This means that when a man divined, and secured the hexagram *ku*, the omen was auspicious. It meant that the one who divined would be successful, while his enemies would be injured. Crossing the river was equivalent to an offensive military expedition. The way in which the hexagram *ku* was used in practice may be illustrated by an incident from the *Tso chuan*.

"In the eleventh month of the fifteenth year of Duke He, the marquis of Chin and the earl of Ch'in fought at Han, and the marquis of Chin was taken. Before the expedition, the earl of Ch'in asked his diviner, T'u-fu, to consult the milfoil, and he replied,

" 'A lucky response; if they cross the river, the chariots of the marquis will be defeated.'

"The earl asked to have the matter more fully explained.

"The diviner said, 'It is very lucky. You will defeat his troops three times, and finally capture the marquis of Chin. The figure found is *ku*, of which it is said,

"The thousand chariots are put to flight three times.

"Then you catch what remains, called the fox.

"That fox in *ku* must be the marquis of Chin. Moreover, the inner symbol of *ku* represents wind, while the outer represents mountains. It is now autumn. We gather the fruit on the hills, and we shake the trees; it is plain we are to be victorious. The fruit falls down, and the trees are all shaken; what can this be but the defeat of Chin?'"

The present text of the *Book of Changes* cannot be older than the Chou period, but the hexagrams are much older. Chinese tradition says that there were different explanations given to the hexagrams in the Hsia and Shang periods. The oracle bones show that

the word *ku*, written as insects in a vessel, was in existence during the Shang period. The authors of this monograph advance the theory that if we had the Shang explanations of the hexagrams, the two trigrams which in the Chou period were held to represent mountains and wind, would be found to represent vessel and insects.

In using eight symbols to represent many things, each symbol must do more than single duty. The written Chinese words for mountains and vessel are very similar. The theory advanced is that the trigram which in the Chou period symbolized mountains, in the Shang period symbolized vessel. This is merely an hypothesis.

But in the case of the other trigram there is very good evidence for the association of insects and wind, Huai-nan Tzu says:¹¹

"Heaven is one. Earth is two. Man is three. Three times three is nine. Two times nine is eighteen. The number eight stands for wind. Wind represents worms. Therefore worms are transformed in eight days." It will be noticed that the number eighteen is the number of the hexagram *ku*.

The *Shuo wen*, in defining the character feng (wind), says, "When the wind blows, worms generate. Therefore worms are transformed in eight days."

A commentator on this passage, Hsü Hao,¹² says, "The wind has no form that can be pictured, so the character is made from the thing which the wind generates. Therefore the radical 'worm' is the base of the character 'wind.' When the geomancer is searching for a favorable spot in the country, he observes where the wind goes, and he knows that below that spot there are ants. This is the verification of the expression, 'The wind blows, and worms generate.'"

Although the *Huai-nan Tzu* and the *Shuo wen* belong to the Han period, the belief in the connection between the wind and worms must be very old, since the character for wind is written with the radical for worms. The connection appears to have been forgotten, since the *Tso chuan* interprets the hexagram as wind blowing down mountains, an interpretation which does not make sense. The hypothesis advanced here, which does not seem to have occurred to scholars, is that the original meaning of the hexagram was not mountains and wind, but worms in a vessel. This idea is

¹¹ 淮南子, 墜形訓.

¹² 說文徐箋.

clearly indicated by the written form of *ku* on the oracle bones. And as *ku* was a kind of black magic, the hypothesis explains why the hexagram indicated success to the diviner and injury to his opponent. That was the purpose of black magic.¹³

The *Chou li* says, describing a part of the ancient administration,¹⁴ "The department consisted of an official and four assistants. They were in charge of the extermination of the poisonous *ku*. They drove it out by spells, and attacked it by efficacious herbs. They directed those who could control *ku*, and watched the effect."¹⁵

Cheng K'ang-ch'eng's commentary on this passage in the *Chou li* quotes the criminal law of the Han dynasty as saying, "Those who dare to poison people with *ku*, or teach others to do it, will be publicly executed." The law of the Han was based on earlier codes, going back at least to the fourth century B. C., and it is not unlikely that the practice of *ku* was forbidden from the time of the first legal codes in China, perhaps long before. If *ku* always represented a method of injuring others, this is what we would expect, since black magic is usually illegal.

¹³ European scholars have done little work on the subject of *ku*. It is mentioned by Granet, *Chinese Civilization*, p. 254, and by A. Conrady, "Yih-King-Studien," *Asia Major*, Vol. VII, 1932, p. 418, who translates the term as "Hexenkessel." The practice of *ku* among the Miao is mentioned by S. R. Clarke, *Among the Tribes of South-West China*, China Inland Mission, 1911, pp. 70, 71. E. T. Williams, "Witchcraft in the Chinese Penal Code," *Jour. North China Branch, Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXXVIII, 1907, pp. 61-96, gives a brief description of *ku*, and of legal efforts to stamp it out. The fullest treatment of *ku* in a European work is in J. J. M. De Groot, *Religious System of China*, Vol. V, pp. 826-69. De Groot devotes a chapter to the subject. But unfortunately half his space is filled with a description of the Wu-ku Rebellion under Han Wu Ti. Wu-ku was a general term ("White and Black Magic") for any sort of magic, and the rebellion, as well as the conspiracy under the Empress Teng 200 years later, had nothing to do with the peculiar methods of *ku*. De Groot's treatment is unsatisfactory in other respects.

¹⁴ No attempt is made here to give the various legal enactments against the practice of *ku*. The penal code of the T'ang dynasty on this subject has generally continued in force, and is quoted in later dynastic codes. The practice of *ku* is called an inhuman crime. One who makes *ku*, or instructs in its use, is hanged, his property confiscated, his family and the inmates of his house are banished 3,000 li, etc. 唐律疏議 chüan 18.

¹⁵ Chap. 37. De Groot quotes this passage, p. 826, but mistranslates the last phrase.

In Ku Yeh-wang's *Yü ti chih*¹⁶ it is said, "In several provinces south of the Yangtse river, there are people who keep *ku*. The host uses it to kill people. He puts it in food or drink, and the victims do not realize its presence. If the family of the keeper of the *ku* all die, the *ku* flies about without any objective. Anyone who encounters it is killed." The *Yü ti chih* is a work of the sixth century A. D., the period of the Six Dynasties, corresponding to the early middle ages in Europe.

In the *Sou shen chi*¹⁷ of Kan Pao,¹⁸ attributed to the fourth century A. D., is the following passage:

"In the province of Yung-yang, there was a family by the name of Liao. For several generations they manufactured *ku*, becoming rich from it. Later one of the family married, but they kept the secret from the bride. On one occasion, everyone went out except the bride, who was left in charge of the house. Suddenly she noticed a large cauldron in the house, and on opening it, perceived a big snake inside. She poured boiling water into the cauldron and killed the snake. When the rest of the family returned she told them what she had done, to their great alarm. Not long after, the entire family died of the plague." Kan Pao also mentions a variety called "dog *ku*," and says that the magic can take the forms of various animals.

"Chao Shou of the P'o-yang district possessed dog *ku*. Once a man named Ch'en Tsen visited Chao, when he was attacked by six or seven large yellow dogs. Yu Hsiang-po¹⁹ (another man) once ate with Chao's wife. Later he almost died from hemorrhage, and was saved by drinking a medicine prepared from the roots of the orange tree. *Ku* has a strange, ghostly appearance. It can appear in many forms, as dogs, pigs, worms or snakes. It is not recognized by the man himself. All who get it, die."

In the *Sou shen hou chi*:²⁰ "Tan Yu was a poor and devout

¹⁶ 輿地志. By 顧野王, A. D. 519-81. A scholar and official.

¹⁷ 搜神記 chüan 12.

¹⁸ 干寶. 4th Cent. A. D. The author flourished under Chin Yüan Ti. His book is a collection of supernatural tales. De Groot quotes these stories (p. 846), but misreads the author's surname as Yü. Giles, *Biog. Diet.*, p. 357, uses the correct form.

¹⁹ De Groot translates Yu Hsiang-po as "paternal uncle," but *hsiang* is not a relationship term.

²⁰ 搜神後記, chüan 2. Attributed to T'ao Chien 陶潛, a famous poet.

monk. There was a family in the district of Yen who manufactured *ku*. Those who ate their food, died from hemorrhage. Tan Yu once visited this family, and the host prepared food for him. Tan Yu recited an incantation, and saw a pair of centipedes a foot long suddenly crawl away from the dish. He then ate the food, and returned home without being harmed."

In the biography of Ku Chi-chih in the Liu Sung history (A. D. 420-479), an instance of *ku* poisoning is recorded. "T'ang Tzu, of the Hsiang district, went to Chu Ch'i's mother P'en's house to drink wine. On returning home he became ill, and vomitted more than ten *ku* worms. Seeing that he was about to die, he directed his wife Chang that after death she should cut open his abdomen in order to get rid of the disease. Later Chang cut open his body, and saw his 'five viscera' completely destroyed."²¹

These instances from the medieval period of Chinese history indicate a view that *ku* was a kind of poison which was administered in food and drink. A little later a medical work, the *Tsao shih chu ping yüan hou tsung lun*²² of the Sui period (A. D. 589-618) describes how this poison was manufactured.

"There are several kinds of *ku*. All of them are poisonous. People sometimes deliberately prepare *ku*. They take worms, insects, snakes, and other poisonous creatures, and put them together in a vessel. They allow them to eat each other until only one is left, and this survivor is the *ku*. The *ku* can change its appearance and bewitch people. When put in food and drink, it causes disease and calamity (to the one who eats it). There is also 'flying *ku*.' It comes and goes without one's knowledge, and eventually appears somewhat like a ghost. Those who have seen it, die."

This appears to be the earliest account, not later than A. D. 600, of how this magical process was carried out. It gives a reasonable explanation of the formation of the written word, formed of insects and dish. The explanation is still more suitable for the pictograph found on the oracle bones of the Shang period.

The idea behind this practice is quite reasonable. If centipedes

²¹ The narrative goes on to say that the widow was accused of the crime of mistreating her husband's corpse. The case was brought before Ku Chi-chih, who acquired considerable reputation from the way he handled it.

²² 巢氏諸病源候總論, chüan 25. A medical work of the Sui period.

and snakes are poisonous individually, the survivor of such a group, who has eaten the others, is considered to combine within himself the collected venom of the group. If a man desires to injure an enemy, no more formidable weapon could be put into his hand. The difficulty is to say when this rational, if mistaken, process becomes pure magic. Action at a distance does not seem to be one of the properties of *ku*. Poisoning and magic are found together in all countries, from the days of Medea. Some of the stories are pure magic, while others indicate no more than a use of poison.

The evidence presented so far may be summarized. The word itself goes back to the oldest written records of the Chinese language. The pictograph clearly shows insects, worms, or snakes in a receptacle. But in the ancient literature of the Chou period, the word is used in a number of ways, of which the most important and primary appear to be as a diseased condition and as a divination symbol. How far may a magical practice first described clearly about A. D. 600 be ascribed to the period before 500 B. C.?

The literature which has survived from the Chou period has been carefully edited, for the most part by Confucians, beginning, according to tradition, with Confucius himself. In their desire to idealize the past, and to show, not what really occurred, but what ought to have occurred, they have created great difficulties for the ethnologist.

But it often happens that ideas and practices which are never mentioned in literature, especially in moral, religious, and philosophic literature, survive unchanged in the lives of the people. The explanation that *ku* was originally a magical practice agrees with the pictograph on the oracle bones, with the use of the word to describe a disease, and with its use in divination. The *Tso chuan* indicates that in divination, the symbol indicated that the diviner would be successful in injuring his enemy. In the Han period, the term was used for black magic, and in the medieval period, for a magical method of poisoning an enemy. Therefore it seems reasonable to assume that the term always stood for black magic.

Early Chinese literature describes the culture of the valley of the Yellow River. Later literature indicates that the practice of *ku* extended at one time over the whole area included in China proper. This was probably true long before there is any evidence from the Yangtse valley, or the more southern regions. Even in the medieval period, Chinese observers remarked on the prevalence

of the practice in southern China, and from the T'ang period on, the practice appears to have been more and more confined to aboriginal tribes of the south. The policy of repression definitely stated by Cheng K'ang-ch'eng in his commentary on the *Chou li* appears to have been largely effective throughout the more characteristically Chinese areas, and later writers notice the practice of *ku* in the south as a peculiar phenomenon. Nevertheless, the practice of *ku* seems to have been a specific cultural feature which the ancient inhabitants of the Yellow River valley shared with the inhabitants of more southern areas.

The *Ling piao lu* i²³ of Liu Shun, written about A. D. 900, which is one of the earliest geographic works dealing with Kuangtung and the adjacent southern areas, contains the following passage:

"The mountains and rivers of Ling-piao wind and cluster together. It is not easy to go out or come in. Therefore the district abounds in fogs and mists which become pestilential vapors. People exposed to them are liable to become sick. Their stomachs swell, and they become *ku*. It is popularly said that there are persons who collect poisonous insects in order to make *ku* and poison people. I think that this is due to the humidity of the place, which causes poisonous creatures to flourish there, and not because the people of Ling-piao are cruel by nature."

From the Sung period on (beginning about A. D. 960), all references to *ku* assign its practice to the tribes of the southwest. There is an instance recorded in the *Ling wai tai ta* of Chou Ch'u-fei.²⁴

"The *ku* poison of Kuangsi is of two kinds. One kind kills a man quickly, while the other works gradually and does not kill for six months. If a man has a grudge against anyone, he is courteous to him, but poisons him secretly. After half a year, the poison takes effect. The murderer cannot be brought to law, and the poisoning cannot be cured. This is the most cruel form of *ku*. In 1170, on the eastern side of Ching-chou, there was a seller of sauce who prepared *ku*. It was discovered, and the man executed.

²³ 嶺表錄異, chüan 1. A work of the T'ang period, and one of the earliest geographical works now existing about Kuangtung and the adjacent areas.

²⁴ 嶺外代答, chüan 10. By 周去非. The author was assistant sub-prefect of Kuei-lin, in Kuangsi, during the years A. D. 1174-89. The story is given by De Groot, p. 848.

It is said that when his family prepared *ku*, the women, naked and with dishevelled hair, made a nightly sacrifice of a dish of deer-meat soup. Grasshoppers, butterflies, and all kinds of insects came down from the roof and ate the soup. That which they emitted was the poison. If anyone wishes to know whether a family keeps *ku* poison, they can tell from the cleanliness of the house. If everything is kept very clean, then the family has *ku*. When the natives of Li-t'ung and Chi-t'ung (in southwestern China) invite guests to a feast, the host must first taste the food in order to convince the guests that there are no grounds for suspicion."

There is a somewhat similar reference in the gazetteer of Yung-fu, a district of Kuangsi.²⁵ "*Ku* poison is not found generally among the people (i. e. the Chinese), but is used by the T'ung²⁶ women. It is said that on the fifth day of the fifth month,²⁷ they go to a mountain stream and spread new clothes and headgear on the ground, with a bowl of water beside them. The women dance and sing naked, inviting a visit from the King of Medicine (a tutelary spirit). They wait until snakes, lizards, and poisonous insects come to bathe in the bowl. They pour the water out in a shadowy, damp place. Then they gather the fungus (poisonous?) which grows there, which they mash into a paste. They put this into goose-feather tubes, and hide them in their hair. The heat of their bodies causes worms to generate, which resemble newly-hatched silk-worms. Thus *ku* is produced. It is often concealed in a warm, damp place in the kitchen.

"The newly made *ku* is not yet poisonous. It is used as a love potion, administered in food and drink, and called 'love-medicine.'²⁸ Gradually the *ku* becomes poisonous. As the poison develops, the woman's body itches until she has poisoned someone. If there is no other opportunity, she will poison even her husband or her sons, but she possesses antidotes.

"It is believed that those who produce *ku* themselves become *ku*

²⁵ 永福縣志: quoted by Wang Sen 汪森, in his 粵西叢載, chüan 18.

²⁶ 獯. The chief aboriginal tribe of Kuangsi.

²⁷ The fifth day of the fifth month is an important day in the Chinese religious calendar, the day of the "Dragon Boat Festival." The story told in connection with it dates from the 3rd Cent. B. C., but the festival is probably much older.

²⁸ 和合藥 or 粘食藥.

after death. The ghosts of those who have died from the poison become their servants. So a majority of the foolish T'ung make this thing. When a man enters a house in a T'ung village, if he sees no ashes on the hearth, and if the faces of the women appear yellow and their eyes red, he knows that there is *ku* in that house. Bronze chop-sticks are used as a charm against *ku*. Dipped into poisoned food, they cause it to turn black" . . .

A similar case is recorded in the *Shuang huai sui ch'ao*.²⁹ "During the reign of Cheng T'ung (1436-49), Chou Li of the district of Wu-chiang traded in Ssu-eng of Kuangsi, and married a widowed daughter of the Cheng family. He remained there twenty years, until their son was sixteen. One day Chou Li wanted to return home. His wife was unable to dissuade him, but she put *ku* in Chou Li's food without his knowledge. She bade her son follow him, and told the boy secretly that if his father promised to come back, he should cure him. For this purpose she taught him the antidote. When Chou Li reached home the *ku* began to affect him. His belly became swollen, and he drank water excessively. His son asked the date on which he would return to his wife.

"Chou Li replied, 'I also think of your mother, but I am sick. How can I go back? As soon as I get a little better, I shall start.'

"The son replied, 'I can cure the disease.' He bound his father to a pillar. Chou Li was thirsty and asked for a drink. His son offered him a clay bowl filled with water, but when it was almost at his mouth, the boy threw it away. This happened several hundred times. Chou Li became so thirsty that he could hardly bear it. Shortly after, he vomited out a small carp, which was still alive. The swelling soon disappeared, and he was cured. Among the barbarians there are many *ku* poisons so made as to become effective at a certain date. After that date, the case cannot be cured. Widows are called 'ghosts' wives,' and men dare not approach them. When strangers marry them, they are usually poisoned."

There is a reference to *ku* in the *Shu i chi*.³⁰ "In Tien (Yun-

²⁹ 雙槐歲抄, chüan 5. By 黃瑜. 15th Cent. A. D. Chronological records of miscellaneous facts from 1368 (the beginning of the Ming dynasty) to 1487.

³⁰ 述異記, chüan 2. By 東軒主人 (a pen name). The author is unknown. The facts recorded occurred under the Manchu reigns Shun-

nan) there are many *ku* sorcerers, especially among the women. They often seduce men. If the beloved was about to go on a long journey, he was always poisoned with *ku*. If the man did not return on the promised date, he died. There was a traveler who went to Tien and loved a woman. When he was leaving the place, the woman said to him, 'I have already poisoned you with *ku*. If you do not return as you have promised, your belly will swell, and then you must come to me as quickly as possible. After a month, it will be incurable.' On that day the man's belly really became swollen. He hesitated to return; then his abdomen burst, and he died. People found in his belly a wooden trough for feeding pigs. It is certainly strange!"

It is significant that in these stories all the practitioners of this love magic are women of the aboriginal tribes of the southwest.

In the *Sui shu ti li chih* ³¹ it is recorded that "the inhabitants of these districts (in Kiangsi and some other areas south of the Yangtse) often kept *ku* poison, and the practice was especially prevalent in I-ch'ün. The method is, on the fifth day of the fifth month to collect all kinds of insects and worms, from snakes to lice, putting them together in a vessel, where they devour each other. The survivor is kept. If it should be a snake, it is snake-*ku*. If a louse, then it is louse-*ku*. This *ku* is used to kill people. It is administered through food, and afterwards it consumes the victim's internal organs. When the person dies, his property is moved by the *ku* spirit to the house of the keeper of the *ku*. If for three years the keeper does not kill a man with the *ku*, the keeper himself is killed by it. It is handed down from generation to generation, and is given to a daughter as a dowry. Kan Pao (the author of the *Sou shen chi*) regarded *ku* as a spirit, but this view is mistaken. During the rebellion of Hou Ching, most of the *ku*-keeping families perished. Since the *ku* had no master, it wandered about the roads, and those who met it, died."

Another variety of *ku* is called the "golden caterpillar," or *chintan*. Li Shih-chen in the *Pen tsao kang mu* ³² quotes Ch'en

chih and K'ang-hsi, about the middle of the 17th Cent. It treats of the supernatural, and was published in 1701.

³¹ 隨書地理志, chüan 31. The geographical section of the Sui dynasty history.

³² 本草綱目, chüan 42. By 李時珍. A well known medical work containing extracts from more than 800 authors, and describing 1,892

Tsang-chi of the T'ang period as follows: "The ashes of old satin can cure 'the *ku* worms which eat satin.' The commentary says, 'The worm crawls like a finger ring. It eats old satin brocade and other silk cloths, just as the silk-worm eats mulberry leaves.' In my opinion, this is the *chin-tsan*." According to Li, the golden caterpillars originated in Szechuan and from there made their way into the Hukuang provinces.

The *T'ieh wei shan tsung hua* of Tsai T'ao³³ says, "The *chin-tsan* poison began in Szechuan, but now it has spread to Hu, Kuang, Min and Yueh (Hupeh, Hunan, Kuangtung, Kuangsi, Fukien and Chekiang). There are people who give it away, and this is called 'giving the golden caterpillar a husband.' Those who do this place gold, ornaments for dressing the head, satin and brocade with the worm, and put it beside the road for others to find. The magistrate of Yü-lin told me that there was a legal case involving this practice in the district of Fu-ch'ing. One man brought charge against another, stating that the latter had poisoned his family with *chin-tsan*. The magistrate could not find any evidence of such poison having been used. Then someone suggested bringing hedgehogs to the house of the accused. Since the *chin-tsan* is known to be afraid of hedgehogs, this advice was followed. The *chin-tsan* dared not move, although it hid in a hole under the bed. It was caught and pulled out by the two hedgehogs. It is really astonishing."³⁴

The *Kua i chih*³⁵ says, "The *chin-tsan* is a caterpillar the color medicines. The last half of the 16th Cent. De Groot makes considerable use of the work.

³³ 鐵圍山叢話 *chüan* 6. By 蔡條. First half of the 12th Cent. It treats of events contemporary with the author. The passage is quoted in part by De Groot, p. 850.

³⁴ Williams, "Witchcraft in the Chinese Penal Code," p. 91, quotes the *Hsi yüan lu* 洗冤錄, a guide to magistrates in their duties as coroners, as saying that a medicine including two centipedes, one alive, one roasted, was a cure for *ku*. De Groot, pp. 863-69, gives a large number of remedies and antidotes for *ku*, collected from various medical works. They include musk, cinnabar, striped cats, dried centipedes (for snake *ku*), leek-juice, and "thunder stones." These last are prehistoric implements, stone knives and axes, often found in Kuangtung and the island of Hainan. Domestic fowls are said to detect *ku*.

³⁵ 括異志. Quoted by De Groot, p. 854. By 魯應龍 of the Sung period. Not to be confused with another book by the same name by 張師正.

of gold. It is fed with Shu satin, and its excretions collected, which are then put into food and drink in order to poison people. Those who take it, die. Then the spirit of the worm is glad, and moves the valuables of the deceased to the house of the practitioner, making him suddenly rich. But to get rid of the worm is difficult, because water, fire and swords cannot harm it. The only way is to put gold and silver into a basket with the *chin-tsan*, and then place the basket beside a road. Someone passing by may take it. This is called 'giving the *chin-tsan* a husband.'

The *Fan T'ien lu t'an tsung*³⁶ says, "The antidote for those poisoned by the *chin-tsan* is food from the home of one who has kept the *ku*. But it must be given by the keeper of the *ku* personally, for if it is given by anyone else, the antidote will not be effective. Hence if the person knows where he was poisoned, he can go to the man who poisoned him and beg him pitifully for relief. The man will not acknowledge the act at first, but after incessant pleading, he will angrily take a little food and throw it to the patient. On eating it, the victim will be cured instantly. When the appointed time for poisoning arrives and there are no outsiders present, even the keeper's own relatives may become his victims, for otherwise the spirit would cause a calamity of some sort. The spirit is appeased by the poisoning, because the spirits of the victims become his slaves."³⁷ There do not seem to be any descriptions of the way in which the *chin-tsan ku* is produced. It is said to be the third stage in the development of *ku*.

Another variety of *ku* poison is called *t'iao-sheng*.³⁸ This kind of *ku* is more clearly black magic. It is described in the *Ling wai tai ta*.³⁹ "In Kuangsi, those who kill people by *t'iao-sheng* bewitch the food, and invite guests to eat. When eaten, the fish and meat become alive again, living in the victim's stomach, and eventually kill him. It is currently believed that the spirits of those who have met death through *t'iao-sheng* become slaves in the home of the sorcerer. Once a celebrated scholar, while judge of Lei-chou

³⁶ 梵天廬談叢, chüan 33. By 柴萼. A work of miscellaneous notes, published by the Chung-hua Book Co. of Shanghai in 1926.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ 排生. The phrase may be translated as "to revive," or "to become alive again."

³⁹ 嶺外代答, chüan 10.

(on the island of Hai-nan), had an experience with *t'iao-sheng*. He covered some meat with a plate and asked the culprit to bewitch it, in order to test the efficiency of his art. After a while he took up the plate, and hairs were growing out of the meat. What a devil it must be who can do this! Yet undoing the enchantment was quite easy. If you feel that the magic is in your stomach, take *sheng-ma* and vomit it out. Then if you feel the magic in your intestines, quickly take *yü-chin* and pass it out. This prescription was printed in Lei-chou for distribution and given to the people after it had been obtained from the culprit."

The *Ch'i hsiu lei kao* ⁴⁰ says, "In Yunnan, Kueichou and Kuangsi, what is called *t'iao-sheng* is withcraft. The sorcerer invites people to eat fish and meat which have been bewitched. When they have eaten them, the animals become alive again in their organs, and then proceed to kill the victims. I (the author) saw recorded in Fan Shih-hu's *Kuei hai yü heng chih* ⁴¹ that there was at that time a man named Li Sou-weng, a judge of Lei-chou. He secured a good prescription . . . (then follows the prescription, which is similar to that in the preceding paragraph). Officials of the place are often attacked by this magic. The prescription is not readily available, so I publish it here."

The *Nan chung tsa chi* ⁴² says, "The chiefs of Yüan-chiang have handed down the method of producing *ku*. This medicine is not beneficent, but is poisonous. An astonishing fact is that when a new magistrate arrives the people must prepare a feast to welcome him, and they poison him then. The poison does not become effective during his term of office, but the pupils of his eyes turn from black to blue, and his face becomes pale and swollen. Then some months after he leaves office, his whole family die."

Again, in the same work: "The *ku* of the people of Burmah does not make use of medicine, but employs spirits. The spell is handed down from generation to generation. Within forty-nine days, they can bewitch a cow-hide to the size of a mustard seed. They call this "cow-hide *ku*." They can also bewitch an iron ploughshare to the size of a mustard seed, and this they call

⁴⁰ 七修類稿, chüan 45. 事物類. By 郎英. A work of the Ming period.

⁴¹ 桂海虞衡志 by 范成大. A work of the Sung period. It treated of the geography and natural history of the southern provinces.

⁴² 南中雜記. By 劉崑. Miscellaneous facts about South China.

"ploughshare *ku*." The method of applying such *ku* is to conceal the mustard seed under a finger-nail, and shoot it out toward the victim. The poison then enters his stomach. When a Chinese was affected by this poison, the Burmese would calculate the length of his journey, and chant the incantation. The *ku* poison would affect him on the calculated day. The victim would become thin, his abdomen would swell, and he would die within a few months. There was one man among the native chiefs called Yang Chao-pa, of the district of T'eng-yüeh, who could chant a counter spell which would cause the *ku* poison to leave the Chinese and attack the Burmese."

The *Po yüeh feng t'u chi* ⁴³ says, "The *ku* drugs are not of one kind only, and the methods of using them differ. *Ku* sometimes changes the five viscera into earth or wood. Sometimes *ku* is put into chicken or duck meat. When the poison entered the stomach, the chicken or duck would become alive again, with wings and feet. It would compel the victim's soul to become a slave in the house of the sorcerer. When the Chinese caught such a sorcerer, they buried him alive, or burnt him."

The *Tien nan hsin yü* ⁴⁴ says, "The Pa-yi (Shan) of the mountains (an aboriginal tribe in southwestern China) skin a cow and bewitch its hide to the size of a mustard seed. Those traders who entered the mountains without knowing this fact, sometimes had love affairs with the native girls. When they had sold their merchandise and were about to return home, the natives would invite them to a feast. At the feast, they would promise the girls to return. If they returned as they promised, they would be cured. But if they did not return, the *ku* poison (administered at the feast) became effective, and their bellies burst. The cow-hides came out as if freshly skinned."

The *Ch'ih ya* ⁴⁵ contains an interesting passage. "On the fifth day of the fifth month collect all those insects and worms that are poisonous, and put them together in a vessel. Let them devour each other, and the one finally remaining is called *ku*. There are

⁴³ 百越風土記.

⁴⁴ 滇南新語. By 張泓. An account of Yunnan, written in the latter part of the 17th Cent.

⁴⁵ 赤雅. By 廣露. chüan 2. A description of the Miao country in Southwest China, written about the first part of the 17th Cent. The author was in the service of a native chieftaness for several years.

snake *ku*, lizard *ku*, and dung-beetle *ku*. The length of time required for the insects to devour each other will be proportionate to the time required for the poisoned victim to die. When the *ku* has been produced, the next step is to put it into food, which will then become a hundred times more delicious. Those who eat this food will die within a few days, or after a year of violent pains in the heart and stomach. The victim's property will imperceptibly be removed to the house of the witch, and his spirit becomes her slave, like the tiger which enslaves its *ch'ang*. Later the *ku* flies about by night, appearing like a meteor. This variety is called 'flitting *ku*.' When the light grows stronger, a shadow like a living man's is produced. This is then called *t'iao-sheng ku*. When its shadow grows stronger, the *ku* can have intercourse with women. Then it is called *chin-tsan ku*. It can go wherever it desires, and spreads calamity throughout the country-side. The more men it poisons, the more efficient the *ku* becomes, and the richer grows the witch. Among the aborigines, such evils are practiced openly. The native officials called Ti-to became aware of this, and asked a magician to dispel the enchantment. They caught the witch, and buried her alive with her head above the ground. They poured wax on her head and lighted it, in order to call back the poisoned spirits. The ghosts did not dare to approach, and the T'ung women cursed the witch for them. This is the only way to put a witch to death, for otherwise it is impossible to bring her under the law.

"The complexion of those who have been poisoned by *ku* becomes more than ordinarily beautiful. The *T'ien chi* (probably leaders among the women) look at them and smile. Then the victim must kowtow to a chieftaness and beg for the antidote. She will give the victim a pill. If the victim takes it, he instantly vomits strange things with human heads and the bodies of snakes, or having eight feet and six wings. These creatures cannot be killed with the sword, or burned. But if alum is placed on them, they die at once. Otherwise they will return to their old place. I lived long among these people, and know the prescription. Use *san-ch'i* (literally, three seven) powder and water-chestnuts to make pills. Add alum and tea leaves, making them into a powder. Take five *chien* with spring water. If vomiting follows, then stop. An old prescription says to take white *Jang-ho* and drink its juice, then sleep on the roots, after calling aloud the name of the witch. But the effect of this process is very slow."

The *T'ung ch'i hsien chih* ⁴⁶ says, "If the mat of the victim is burned, he will see for himself who the sorcerer is. The *ku* is a spirit, and goes out in the night to snatch the souls of the dead. The houses of *ku* sorcerers are very clean, because the ghosts of those who have been killed by the *ku* poison act as servants in them. If a man sits in a posture resembling the written word "woman" (i. e. cross-legged), the *ku* cannot harm him. Or if the witch is enchanting a man, and he buries some of her food secretly under the intersection of two streets, the *ku* spirit will turn on the witch herself. And the *ku* spirit is filled with fear of the hedgehog. If a hedgehog is brought to the house of a witch, the *ku* will be caught immediately. All these prescriptions and methods of detecting *ku* have been tested and shown to be effective, so I publish them here."

The *Tien nan hsien yü* ⁴⁷ in another passage remarks, "In Szechuan there are many who keep *ku*, especially the *chin-tsan*, which is the most malignant form. When the owner has become rich, and has the means, he sends it away. . . . There is no *chin-tsan ku* among the East and West Yi of Yunnan, but the mischief caused by mice, snake, and food *ku* is comparatively greater. On calm nights, when the clouds are heavy, there are things which glitter like meteors, sweeping low over the roofs and flying quickly. The long, luminous tail affects the eye and heart like cold flames. I was very much astonished. When I asked my fellow officials, I began to realize that the lights were due to *ku*, which had been let out by the inhabitants. They also told me that the *ku* was apt to eat children's brains. It also kidnapped spirits. In those families which kept *ku*, the women were always debauched by the *ku*. If the spirit were dissatisfied, it would turn on the keeper and eat his children. Then it could not be sent away until the keeper had become poor, and all his family had perished. For this reason people are often afraid to keep it. Moreover, keeping it is prohibited by law. So the practice is gradually dying out, but it still exists. Those who still supply themselves with *ku*, do so secretly. In Hsin-hsing and Chien-ch'uan I tried several times to discover who the sorcerers were, in order to put an end to such malevolent things. Sometimes informants appeared, but no evidence could be secured.

⁴⁶ 洞谿集志, chüan 2. By 陸次雲. The author flourished under K'ang-hsi, 1662-1723. A book about the aboriginal tribes of Southwest China.

⁴⁷ See note 44.

Hedgehogs are used in detecting *ku*, but without much effect. During the time that the suspects were under arrest, the flitting of the *ku* was noticeably less."

The *Shu yi chi*⁴⁸ says, "When Sun Hsin-yai of Shih-men was magistrate of K'ai-hua (in Yunnan), he was once sitting in the hall when he noticed a kind of light flitting about like a meteor. He asked his servants what it was. They said that it was the flying *ku*, or snake *ku*. The family who serve the poisonous spirit become rich, but the women and girls of the family are debauched by the snake. The snake goes out every night, flitting like a meteor. When it comes to a less populous place, it comes down and eats the brains of men. So the inhabitants of K'ai-hua dare not sit outside after dark, being afraid of the *ku*."

The same work remarks again,⁴⁹ "The witch who cultivates *ku* must first take an oath before the spirit that she is willing not to be human in coming transmigrations, and will desire wealth in the present life only. When the victims of the poison die, their property is all removed (by supernatural power) to the house of the witch, and the ghost of the victim becomes her slave. All the work, ploughing, spinning and serving, is done by the enslaved spirit. . . . Those who have been poisoned by *ku* may cure themselves by jumping into a dung pool. Yu-ch'i, Yung-an, Sha-hsien, and other districts of Fukien all have *ku*."

"Recently magistrate Wang, of Yu-ch'i, bought a load of melons. He opened the melons the next day, and all contained *ku* insects. He accused the man who had sold them, who in turn said that they were bought in a certain shop. The magistrate arrested the shopkeeper and questioned him. He said that he and his family had never been sorcerers. On being beaten, he admitted that there was a sorcerer who had a personal animosity against him. The sorcerer was arrested, and did not deny the accusation. The magistrate had him tortured, but he did not feel the pain. He was put in jail, but escaped during the night. He was followed to his house, but the whole family were gone."

"In recent years there was a strange man who taught others a method for curing *ku*. The man would go to the home of the witch, carrying a chicken. The witch would understand, and give

⁴⁸ 述異記, chüan 2.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

him a dose of medicine. All this must be done silently. The medicine was a sure cure.

"In Fukien, there is toad *ku*, somewhat similar to the *chin-tsan ku*. Those who serve it are mostly covetous of the riches that accompany it. People sometimes see large sums of money and silks lying beside the road, and they understand that this is someone sending away the *ku*. The *ku* spirit follows anyone who takes the valuables. With the wealth, the sender leaves a book telling the methods of serving the *ku*. The one who picks up the *ku* must clean his house and worship the *ku* spirit only, forsaking all Buddhist and Taoist deities. On the day that belongs to metal, the *ku* spirit will excrete dung like that of white birds, which can be used as poison. Poisons are laid only on the days *keng-hsin* and *sheng-yu*. Those who are poisoned, first sneeze. Then the worms enter the intestines and all the joints. The victim loses consciousness, and his belly swells. When the worms have eaten his bones and entrails, he dies.

"The *ku* poison can be administered in drink as well as in food, or sprinkled on the collars and clothes of the victims. It can be laid on chickens, geese, fish, meat, fruits and vegetables. When a living chicken has been bewitched by *ku*, its legs are eaten by worms, but it can walk and cackle as usual. When meat is bewitched, it will not become soft on being cooked. In all food that has been bewitched, worms will germinate overnight. So the officials in this land will use food presented by others only when it has stood overnight. Food which has no worms on the second day is not bewitched. The spirits of those who have died of *ku* poison become the slaves of the witch. The witches sacrifice eggs to the *ku* spirit on the last night of the year. Husband and wife worship with naked bodies, and thus square their accounts with the *ku* spirit. When a servant of the Yamen is poisoned, the sorcerer gives five ounces of silver to the *ku*; for an official, he gives fifty ounces. Those who poison more people, acquire greater riches. If a sorcerer becomes tired of the *ku*, he doubles the original amount of money he picked up with the *ku* in order to send it away."⁵⁰

Yüan Mei⁵¹ says, "Almost all families in Yunnan keep *ku*. It

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ 袁枚. A. D. 1715-97. A voluminous writer of the Manchu period. This passage is taken from his 子不語, chüan 14. A book recording supernatural events.

can excrete gold and silver, so they get rich because of it. They let the *ku* out every night, and it darts about like lightning, spreading eastward and westward. A great noise causes it to fall. It may be a snake, toad, or any kind of insect or reptile. People conceal their children because they are afraid of their being eaten by the *ku*. This *ku* is kept in a secret room, and is fed by the women. The *ku* is injured if it is seen by men, because it is formed of pure *Yin* (the female principle of the universe). That *ku* which devours men will excrete gold, while that which devours women will excrete silver. All this was told me by Hua Feng, the general formerly commanding in Yunnan."

Again, in the same work: ⁵² "Chu Yi-jen was an expert calligraphist, and Ch'en Hsi-fang, the prefect of Ch'ing-yüan in Kuang-si, employed him as secretary. One hot summer day, the prefect invited his colleagues to a feast. As they removed their hats on sitting down to the table, they saw a large frog sitting on the top of Chu's head. They brushed it away, when the frog fell to the ground and disappeared. They feasted until night, and again the frog crept to the top of Chu's head, without his being aware of it. They drove it away from him once more, and it fell on the table, spoilt the food, and disappeared.

"When Chu returned to his room, the top of his head itched. The next day his hair fell out, and his head swelled like a red tumour. Suddenly the swelling burst, and a frog stuck its head out. Its forefeet rested on the top of Chu's head, but the lower part of the frog was in the tumour. He picked it with a needle, but could not kill it. He tried to pull it out, but the pain was unbearable. The physicians did not know how to cure it. Finally an old gate-keeper said that it was the *ku*. On his advice they pierced it with a gold hair-pin, and the frog died. Chu had no further trouble, but the top of his skull sank down like a bowl."

The *Ch'ien chi* ⁵³ says, "The Miao women who kept *ku* got plenty of money. When the *ku* becomes too strong, it must be sent away. They do this sometimes as often as once a month. Those ignorant of this often pick up money or packages along the mountain paths. The *ku* follows them home. When it gets to the house, it must remain there several days. If its wants are not satisfied,

⁵² *Ibid.*, chüan 19. The passage is quoted by De Groot, p. 852.

⁵³ 黔記, chüan 32. By 李宗昉. Written about the beginning of the 19th Cent. It describes the province of Kueichou.

it will cause calamity. During the fall, the Miao women carry pears in cloth bags, selling the pears to children. Many children are poisoned by *ku* in this way. This was discovered by some of the children, and so now, when they buy pears, they ask, 'Do you have *ku* poison in your pears?' If the reply is 'No,' the children are safe. Among the women of the Shan, there are many who keep *ku*."

In the *Fan t'ien lu tsung t'an* ⁵⁴ is the following passage. "Recently a man named Chiang Ch'an-p'ò reported that in the district of Lu-an *ku* is used to kill people. The house of the witch is always clean, since the work is done by the *ku*. Many inn-keepers serve the *ku*. If an inn-keeper and his inn are exceptionally clean, those who stay there overnight are poisoned. During one night, several travellers simply disappeared, and all their money and baggage came into the hands of the inn-keeper. There was no sign of the corpses because they were entirely eaten by the *ku* worms.

"Travellers in this district must know whether the inn contains *ku*. They lay their luggage at random on the ground, close the door, and stand outside for a while. If no servants appear, and yet the baggage has [mysteriously] been arranged in order, they know that this inn has *ku*. The traveller must not speak of this openly, but pays his fee and goes to some other inn. Such travellers will not be injured by the keeper of the inn, but will be regarded as men with a great destiny."

The *Yi chien chih pu* ⁵⁵ says, "In the various districts of Fu-kien, there are many *ku* poisoners, but they are especially prevalent in the districts of Ku-t'ien and Ch'ang-ch'i. There are four kinds, snake *ku*, *chin-tsan ku*, centipede *ku*, and frog *ku*. All can change their forms, and become invisible. All have males and females, which copulate at fixed intervals, varying from two months to once in two years. When the date arrives, the family which keeps the *ku* prepares a ceremony to welcome their coming, and a basin of water is placed before them. The male and female appear in the water and copulate. Then the poison floats on the water, and can be collected with a needle. A person must be poisoned on this date. This is the breath of Yin and Yang (the male and female principles of the universe), and it is infused into people's stomachs, symbolic of the genital functions. It is not effective overnight. When

⁵⁴ See note 36.

⁵⁵ 夷堅志補, chüan 23.

a guest arrives, even a relative, he is poisoned. The poison can be placed in food, drink, or medicine, but it cannot be put into hot soup. When the medium is too hot, the poison is ineffective. If no outsiders come in on that day, a member of the family is selected to be poisoned. When the poison first enters the stomach the victim feels nothing, but gradually the *ku* worms generate and feed on the victim's blood. The worms grow, reproduce, and consume the internal organs. The pain becomes unbearable, and can be relieved only temporarily by drinking water boiled a hundred times. As the pain becomes worse, the victims groan and scratch the bed. When the victim is dying, several hundred worms come out of his eyes, nose, ears and mouth. If they are dried, they can become alive again, even after a long time. The ghost of the victim is controlled by the *ku*, just as the tiger enslaves the *ch'ang*,⁵⁶ and becomes a slave of the family. Such [an enslaved] spirit cannot be reincarnated. Even if the corpse of the victim is cremated, the heart and lungs will not burn, but will look like honeycombs.

"In 1175, the mother of Lin Sao-shuan of Ku-t'ien (her surname was Huang) lay dying, apparently from poison. The members of the family said that if she had been poisoned by *ku*, and her matrix was burned so that the light of the fire would shine upon her, she would reveal who had poisoned her. They did this, and she said that on a certain date, she had been poisoned while eating by Huang Ku's wife, Lai Shih. The demon was still in their kitchen. Lin Sao-shuan reported this to the local magistrate, and they went to the house of Huang Ku. In the kitchen they found some pieces of silver, five-colored thread, jewels, and small wooden figures on which were written five "Yi" and five "Shun" (words meaning "opposed" and "favorable"). These were in a box with seven holes. There were also two packs of needles, each fifty in number, and eleven needles were without eyes. All these were not things ordinarily used by people. The man was accused before the magistrate. The magistrate arrested Huang Ku, who feigned death in the court. When released, he became alive again, as if helped by some supernatural power.

"Yü Ch'ing of Kuei-chi was judge at that time, and when the

⁵⁶ 餓 The spirit of a person who has been eaten by a tiger. It urges the tiger to murder others, in accordance with a common belief that the soul of a murdered man may return to earth if a substitute is provided.

prefect ordered him to examine the case, Huang Ku behaved in the same way. Yü Ch'ing was angry and afraid that the criminal would escape the law, so he came down and cut off Huang's head. He put the head in a basket, and reported the act to the prefect. The prefect reported the case to the emperor and a higher judge, Hsieh Ssu-chi, was asked to investigate the case.

"Hsieh accompanied the local officials to the house of Huang Ku, where he saw centipedes of unusual size. Hsieh said, 'This is the evidence.' Lai Shih was arrested, and tried by Hsieh himself. After a three days trial, the death penalty was passed upon her. The figures (she confessed) were used in divination. If the response was favorable, the guest was poisoned; if unfavorable, a member of the family. The eyeless needles were used in gathering the poison, and the number showed that eleven persons had been poisoned. The *ku* likes to eat silk brocade, but if this could not be procured, the five-colored threads were fed to it instead. The silver was to have been used in sending the *ku* away. . . . Huang Ku's criminal acts really reached Heaven, and Yü Ch'ing obliterated an evil-doer by killing him. Many scholars wrote poems in praise of him."

There are also a number of stories indicating that the virtuous scholar need not fear *ku*. The Chinese have a proverb which says that the heretic cannot overcome the righteous man. Among the Chinese, the educated men have always been the backbone of the moral system. It is natural to find that such men can repel evil influences.

An interesting case is recorded in the *Mu fu yen hsien lu* of Pi Chung-hsün.⁵⁷ "In Chih-chou there was a scholar named Tsou Lang, having a *chin-shih* degree. He was poor, but of upright character. One day he was about to start for a nearby town, when on opening his door in the early morning, he saw lying beside it a basket. He opened the basket, and found that it was filled with silver wine-vessels and about a hundred ounces of silver. As it was early morning, no one was watching him. The scholar took it in and said to his wife, 'These things came to me unexpectedly. Are they given to me by Heaven?' He had scarcely finished speaking, when he saw on his left thigh something that wiggled in a

⁵⁷ 幕府燕閒錄, extracted in 說郛, chüan 14. By 畢中詢. A lost work of the Sung period.

shimmer of gold. It was a caterpillar. He picked it off with his hand. His hand was hardly turned, when it was back in its old place. He trampled on the worm with his foot and smashed it, but immediately it was again on his body. He threw it into water and into fire, cut it with his sword, and hacked it with an axe, without avail. It followed him everywhere, and never left him. Tsou Lang finally asked the advice of his friends. Those who knew about such matters told him,

“‘You have been betrayed. This thing is the *chin-tsan*. Although it is small, it will cause a great calamity. It can enter the belly and ruin the intestines, after which it will come out unharmed.’

“Tsou Lang became still more frightened, and told his friend about finding the basket.

“His friend said, ‘I knew that already. If you serve this *ku*, you will become rich quickly. This worm eats four inches of Shu satin every day. Collect its excretion, dry it, and grind it to powder. Put a little in food and drink, and give these to others. Anyone who takes it will surely be poisoned. The worm will get what it desires, and it will remove the valuables of its victims to your house.’

“Tsou Lang laughed and said, ‘Am I the man to do this?’

“His friend said, ‘I know surely that you do not desire to do it, but what other thing can you do?’

“Tsou Lang replied, ‘I shall put this worm into the basket with the other things and carry it away. Then there will be no further trouble.’

“‘When a man serves this worm long enough,’ the friend said, ‘he will become rich. Then he gives several times the amount he originally found with the *ku* away. This is called finding the *chin-tsan* a husband. Then the *ku* worm will go. But if you put in only what you found with the worm, I am sure it will not go. Now you are poor. How can you give several times more than you found? I am really concerned about you.’

“Tsou Lang looked at the sky, and replied, ‘During my whole life I have tried to be an upright man. I swore not to lose my virtue. It is my misfortune that this thing has happened to me.’ He went home and told his wife, saying, ‘It is impossible for me to serve the *ku* worm. I am too poor to send it away. The only thing left for me is death. You had better prepare for the future.’

“He put the worm into his mouth and swallowed it. His family

tried to stop him, but it was too late. His wife wept bitterly, thinking that he would surely die. But after a few days he had no further trouble, eating and drinking as usual. A month passed, and still he was not affected. He finally died at a ripe age. And by means of the silver he had found in the basket, he became well-to-do. Is it that the sincerity of a man can overcome the most poisonous influences?"

The following account is taken from the *Yi chien san chih*.⁵⁸

"In the district of Ch'ang-chou there was a brave scholar of strong character. He often thought that while men were cowardly, there was nothing worthy of being dreaded. He regretted that there were no evil spirits to interfere with him and test his courage. Once he went with a few friends to another village, and saw a parcel covered with silk on the ground. The others dared not even look at it, but he laughed and said, 'I am poor, why should I not take it?'

"He opened it before them, and found several rolls of silk, three large pieces of silver, and a *ku* frog. He said to the frog, 'You may go where you wish; what I want is the silk and the silver.' He took the things home, where his family wept bitterly, thinking that a calamity would soon occur. The scholar said to them, 'This concerns me, not you.'

"That night when he went to bed, there were two frogs, as big as a year old baby, occupying his bed. He killed and ate them both. His family again lamented, but he was delighted to get such good meat. Then he proceeded to get drunk, fell asleep, and passed a peaceful night. The next night there appeared more than ten frogs, though smaller than before. Again he cooked and ate them. The next night there were thirty. Night after night the frogs were increasingly numerous, but their size became ever smaller. At last the whole house was full of frogs, and it was impossible to eat them all. He hired men to bury them in the wilderness. Yet his courage was strengthened still more. Finally the thing stopped after a month, so he laughed and said, 'Is the calamity caused by *ku* no more than this?' His wife asked him to buy hedgehogs as a precaution but he said, 'I am the hedgehog; what other do you want?' His family was pacified, and nothing untoward happened. So other people commended his behavior."

⁵⁸ 夷堅三志 卷四. A work of the Sung period.

The *Yi chien chih pu* contains the following story:⁵⁹ "In the city of Ch'uan-chou, there was a house tenanted by several families. One of the tenants was an under-official named Lin, a native of Ch'in. One night he found an old bamboo basket lying at the street end of an alley. He kicked it playfully, and a small embroidered blanket fell out. On opening it, he discovered silver vessels worth more than two hundred taels. As there was no one around, he took the things home, thinking they had been given to him by Heaven.

"All his neighbors were astonished by this, and the landlord said, 'This is the Ming custom of serving the *chin-tsan*. The original owner has become rich, and wanted to shift the calamity to others. Since you have taken this bait, you must not regret it. Today a demon will appear to you. You had better welcome and serve it. Otherwise, great misfortune will happen to you.' Lin remained silent.

"That night a snake, ten feet long, crawled in as if much pleased. Lin caught it and said, 'Are you the demon of the *chin-tsan*? I cannot please you by poisoning people to enrich myself. If I do not, I shall be eaten by you. There is only one death, but I would rather eat you first.' So he bit the snake, and swallowed it from head to tail, not even leaving the bones. Then he called for wine, and drank until he fell asleep. Next morning he rose up well and unharmed, and later he became well-to-do. All admired his courage."

There is an amusing story of this sort in the *Fan t'ien lu t'an tsung*.⁶⁰ "An old man named Tseng, of Lung-yen in Fukien, picked up a box from the road. On opening it, he found about twenty ounces of silver. He took it home. During the night, a handsome young man appeared to him, who tried to compel him to burn incense and take an oath before Heaven that he would administer poison to someone on a certain date. The old man realized that it was the spirit of the *chin-tsan*. He refused the request, and so the spirit continued to trouble him. Finally worn out, he faithfully promised. On the fatal day, his son-in-law came. The spirit secretly put the poison in the food, and when the son-in-law returned home, he had violent pains in his abdomen. The old man

⁵⁹ 夷堅志補, chüan 23.

⁶⁰ See note 36.

realized that the pains were due to the poison, and relieved him by administering an antidote. The spirit was very angry, and complained to Tseng.

"The old man replied, 'He is my son-in-law, and my daughter has no children. How can I poison him?'"

"The spirit came another time, and exacted a similar promise. This time his sister's son came. The nephew also became violently ill on returning home, and the old man cured him. That night the spirit greatly annoyed Tseng, and the whole family had no sleep.

"The old man Tseng said to the spirit, 'My sister was widowed when she was very young, and this son is her only child. If he dies from poison, my sister's descendants will be cut off. Moreover, I am not willing to do such things. Let us talk the matter over now. Suppose I give you back the original amount of silver, on condition that you go to someone else?'"

"'Since I came to your house,' replied the spirit, 'your farm produce has increased every day, and you forget about this benefit. You have not poisoned anyone yet, and you want me to go. You must add at least thirty per cent interest to the sum you give me. Otherwise I will not spare you.'

"Then the old man took count, and calculated that he must give the spirit two hundred and more ounces of silver. He got the silver by selling his farm. Then he put it into the box, which he left where he had originally found it."

This ends the collection of illustrations of the practice of *ku*, a collection covering the entire period of Chinese literature. A few generalizations may be made in conclusion.

It must not be supposed, as De Groot implies, that all Chinese believe in these things. On the contrary, the fact that it was extremely difficult to make this collection of passages is in itself evidence of the opposite. The physical symptoms ascribed to magical causes are not imaginary, and the diseases are very real. *Ku* figures largely in Chinese medical works, and the term is still used to describe certain conditions caused by internal parasites.

The idea of *ku* is very old. It probably originated in the idea that disease was sometimes caused by black magic. The use of the word as a divination symbol, and in the other ways mentioned in classic literature, are probably later accretions. The concept ap-

pears peculiar to Eastern Asia, at least in the method of producing the *ku* by allowing poisonous things to eat each other. At the same time, all sorts of extraneous notions have been added from time to time.

The practice appears to be a connecting link between Chinese culture and the cultures of Southeastern Asia. However, it was early suppressed in China proper, and survived among the aboriginal tribes of the south.

THE SECOND LITURGICAL POEM FROM RAS SHAMRA*

A Liturgy for the Festival of the God Alein

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VIROLLEAUD has published three liturgical poems from Ras Shamra. Of two of these the writer has already published translations — that of the first, in volume 52 of this JOURNAL (pp. 221-231), and, of the third in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, vol. LIII, 61-78. The translation of the second poem, which is here presented, was completed more than a year ago, and has been awaiting space in the pages of this JOURNAL. The text was published by Virolleaud in *Syria*, vol. XIII, pls. XXV-XXX. A number of scholars have translated it in whole or in part, but the only renderings which I have been able to consult extensively are those of Virolleaud (*loc. cit.*, pp. 113-162), Montgomery, in this JOURNAL, and Albright, in the *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* (vol. XIV, 101-140). Since, in the meantime, Virolleaud has published a brief poem which contains what was perhaps a hymn sung in connection with the festival at which this liturgy was recited, I have appended a transliteration and translation of that also.

Transliterated Text

The sign \bowtie is here transliterated \dot{d} (Dād) and $\Xi\chi$, z (Zā).

Column

i, 1.	14. <i>bnh mšb rbt</i>
2.	15. <i>'ašrt ym mšb</i>
3.	16. <i>klt knyt</i>
4. [<i>w.....yšh</i>] <i>šr</i>	17. <i>mšb pdry bt a'r</i>
5. [<i>e'l a'bh e'</i>] <i>l mlk</i>	18. <i>mžll tly bt rb</i>
6. [<i>dyknnh ys</i>] <i>h a's-</i>	19. <i>msrb 'arsy bt y'bd</i>
7. [<i>rt w bnh e'</i>] <i>lt</i>	20. <i>'ap mšn rgmm</i>
8. [<i>w sbrt a'ryh</i>]	21. <i>'argmk šskn m'</i>
9. [<i>wn' e'n bt</i>]	22. <i>mgn rbt ašrt ym</i>
10. [<i>l b'l km e'lm</i>]	23. <i>mđz qnyt 'elm</i>
11. <i>w hžr</i>	24. <i>hyn 'aly lmpm</i>
12. [<i>k bn</i>] <i>a'[šrt]</i>	25. <i>bđ hss mšbtm</i>
13. <i>mšb 'el mžll</i>	26. <i>yšq ksp yšl-</i>

* Continued from Volume 52 (1932).

27. *h hṛṣ ysq ksp*
 28. *l 'elpm hṛṣ ysq*
 29. *m l rbbt*
 30. *ysq hym w tḡḡh*
 31. *kt 'el dt rbtm*
 32. *kt 'el nbt bksp*
 33. *šmrzt b dm hṛṣ*
 34. *k hš 'el nḡt*
 35. *b ṣr 'hdm 'ed-*
 36. *d prša b br*
 37. *n'l 'el d qbl bl*
 38. *'ln yblhm hṛṣ*
 39. *šlḡn 'el d ml'a*
 40. *mnm ddbm d-*
 41. *msdt 'arš*
 42. *š' 'el dqt' k'amr*
 43. *sknt khwt ym'an*
 44. *dbh rūmm lrbbt*

- ii, 1. ...*b*.....
 2. ...*'abn*.....
 3. ...*aḡdt plkh*.....
 4. ...*plk t'lt by(?)m*...
 5. ...*npynh mks bšrh*
 6. ...*tmt' mdh bym šn*
 7. ...*npynh b nḡrm*
 8. ...*štt ḡptr l'ešt*
 9. ...*ḡbrš l ṣr pḡmm*
 10. ...*t'pp šr 'el-dp 'ed*
 11. ...*tḡzy bny bnōt*
 12. ...*b ns' e 'nh wtphn*
 13. ...*hlk b' l 'aštrt*
 14. ...*kt'n hlk btlṭ*
 15. ...*'nt ydrq ybmt*
 16. ...*...bh ṣnm*
 17. ...*...dn ksl*
 18. ...*...nh tl*..
 19. ...*tšy(?)*
 20. ...*'enš dt ṣr*.....
 21. ...*tš'e ḡh wtšḡ 'ek*

22. ...*mḡy 'al 'eyn b'l*
 23. ...*'ek mḡyt b'lṭ*
 24. ...*'nt mḡsyh [bm]ḡs*
 25. ...*bnyh*.....[*wš*]*brt*
 26. ...*'aryy*.....*ksp brt*
 27. ...*kt'n ṣl ksp wn*.....
 28. ...*hṛṣ šmḡ rbt 'a[šrt]*
 29. ...*ym gm lḡlmh p*...
 30. ...*'n mksr 'apt*..
 31. ...*dgy rbt 'ašr[t ym]*
 32. ...*ḡh ršt bdkṭ*.....
 33. ...*rbt 'l ydm*.....
 34. ...*b mdd 'el*
 35. ...*b ym 'el d[pd]*
 36. ...*hr 'el y*.....
 37. ...*'al'eyn*
 38. ...*btlṭ*.....
 39. ...*mḡ k*.....
 40. ...*w'at*.....
 41. ...*'ašr[t]*
 42. ...*b'em*.....
 43. ...*bl l*.....
 44. ...*mlt*.....
 45. ...*dṭ*.....
 46. ...*bṭ*.....
 47. ...*gm*.....
 48. ...*y'*.....

- iii, 1.
 2.*dn*
 3.*dd*
 4.*n kb*
 5.*'al yns*
 6.*ysdk*
 7.*n dr dr*
 8.*yḡ wrḡd*
 9.*y'elm dmlk*
 10. ...*y'n 'al'eyn b'l*
 11. ...*yqdd rkb 'rpt*

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 12. <i>m? ydd wyqlšn</i> | 52.'l.... |
| 13. <i>yqm wywpšn btk</i> | 53.ln |
| 14. <i>p[h]r bn 'elm štt</i> | iv, 1. <i>šr [el-dpd w rbt]</i> |
| 15. <i>p...b šlhny qlt</i> | 2. <i>['aš][rt ym]</i> |
| 16. <i>bks 'eštynh</i> | 3. <i>w'at..... [rbt]</i> |
| 17. <i>bm šn dbhm šn 'a b'l šlš</i> | 4. <i>'ašrt ym.....</i> |
| 18. <i>rkb 'rpt dbh</i> | 5. <i>šmd phl[št gpnm dt]</i> |
| 19. <i>b št wdbh wdbh</i> | 6. <i>ksp dt yrq nqbnm</i> |
| 20. <i>dnt wdbh tdm</i> | 7. <i>'bd gpn 'atnt(h)...</i> |
| 21. <i>'amht kbb b št lbt</i> | 8. <i>yšm' qd[š] w'amr.....</i> |
| 22. <i>wbh tdmmt 'amht</i> | 9. <i>mdl 'r šmd phl</i> |
| 23. <i>'ahr mdy al'eyn b'l</i> | 10. <i>št gpnm dt ksp</i> |
| 24. <i>mdyt btl't nt</i> | 11. <i>dt yrq nqbnm</i> |
| 25. <i>tmgnn rbt 'ašrt ym</i> | 12. <i>'bd gpn 'atnt</i> |
| 26. <i>tdzyn qnyt 'elm</i> | 13. <i>yhbq qdš w'amrr</i> |
| 27. <i>wt'n rbt 'ašrt ym</i> | 14. <i>yštn 'ašrt lbt'r</i> |
| 28. <i>'ek tmgnn rbt</i> | 15. <i>lysmsmt bmt phl</i> |
| 29. <i>'ašrt ym tdyzn</i> | 16. <i>qdš yuhdm šb'r</i> |
| 30. <i>qnyt 'elm mgntm</i> | 17. <i>'amrr kkbkb lpm</i> |
| 31. <i>šr 'el dp'ed hm dztm</i> | 18. <i>'ašr btl't nt</i> |
| 32. <i>bny bnot wt'n</i> | 19. <i>wb'l tb' mrym spn</i> |
| 33. <i>btl't nt nmgn</i> | 20. <i>'edk ltn pnm</i> |
| 34. <i>[g]m rbt 'ašrt ym</i> | 21. <i>'m 'el mbk nhrm</i> |
| 35. <i>[md]z qnyt 'elm</i> | 22. <i>qrb 'apq thmtm</i> |
| 36.nmgn hwt | 23. <i>tgly šd el wtb'é</i> |
| 37.'al'eyn b'l | 24. <i>qrš mlk 'ab šnm</i> |
| 38.rbt 'ašrt ym | 25. <i>lpn 'el thbr wtql</i> |
| 39.btl't nt | 26. <i>tšthwy wtkbdh</i> |
| 40.šm tšty | 27. <i>hlm 'el kyphnh</i> |
| 41. 'mrh šm | 28. <i>yprq lsb wyšh</i> |
| 42.šht qs | 29. <i>žnh wykrkr lhdn yšpd</i> |
| 43.rpn myn | 30. <i>ešb'th yš'e gh wyšh</i> |
| 44.'šm | 31. <i>'ek mzyt rbt 'ašrt[t y]m</i> |
| 45. | 32. <i>'ak 'atwt qnyt 'e[lm]</i> |
| 46. | 33. <i>rqb rdbt wtd'e(?)</i> |
| 47. | 34. <i>hm dmio' dm'et w's[']</i> |
| 48. | 35. <i>lhm hm stym lh[mm]</i> |
| 49. | 36. <i>bšlhnt lhm šty...</i> |
| 50. | 37. <i>b krpnm yn bk hrg</i> |
| 51. | 38. <i>dm 'šm hm yd 'elm lk</i> |

39. *yħssk 'ahbt šr t'rrk*
 40. *w't'n rbt 'ašrt ym*
 41. *tħmk 'el ħkm ħkmt*
 42. *'m 'lm ħyt ħzt*
 43. *tħmk mlkn 'al'eyn b'l*
 44. *šp'tn w'en d'lnh*
 45. *k lnyn q[ds]h [n]b[n]*
 ??
 46. *k lnyn nbl ksh*
 ?
 47. *w. . yšh šr 'el 'abh*
 48. *[el] mlk dyknnh yšh*
 ??
 49. *'ašrt wbnh 'elt wšbrt*
 50. *a'ryh wn 'e'n bt l b'l*
 51. *km 'elm wħzr k bn 'ašrt*
 52. *mšb 'el mžll bnh*
 53. *mšb rbt 'ašrt ym*
 54. *mšb klt knyt*
 55. *mšb pđry b'ar*
 56. *mžll tly btrb*
 57. *mšb 'arš bt y'bđr*
 58. *wy'n l t'pn 'el d'p'ed*
 59. *p'bđ 'an 'nn 'ašrt*
 60. *p'bđ 'ank 'aħd 'elš*
 61. *hm 'amt ašrt tlnb*
 62. *lbnt ybn bt lb'l*
- v, 1. *km 'elm wħzr kbn 'ašrt*
 2. *w't'n rbt 'asrt ym*
 3. *rbt 'elm lħkmt*
 4. *šbt dqnk ltsrk*
 5. *rħntt d. . l'ertk*
 6. *wn'ap 'dn mtrh*
 7. *b'l y'dn 'dn škt bglš*
 8. *wtn qlh b'rpt*
 9. *šrh l'arš brqm*
 10. *bt 'arzm ykllnh*
 11. *hm bt lbnt y'msnh*
 12. *lrgm l'al'eyn b'l*
 13. *šh ħrn b bhtk*
 14. *'šbt bqrđ hklk*
15. *tblk đrm m'ed ksp*
 16. *gb'm mħmd ħrš*
 17. *yblk 'edr el qsm*
 18. *wbn bht ksp wħrš*
 19. *bht tħrm 'eqn'em*
 20. *šmh bilt 'nt tđš*
 21. *znm wtr 'arš*
 22. *'edk lttm pnm*
 23. *'m b'l mrym špn*
 24. *b'alp šđ rbt kmn*
 25. *šhq bilt 'nt tš'e*
 26. *gh wtšh tđšr b'l*
 ? ?
 27. *bsrtk ybtl y'd*
 28. *bt lk km 'aħk wħzr*
 29. *km 'aryk šh ħrn*
 30. *bbhtk 'šbt bqrđ*
 31. *hklk tblk đrm*
 32. *m'ed ksp gb'm mħmd*
 33. *ħrs wbn bht ksp*
 34. *wħrs bht tħrm*
 35. *'eqn'em šmh 'al'eyn*
 36. *b'l šh ħrn bbhtk*
 37. *'šbt b qrb hklh*
 38. *yblnn đrm m'ed ksp*
 39. *gb'm [m]ħmd ħrš*
 40. *yblnn 'edr 'el qsm*
 41. *y'akl kšrwħss*
 42. *wšb lmspr kt'l'akn šlmm*
 43. *'ahr mšy ksr wħss*
 44. *št 'alp qđmh m'r'a*
 45. *wtk pnh t'db kš'e*
 46. *wyššb lymn 'al'eyn*
 47. *b'l 'd lħm št . . .*
 48. *[w]y'n 'al[y'n b'l]*
 49. *.....b.....*
 50. *[ħ]š bhtk k[sp wħrš]*
 51. *ħš rmm ħk[sp].....*
 52. *ħš bhtk tbn.....*
 53. *ħš trmmn h[ksp]*

54. *btk šrrt špn*
 55. *'alp šd 'eḥd bt*
 56. *rbt kmn hkl*
 57. *wy'n kšr w ḥss*
 58. *[š]m' 'al'eyn b'l*
 59. *bn lrkb 'rpt*
 60. *bl 'ešt 'erbt bbh[t]*
 61. *ḥln bqr b hklm*
 62. *wy'n 'al'eyn b'l*
 63. *'al tšt 'erbt b[bht]*
 64. *[h]ln bqr b hkl[m]*

- vi, 1. *wy'n k[šr wḥs]s*
 2. *tšb b'l l[hwt]y*
 3. *šn rgm k[šr] wḥss*
 4. *šm' l a[l'ey]n b'l*
 5. *bl 'ašt 'e[rbt] bbh[m]*
 6. *ḥln bqr[b hkl]m*
 7. *w'n 'al[eyn] b'l*
 8. *'al tšt 'e[rbt] bbh[m]*
 9. *ḥln bq[r]b hkl[m]*
 10. *'al tđ. . ['erbt]² bt'ar*
 11. *[l]'o ḥ[ln b qrb] bt rb*
 12. *[št] ḥln b bt y]dd 'el ym*
 13. *[w] 'lšn wpsm*
 14. *. wy'n kšr*
 15. *[w]ḥss t]šb b'l lhwt]y*
 16. *[msdt] bhtk tbbn*
 17. *'b[ars] trmm hklh*
 18. *y[l]k l lbnn w'sh*
 19. *l[šr]yn mḥmd 'arzh*
 20. *h[lk l l]bnn w'sh*
 21. *š[r]yn mḥmd 'arzh*
 22. *tšt ḥšt bbh[m]*
 23. *nb[l] 'at b hklm*
 24. *hn [y]m wšn t'ekl*
 25. *'est b bhtn nbl'am*
 26. *b hklm šlš krb'ym*
 27. *t' ekl ḥšt b bhtn*
 28. *nbl 'at b hklm*

29. *ḥmš šš ym t'ekl*
 30. *ḥšt b bhtn nbl'at*
 31. *b hklm lm mk*
 32. *b šb' y[m] tđ 'ešt*
 33. *b bhtn nbl'at b hklm*
 34. *sb ksp l rgm ḥrs*
 35. *nsb l lbnt šmh*
 36. *'al'eyn b 'l[b]hty bnt*
 37. *dt ksp hkl yu'tm*
 38. *ḥrs 'bāt bht . . . l*
 39. *y'db hd 'dbt bt*
 40. *hklh ṭbh 'alpm*
 41. *š'en šql šrm*
 42. *r'e'a 'el 'glm d*
 43. *šnt 'emr qmš [l]'em (?)*
 44. *ṣḥ 'aḥh b bhth l aḥh*
 45. *b qrb hklh ṣḥ*
 46. *šb' m bn ašrt . . .*
 47. *špq 'elm krm y[m]*
 48. *špq 'elht ḥprt [ym]*
 49. *špq 'elm 'alpm y[m]*
 50. *špq 'elht 'arht ym*
 51. *špq 'elm kḥsm y[m]*
 52. *špq 'elht ks'at [ym]*
 53. *špq 'elm rhbt [ym]*
 54. *špq 'elht dkrt [ym]*
 55. *'d ḥm šty 'elm*
 56. *wpq mrqsm šd*
 57. *bhrb mlht qs . . .*
 58. *'e tšty krpn m yn*

- vii, 1. *. qn'e . .*
 2. *. 'al'eyn b'l*
 3. *p tk mdd 'el*
 4. *y lžr qdqdh*
 5. *'el [ys]ḥq bqr*
 6. *km y[shq] . . 'elm bšpn*
 7. *'ur l 'rm*
 8. *šb lpb pdr*
 9. *šš l ššm 'aḥd 'r*
 10. *šb'm šb' pdr*

11. šmnym b'l m.....
 12. tš'm b'l mr.....
 13. b[al'eyn] b'l bqr̥b
 14. bt wy'n 'al'eyn
 15. b'l 'aštm kšr bn
 16. ym kšr bnm 'dt
 17. yp̥th hln b bht̥m
 18. 'arbt bqr̥b hkl-
 19. m w[yp]th bdqt 'arpt
 20. 'lp.... kšr w kss
 21. šhk kšr w kss
 22. yš'e gh wyšh
 23. lrgmt lk l 'al 'e-
 24. yn b'l tšbn b'l
 25. l hwty yp̥th h-
 26. ln b bht̥m 'erbt
 27. bqr̥b hklm [yp]t̥h
 28. b'l b dqt 'rpt
 29. qlh qds btn
 30. yšny b'l špn....pth
 31. qlh qd[s] ykr 'arš
 32.tdrm 'ahšn
 33. rtq.....
 34. qdm ym b mt 'a[l'eyn]
 35. t̥t̥n 'eb b mš'a 'ehd
 36. y'rm šn'u hd gpt
 37. šr wy'n 'al'eyn
 38. b'l 'eb hdt lm t̥š
 39. lm t̥š nšq dmr̥n
 40. 'n b'l qdm ydh
 41. k t̥dš 'arz b ymn̥h
 42. bkm yšb b'l l bhth
 43. 'amlk 'ablm lk
 44. 'arš drkt yšt̥kn
 45. dll 'al 'el 'ar lbn
 46. 'elm mt 'dd lydd
 47. 'el z̥zr yqr̥n mt
 48. b npšh ystr̥n ydd
 49. b gngn̥h 'ahdy dym-
 50. lk 'l 'elm lymr'a
 51. 'elm w nšm dyšb
 52. [b]hmlt 'arš gm ld-
 53. [r]h̥ b'l kyšh 'n
 54. [gpn] w'agr b[n]dlmt
 55. ['mm y]m bn z̥lmt r-
 56. [mt pr't] 'ebr mnt
 57. šhrr̥m hblt rkb rpt
 58.[rpt t]h̥t
 59. b.....[m'šrm
 60. [h] p.....
- viii,
1. 'e[hdk 'al ttn pnm
 2. 'm dr trd̥zz
 3. 'm dr šrmg
 4. 'm tlm d̥sr 'arš
 5. š'a hr dr 'l ydm
 6. hlb l̥zr r̥ht̥m
 7. wrd bt h̥pšt
 8. 'arš tspr by
 9. rdm 'arš
 10. 'edk 'al ttn
 11. pnm tk qr̥th
 12. hmry mk kšū'
 13. šbth h̥h 'ars
 14. nh̥lth wndr
 15. 'tn 'elm 'al
 16. tqrb lbn 'elm
 17. mt 'al y'bdbkm
 18. k 'emr bph
 19. k ll'e b šbr̥n
 20. qnh t̥ht'an
 21. nrt 'elm špš
 22. šhrr̥t l'a
 23. šmm b yd md-
 24. d 'elm mt b'a-
 25. lp šd rbt k-
 26. mn l̥zr mt
 27. h̥br wql

28. <i>tšthwy wk-</i>	40. <i>y</i>
29. <i>bd hwt wrgm</i>	41. <i>kb</i>
30. <i>lbn 'elm mt</i>	42. <i>šht</i>
31. <i>šny l ydd</i>	43. <i>t</i>
32. <i>'el dʒr thm</i>	44. <i>'elm</i>
33. <i>'al'eyn b'l</i>	45. <i>-a yd</i>
34. <i>-t 'al'ey[n] q-</i>	46. <i>k</i>
35. <i>rb....bht ybnt</i>	47. <i>[gpn] w-agr</i>
36.	48. <i>t</i>
37. <i>y</i>	(The rest is broken away)
38. <i>'ahy</i>	Colophon
39. <i>'ahy</i> <i>'y nqmd mlk ugrt</i>

Translation

Column

- i, 1.
2.
3.
4. Then cried the bull of
5. El to his father, El, the king,
6. that he would establish him. He cried to Ashe-
7. rat and her sons, the goddess
8. and the company of her companions,
9. "Woe to us! Baal has
10. no house like the gods,
11. nor defence
12. like the son of Asherat,
13. the dwelling of El, the covered-place
14. of his son, the dwelling of the Lady
15. Asherat of the sea, the dwelling
16. of the Bride, Kanyat,
17. the dwelling of my city, Beth-Ar,
18. the covered-place of my wealth, Beth-Rab,
19. the dwelling of the land, Beth-Yabdar."
20. Also I am repeating the cries;
21. I cry to thee, "Establish (it) in spite of
22. the madness of the Lady Asherat of the sea,
23. the hostility (?) of the mistress of the gods.
24. Hayn going up to the bellows,

25. in his hand grasping the tongs,
26. shall cast silver, shall send
27. forth gold; he shall cast silver
28. by thousands; gold he shall cast
29. by tens of thousands;
30. he shall cast *khym* and *tbšh*.
31. Humble her, O El, who is their lady;
32. humble her, O El, who shines with silver,
33. who quarries in the mine gold
34. like *khesh*. O El, thou hast rested
35. with the flint-knife on the footstool Ede-
36. parsha in the pit,
37. Naal-El, which yields not
38. to us. There flows for them the gold
39. of the table of El, which fills
40. the conceivable parts of the
41. foundations of the earth.
42. Scatter, O El, that which is mined according to the saying
43. of Saknat-Kakhwat, 'the sandy land
44. prepares wild desired-things by the myriad.'"

- ii,
 1.
 2.
 3. She took her spindle
 4. the exalted spindle on the (first) day.
 5. Her banishment was the binding (?) of her flesh.
 6. She removed her garment on the second day.
 7. Her banishment was by the rivers.
 8. She placed a *khptr*-offering on the fire,
 9. a *khbrš*, for kindling coals;
 10. she abstained from the bull of El-Deped;
 11. she besought (?) the creator of creatures (?)
 12. for the removal of her affliction. Then she forgot
 13. the coming of Baal and Ashtart,
 14. when she spied the coming of the virgin
 15. Anat. (Her) sister was hastening
 16. with her (?) persons (?)
 17. stupid (?)
 18.
 19.

20. man
21. She was lifting up her voice and crying, "How
22. is coming Alein Baal?
23. How is coming the Lady
24. Anat? Smite her with smiting,
25. her sons (and) the company (?)
26. of her companions silver bright."
27. Then she answered, "Come into being, O silver, and
(come down?)
28. O gold, that make rich the Lady Asherat
29. of the sea. Also her image
30. Answer, O thou who doest correctly; may I take—
possession — of (?)
31. the fishes of the Lady Asherat of the sea?"
32. "Take the net Bedket
33. O Lady, upon (thy) hands
34. with the beloved of El
35. in the sea of El-Deped.
36. The mountain of El
37. Alein
38. the Virgin (Anat).....
39. What
40. and
41. Asherat
42. in
43. Not for
44.
45.
46.
47. also
48.

iii. (About six lines are broken away.)

1.
2.
3.
4.
5. "Let him not lament(?)
6. shall cleave to(?)
7. generation (to) generation.

8. and Rachad
9. (and the son)s of the gods who rule."
10. Alein Baal
11. the of Yadad
10. Alein Baal,
11. he who rides on the clouds,
12. the of Yadad, and he arose,
13. he stood, he spoke in the midst
14. of the assembly of the gods: "I will set
15. the assembly at my tables, I will hasten,
16. from the cup I will drink it;
17. on them double the sacrifices. Sharpen (?) the three-
edged (dagger)
18. of the Cloud-rider. Slay
19. with the Lady and slay and slay
20. mightily and slay. There shall groan
21. the maid-servants when on it with the lady they look;
22. then at it (shall be) the groanings of the maid-servants."
23. After Alein, the Lord, came
24. there came the virgin Anat.
25. she spoke roughly to Asherat of the sea,
26. she upbraided (?) the mistress of the gods.
27. Then answered the lady Asherat of the sea,
28. "How dost thou speak roughly to Lady
29. Asherat of the sea, thou doest upbraid (?)
30. the Mistress of the gods? You have spoken roughly
31. to the bull of El-Deped; behold you have upbraided (?)
32. the begetter of creatures." Then answered
33. the virgin Anat: "Let us speak roughly
34. even to the lady Asherat of the sea,
35. let us upbraid (?) the mistress of the gods,
36. let us treat roughly the passionate.
37. Alein the lord,
38. the lady Asherat of the sea,
39. the virgin Anat,
40. there shalt thou drink,
41. be merry there."
42. she cried "Cut off
43. our flock, kinds
44. trees"

- 45.
- 46.
- 47.
- 48.
- 49.
- 50.
- 51. unto us
- 52.

- iv, 1. Bull (of El-Deped and the lady)
- 2. Asherat of the sea.
- 3. And thou (the lady
- 4. Asherat of the sea
- 5. "harness the stallion, make stirrups (?) of
- 6. silver (and) of gold of the mines;
- 7. make a stirrup (?) (for) her she-asses:
- 8. Qadesh and Amurru shall hear.
- 9. Saddle the colt, harness the stallion,
- 10. make stirrups (?) of silver, (and)
- 11. of gold of the mines;
- 12. make a stirrup (for) her she asses.
- 13. Qadesh and Amurru shall prepare to depart,
- 14. they shall place Asherat on the back of the colt,
- 15. on the decorations on the back of the stallion,
- 16. Qadesh will take them behind (?)
- 17. Amurru, like a star, before
- 18. to the shrine of the virgin Anat
- 19. and Baal. Thou shalt seek the height of the north;
- 20. Behold thou shalt set thy face
- 21. toward El at the source of the rivers
- 22. in the midst of the valley of the two abysses.
- 23. Thou shalt discover the field of El and shalt enter
- 24. the palace of the king, the possessor of years.
- 25. Before El thou shalt perform an act of purification, thou
shalt hasten,
- 26. thou shalt prostrate thyself, and shalt honor him.
- 27. Well! El, when he addresses her,
- 28. will put away grief and laugh.
- 29. His feet on the footstool he shall place, he shall twirl
- 30. his fingers, he shall lift up his voice and cry

31. 'How has the lady Asherat of the sea come?
32. How has the mistress of the gods arrived?
33. She is very hungry (?) and thirsty.
34. Them indeed bring near and make
35. bread; make them drink; make them eat
36. at the tables. Feed and make them drink
37. from the pots; wine is with thee; bring out
38. blood of trees. Lo, the hand of the gods is with thee;
39. They shall ward off from thee the love of the bull
(which) impels thee.'"
40. Then answered the lady Asherat of the sea,
41. "Thou art wise, O El; thou art very wise!
42. From of old thou hast lived; thou hast had thy way;
43. Thou art equal to our king, Alein, the lord,
44. our judge, and there is none who is above him.
45. Like our lodgments let us build (?) his sanctuary (?);
46. like our lodgments¹ let us mix his cup."
47. Then . . . the bull of El his father will cry
48. the king who wilt establish him, there will cry
49. Asherat and her sons, the goddess and the company
50. of her companions, 'Woe to us.' Baal has no house
51. like the gods or defense like the son of Asherat,
52. the dwelling of El, the praying-place of his son,
53. the dwelling of the lady Asherat of the sea,
54. the dwelling of the Bride, Kanyat,
55. the dwelling of my city, Beth-Ar,
56. the praying-place of my wealth, Beth-Rab,
57. the dwelling of my land, Beth-Yabdar."
58. Then answered El-Deped in friendliness,
59. "Even I am going to accomplish the humiliation of
Asherat:
60. Even I will work; alone I will outwit
61. them. The maid Asherat shall burn bricks,
62. with bricks shall be built a house for Baal

- v, 1. like the gods and a walled-enclosure like the son of Asherat."
2. Then answered the lady Asherat of the sea,
 3. the lady of the gods, "Verily thou art wise;

¹ Meaning "as in our lodgments," i. e., sanctuaries.

4. let the whiteness of thy beard admonish thee!
5. The compassions which (are) at thy breast
6. when the time drinks its fill of its rain.
7. Baal will appoint the time. Thou dwellest in the high-lands,
8. and wilt utter (thy) voice in the clouds,
9. to flash lightnings upon the earth.
10. A house of cedars he shall complete for himself:
11. truly a house of bricks he will construct for himself.
12. Call indeed on Alein Baal,
13. cry, 'a caravan in thy wonderful structure!
14. a troop in the midst of thy temple!
15. It shall bring for thee as mountains much silver,
16. as hills, choice gold.
17. The glory of El-Qesem shall be brought to thee.
18. Then build a wonderful structure of silver and gold —
19. a wonderful structure of pure things!' I shall be jealous of them!
20. Rejoice, O virgin Anat! Thou shalt trample upon
21. doubts and behold the earth.
22. Behold thou shalt set thy face
23. toward Baal at the height of the north
24. in Alp-shad of Rabbath-Kamon.
25. With laughter shall the virgin Anat lift up
26. her voice and cry; she shall announce the good news to Baal,
27. 'I announce good news to thee; I bring the knowledge (?)
28. thou shalt have a house like thy brother; and a walled-enclosure
29. like thy companions. Cry, 'A caravan
30. in thy wonderful structure! a troop in the midst
31. of thy temple! It shall bring thee as mountains
32. much silver; as hills choice
33. gold! Then build a wonderful structure of silver
34. and gold — a structure of pure things.
35. I shall be jealous of them!' Alein Baal will rejoice;
36. he will call a caravan into his wonderful structure,
37. a troop into the midst of his temple;
38. they shall bring us like mountains much silver:

39. as hills, fine gold
40. They shall bring us the glory of El-Qesem.
41. Kasher-w-Khasis shall feed."

42. Then return to the narrative: "When thou shalt send as messengers brave men."

43. After the coming of Kasher-w-Khasis,
44. place an ox before him, a fat one,
45. and directly in front of it thou shalt place a chair,
46. and he shall be made to sit on the right of Alein
47. Baal while eating and drinking.
48. Then Alein Baal shall answer,
49. "(I would build a temple for myself).
50. Haste! silver and gold (for) wonderful structures!
51. Haste! Heap up the silver (and gold)!
52. Haste! Thou shalt build (a temple)!
53. Haste! Thou shalt heap up (the silver and gold).
54. Thy house is (in) the heights of the north;
55. Alp-shad is a house;
56. Rabbath-Kamon is a temple."
57. Then Kasher-w-Khasis answered,
58. "Listen, O Alein Baal,
59. son of the Rider on the clouds,
60. surely I will place a lattice-window in the wonderful structure,
61. a window in the midst of the temple."
62. Then answered Alein Baal,
63. "Do not put a lattice-window in the wonderful structure,
64. a window in the midst of the temple."

- vi,
 1. Then answered Kasher-w-Khasis,
 2. "Thou wilt change, O Baal, so as to desire it."
 3. Kasher-w-Khasis repeated the cry,
 4. "Listen, O Alein Baal,
 5. surely I will set a lattice-window in the wonderful structures,
 6. a window in the midst of the temple."
 7. Then answered Alein Baal,
 8. "Do not put a lattice-window in the wonderful structure,
 9. a window in the midst of the palace.

10. Do not plan (?) a lattice-window in Beth-Ar,
11. nor window in the midst of Beth-Rab.
12. Thou didst set a window in the house of Ydad, god of
the sea
13. (and there was) distress and faintings."
14. Then answered Kasher-
15. w-Khasis, "Thou wilt change, O Baal, so as to desire it.
16. (The foundations) of its wonderful structure thou shalt
lay
17. (in the earth), thou shalt raise up its temple,
18. thou shalt go to Lebanon and its wood,
19. to Sirion (?) famed for its cedars.
20. Go to Lebanon and its wood,
21. Sirion, famed for its cedars.
22. Thou shalt establish the ritual in the wonderful struc-
ture,
23. the sacrifices in the temple.
24. This day and the second thou shalt eat
25. burnt-offerings in the wonderful structure, sacrifices
26. in the temple. The third, the fourth
27. thou shalt eat what is placed in the wonderful structure,
28. the sacrifices in the temple.
29. the fifth, the sixth day thou shalt eat
30. what is set in the wonderful structure, the sacrifices
31. in the temple
32. On the seventh day thou shalt bring to an end the fire-
offering
33. in the wonderful structure, the sacrifices in the temple.
34. Turn the silver into curtains; the gold
35. let us turn into bricks. Rejoice,
36. O Alein Baal! A wonderful structure thou shalt build
37. of silver; a temple shall be made perfect
38. with gold. Thou shalt make my wonderful structure
.....
39. This excellence shall be stainless, the of the
house (?)
40. of its palace. Slaughter oxen, (slay?)
41. sheep, bring up bullocks,
42. the shepherding of El, calves of
43. a year, a lamb. Strangle kids.

44. Call, O his brother, in his wonderful structure to his brother,
 45. in the midst of his temple lift up (your voices to)
 46. the seven sons of Asherat;
 47. 'Offer the gods lambs a day;
 48. offer the goddesses ewe-lambs (?) a day;
 49. offer the gods oxen a day;
 50. offer the goddesses wild cows a day;
 51. offer the gods as it were shame for a day;
 52. offer the goddesses as it were union for a day:
 53. offer the gods wombs for a day:
 54. offer the goddesses phalli for a day.
 55. While the gods are eating and drinking (say)
 56. Assist, O ye who the fields ;
 57. in drought cut-off (?) barrenness,
 58. so ye shall drink wine in pots."
- (At least six lines are broken away.)

- vii, 1. "..... reeds (?)
2. Alein Baal
 3. and the measure of El
 4. shall to shave (?) his crown.
 5. El will laugh at the loss
 6. as the gods (laughed) in the north.
 7. Awake to the of the colts;
 8. turn to the of the cities;
 9. six to sixty take (for) a city;
 10. seventy seven for a town;
 11. eighty, O Baal,
 12. ninety, O Baal,
 13. with Alein Baal in the midst of
 14. the house." Then answered Alein
 15. Baal, "I will establish them, O Kasher, son of
 16. the sea. O Kasher, build those (things which) thou hast appointed.
 17. Let a window be opened in the wonderful structure;
 18. a lattice-window in the midst of the temple,
 19. and let it be opened (?) for the examination (?) of the clouds
 20. in the presence-of Kasher-w-Khasis."
 21. Kasher-w-Khasis laughed;

22. he lifted up his voice and uttered
23. a cry: "Come, O Alein
24. Baal, thou art turning, O Baal,
25. to desire it. A window shall be
26. opened in the wonderful structure, a lattice-window
27. in the midst of the temple. It shall be opened,
28. O Baal for the examination (?) of the clouds.
29. (When) his holy voice shall sound in
30. Baal of the north will answer his call (?),
31. his holy voice will descend to the earth,
32. "..... the I will make small (?).
33. shut
34. before the day when Alein (?) dies
35. thou shalt fasten up a green shoot, found as a possession
36. of the forests, hated of Hadad of Caelo-
37. Syria. Then answered Alein
38. Baal, "This green shoot do not damage!
39. Do not damage!" Let us recite our song:
40. "The eye of Baal is before his hand,
41. as the bough (?) of the cedar is in his right hand,
42. even as Baal dwells in his beautiful structure.
43. I will be king; I will subdue for thee
44. the earth; routes shall be established;
45. the weak I will not send as messengers to the son
46. of the gods, Moth, to be counted to Yadad,
47. El-Dzer. Moth shall make a hollow
48. for himself; he shall hide Yadad
49. in his covert. I rejoice that he (Alein) will be
50. king over the gods. Surely he will be lord over
51. gods and men, that they may dwell
52. in the tents of the land. Also at his
53. mountain, O Baal, when he cries, (answer.)
54. Gepen-w-Agar, son of Zalmaweth,
55. ye people of . . . Yam¹ son of Zalmaweth
56. thou pride of Pharaoh, the mighty one of Mont,
57. ye parched-ones, destroyed by him who rides the clouds.
58. clouds, thou who
art humbled
59. by ye refugees,
60.

- viii, 1. "Then do not set thy face
 2. against Mount Tarāḏzaz,
 3. against Mount Sharmag,
 4. against the cleft of Deṣer, the land,
 5. the sheep of Mount Al-Yadaim,
 6. the covering of the sharp rock of Rakhitim.
 7. Come down to the house! The festivals (?)
 8. of the land thou shalt number with me!
 9. Make the earth green!
 10. Then do not turn (away)
 11. thy face! Smite his (Moth's) city!
 12. Put far from thyself the throne
 13. of his habitation, the filth of the land
 14. is its inheritance, and guard
 15. the prison (?) of the gods. Do not
 16. draw near to the son of the gods,
 17. Moth; do not let him make you
 18. like a lamb in his mouth,
 19. like a kid in the crushing (?) power (?)
 20. of his stroke. Thou shalt avoid (it)."
 21. O light of the gods, Shepesh,
 22. thou burning one, un-
 23. appalled by the hand of the measur-
 24. er of the gods, Moth, in Alp-
 25. Shad, of Rabbath-Ka-
 26. mon, by the sickle of Moth,
 27. the destroyer and curser.
 28. Thou shalt worship and give
 29. honor, to desire and cry
 30. to the son of the gods, Moth,
 31. the second to Yadad,
 32. the god of Dezer, "Thou shalt long for
 33. Alein Baal!"
 34. "Mayest thou, O Alein (?) in the
 35. midst of the wonderful structure thou hast built" . . .
 36.
 37. my
 38. my brethren,
 39. my brethren,
 40. my

41. hon-
 42. or (?) I have cried (?),
 43. I have (?)
 44. of the gods,
 45. Yad-
 46. ad (?) thy (?)
 47. Gepen-w-Agar. the
 hire (?)

48.
 (the rest is broken away.)

Colophon

..... Naqmad, king of Ugarit.

APPENDIX

THE DEATH AND BURIAL OF ALEIN

*Transliteration*¹

Obverse	Reverse
1. <i>l b'l</i>	39. <i>t qb 'et</i>
2. <i>qr b 'ab[n] yd[y ps]ltm</i> <i>[b y'r]²</i>	40. <i>r 'enšt</i>
3. <i>[y]hdy lhm w dqn[yšlš]</i>	41. <i>t'u tštql</i>
4. <i>qn šr'h [y]hrš km gn</i>	42. <i>t try 'ap ltlhm</i>
5. <i>'aplb k 'mq [y]šlš b mt</i>	43. <i>lhm trmmt lšt</i>
6. <i>b'l mt my l'em bn dgn</i>	44. <i>yn tdzyt špš</i>
7. <i>my hmlt 'ašr b'l nrd</i>	45. <i>rp'em thtk</i>
8. <i>b 'arš 'mh trd nrt</i>	46. <i>špš thtk 'elnym</i>
9. <i>'elm špš 'd tšb' bk</i>	47. <i>'dk 'elm hn mtm</i>
10. <i>tšt k yn 'udm't gm</i>	48. <i>'dk kšrm hbrk</i>
11. <i>tšh l nrt 'elm špš</i>	49. <i>whss d'tk</i>
12. <i>'msm' ly 'al'eyn b'l</i>	50. <i>b ym 'arš wttn</i>
13. <i>tšm' nrt 'elm špš</i>	51. <i>kšr whss yd</i>
14. <i>tš'u 'al'eyn b'l l ktp</i>	52. <i>ytr kšr whss</i>
15. <i>'nt k tšth tš'lynh</i>	53. <i>spr 'elmlk šbny</i>
16. <i>b šrrt šp'n tbkynh</i>	54. <i>lmd 'atn prln rb</i>
	55. <i>khnrm rb nqdn</i>

¹ The text is published in *Syria*, XV (1934), 227.

² The emendations of the text in lines 1-5 are based on a duplicate published in transliteration by Viroilleaud in *Syria*, XV, 230.

Obverse

17. *wtqbrnh tštnn b ħrt*
18. *'elm 'ars tṭbh šb'm*
19. *r'umm k gmn 'al'eyn*
20. *[b]'l tṭbh šb'm 'alpm*
21. *[k g]mn 'al'eyn b'l*
22. *[tṭ]bh šb'm š'en*
23. *[k g]mn 'al'eyn b'l*
24. *[tṭb]h sb'm 'aylm*
25. *[k gmn] 'al'eyn b'l*
26. *[tṭbh s]b'm y'lm*
27. *[k gmn 'al']eyn b'l*
28. *[tṭbh sb'm] ħmrm*
29. *[k gmn 'al'eyn b'l]*
[the rest broken away]

Reverse

56. *š'y nqmd mlk 'ugrt*
57. *'adn yrgb b'l šrmn*

Translation

1. For Baal
2. the mountain with stone shall resound. You have cut a palm-shoot in the wood;
3. it shall guide to escape and the beard shall triple.
4. The fibre of its shoot shall take root like the garden
5. of Aplab; like the valley it shall sink deep root with Moth.
6. Baal is dead! Who is the avenger of the son of Dagan?
7. Who are the mourners of Asher-Baal? Let us go down
8. into the earth with him! There shall go down the light
9. of the gods, Shephesh, until she is sated with weeping.
10. Thou shalt drink like wine even tears; also
11. thou shalt cry to the light of the gods, Shephesh,
12. "Restore to health for me Alein Baal!"
13. The light of the gods, Shephesh, shall hearken;
14. she shall raise up Alein Baal by the shoulder.
15. Anat when she shall raise him up, shall cause him to ascend
16. at the parched-ground of Šap'an, she shall bewail him
17. and bury him and shall sprinkle herself with ashes
18. of the weeds of the earth. She shall sacrifice seventy
19. wild oxen similar to the violation of Alein
20. Baal; she shall sacrifice seventy oxen
21. similar to the violation of Alein Baal;
22. she shall sacrifice seventy sheep

23. similar to the violation of Alien Baal;
24. she shall sacrifice seventy stags
25. similar to the violation of Alein Baal;
26. she shall sacrifice seventy goats
27. similar to the violation of Alein Baal;
28. she shall sacrifice seventy asses
29. similar to the violation of Alein Baal.
-

Reverse

-
40. mankind (?)
41. thou shalt weigh for thyself;
42. tender (?), also thou shalt eat
43. the bread of restoration, thou shalt drink
44. the wine of exhilaration (?). Shephesh
45. shall divide the *rephaim*;
46. Shephesh shall divide the *elonim* (terebinth?);
47. along with thee are the gods; at rest are the dead;
48. along with thee are the ritually pure — thy company,
49. and forethought is thy knowledge.
50. In the sea are creatures and sea-monsters.
51. Kasher-w-Khasis is power;
52. abundance is Kasher-w-Khasis.

53. Scribe, El-melek, the Shibonite,
54. pupil of Ethan-Parlan, chief of
55. the priests, the shepherds,
56. the Sa'ite. Naqmad, king of Ugarit,
57. the lord, honors Baal-Sharmon.

Philological Notes

Column i.

Lines 4-12 are supplied from col. iv, 47-51.

10. *b'l* (Baal): here, as usually, though not always, in these poems, an epithet of Alein.
 11. *h̄zr*: cf. the Arabic *h̄azr*, "defence".
 13. *m̄zll*: "covered-place", from *ZLL*.
 16. *klt*: "bride", an epithet; here used as the name of a goddess—possibly Asherat.
- knyt*: analogy and the parallelism indicate that here this is the name of a temple.

17. *pāry*; *pār* is a Hurrian word for "city"; cf. Virolleaud in *Syria*, XIII, 116 and Albright, *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 50 (April, 1933), p. 14.
18. *fly*: cf. the Arabic *ṭaul*, "wealth", "bounty".
21. *šskn*: shaphel imperative. The verb appears in Akkadian as *šakānu*: "set", "establish".
m': ordinarily means "with", but in Semitic, as every scholar knows, prepositions are employed in various meanings. The context here requires the meaning "against" or "in spite of".
22. *mgn*: cf. the Arabic *migann*, "madness".
mḏz: perhaps for *mzz*; no such word as *mḏz* appears to be known. For *mzz* cf. *Lisān al-ʿArab*, IX, 344.
qnyt: Virolleaud and Albright are, I think, both mistaken in taking this word to mean "creatix". It is from the root QNY, which means "own", "possess" and is used here as a parallel to *baʿalat*. *qnytʿelm* is an exact parallel to the Akkadian *bēlit ilāni*, "lady of the gods" or "mistress of the gods". The phrase adduced in Gen. 14: 19 means, "owner of heaven and earth", in spite of the fact that Holzinger, Skinner, and J. M. P. Smith have translated it "creator". Holzinger cites three other passages in which he claims that QNY is equal to BR'. Of these that in Deut. 32: 6 is shown by the parallelism not to bear the meaning Holzinger assigns to it. Montgomery has rightly interpreted *qnyt*.
24. *hyn*: "Hayn", the Hephæstos of the Ras Shamra pantheon. Perhaps a Hurrian god.
28. *'elpm*: employed as a numeral as in Hebrew.
29. *rbbt*: a numerical usage well known in Hebrew.
30. *hym w tbšḥ*: apparently two metals as Virolleaud has conjectured.
31. *kt*: imperative of KTT; cf. the Arabic *katt*, "humble".
dt rbtm: clearly a reference to Asherat.
33. *šmrzt*: a shaphel perfect from the root MRZ; cf. the Arabic *maraza*, "cut". Literally it means "she has cut".
dm: the word is evidently connected with the root DMM, which has in Arabic various meanings. As *dummat* it signifies "the hole of a field mouse". As *dimm* it means "rupture". The context here requires the meaning "mine".
34. *ḥš*: apparently some term indicating abundance, but I am unable to identify it.
35. *b zr*: *zr*, Arabic ZRR, means a sharp stone or flint. Here, apparently, the instrument with which in earlier times mining had been done.
- 35 f. *'edd prš'a*: I take this to be the name of the mine. Both elements of the compound name appear to be non-Semitic.
36. *br*: I take to be for *b'r*, "well", "pit", here a synonym of *dm*.

37. *n'l 'el*: literally, "the sandal of El", but here a proper name—the name of the mine.

d: the relative pronoun; not *dg* as Virolleaud tentatively reads.
The perpendicular wedge is the word-divider.

40. *mm*: pl. of *mīn*.

41. *msdt*: plural of *mosad*.

42. *š'*: cf. the Arabic *ṢW'* (*ṣū*).

43. *sknt khwt*: apparently some sage whose fame has survived only in this quotation.

ym'an; cf. the Arabic *ma'n*, which in the second stem means, "prepare", "make ready".

44. *dbh*; cf. the Arabic *dabāh*, "a sandy tract".

44. *rūmm*: see below, note on line 19 of the Appendix. Perhaps, however, here the word is kindred to the Arabic *raum*, 'wish', 'desire', and means "desired-things". This would suit the context better.

ii, 3. *plk*: cf. Hebrew *pelek*, "spindle".

5. *npynh*: cf. the Arabic *nafy*, "exile", "banishment". The final *n* before the possessive suffix is an abstract ending; cf. the Hebrew and Aramaic ending *-ōn*.

mks: literally, "a bond"; cf. the Assyrian *maksū*, "fetter", "bond".

6. *mdh*: cf. Heb. *madh*, "garment".

10. *t'pp*: cf. the Arabic *'ff*. The imperfect tenses in this passage express continuity of action.

11. *tqzy*: scholars are not agreed as to the reading of the second and third letters of this word. If this is the correct transliteration, the word is unknown. The translation is conjectural.

12. *wtphn*: cf. Arabic *fhh*, one of the meanings of which is "forgetfulness".

15. *ybm̄t*; perhaps better rendered "sister-in-law". Cf. the Hebrew, *yābām*, "brother-in-law", and the NH, *yebāmāh*, "sister-in-law".

22. *'al'eyn*: Albright and Montgomery prefer the vocalization *Aleyan*, but the ancient pronunciation is confessedly uncertain. In my *Semitic and Hamitic Origins*, ch. IX, written in August, 1932, I have given reasons for connecting the name with the Hebrew *'allon*, "terebinth", "oak".

Lines 27-31 contain an invocation of Anat, in which she implores help in getting possession of the riches of Asherat. The directions how to do this begin in line 32. Though the lines following are much broken, it seems clear that one of the ways suggested is to catch with a net the fishes of Asherat. Apparently here we have a reference to the beginning of the fishing industry as a source of Phoenician wealth.

- iii, 11. *yqdd*: to be so read rather than *yt'dd*.
12. *m'g*: probably to be so read, though part of the first letter is lost. *ydd*, or Yadaḏ is the god Idad of Philo of Byblos; cf. Eusebius, *Evangelicae Praep.* I, 10, 37 ff. In viii, 46 ff. and viii, 13 ff. he is associated with Moth, the god of death.
wyqlšn: cf. the Arabic *qalaṣa*, "rise up".
13. *wywpśn*: I agree with Albright in regarding this as the Phoenician form of the Arabic *nafatha*, but translate by another meaning of that Arabic root.
17. *sn'a*: I take to be a scribal error for *snn*. The omission of a single wedge has made the difference.
b'l šlš: literally, "the possessor of three", but three what? The context suggests that we supply *pēōth*, "edges" after the analogy of Jud. 3: 16. Cf. also *hammazleg šelōshā šinnayim*, the critical reading in 1 Sam. 2: 13. The context suggests that the phrase was descriptive of a knife or dagger.
36. *hwt*: cf. the Arabic *haway*, "desire", "love passionately".
- iv, 5. The lacuna is supplied from line 10.
gpn: literally "vine", if Semitic. Here it must mean something like stirrup (?). It is, at least, part of the trappings of a horse. Montgomery's guess, "platters", does not fit the context.
8. *qd*: the parallelism of lines 13, 16, and 17 show that we should read *qdš* here. The scribe accidentally omitted *š*.
9. *mdl*: cf. the Arabic *madala*, which, in the fifth stem means, "cover the face with a veil". The context here requires the meaning "cover with a blanket" or "saddle".
11. *nqbnm*: "mines"; so Albright, correctly.
13. *qdš*: Here a supernatural spirit, but in Poem III, line 65 Qadesh is the Kadesh in the wilderness. Amrar and Qadesh are accordingly the spirits of the countries which form the northern and southern boundaries of the Phoenician territory. They were still conscious of having come from the South, so Amrar (Amurru) forms the vanguard and Qadesh the rear guard of Asherat's queenly progress.
'*amrr*: as Montgomery suggests, a survival of the god Amurru.
15. *ysmsmt*: apparently a noun from the *pilpel* of *sim*, kindred in meaning to the Assyrian *simtu*.
33. *rqb*: Montgomery connects with *raṭab*, "moist", but the meaning thus gained does not fit the context. Perhaps the word is connected with the Arabic *raḏaba*, "suck the lips". The context here requires the meaning "hungry".
wtḏ'e: cf. the Arabic *ṣawā*, "dry", "wither". *tḏ'e* is a reflexive formation.
34. *dmu' dm'et*: an infinitive absolute used with the finite verb for emphasis.

39. *yḥss*: *ḥss* means in Arabic, "make one's share small". In our context the meaning "ward off" is naturally derived from it.
t'rrk: cf. the Arabic 'rr.
41. *tḥmk* is a scribal error for *tḥkm*.
45. *klmyn* is difficult. I take it to be made up of the preposition *k*, the plural of a noun from the root *lūn*, "pass the night", "lodge", and the pronominal suffix.
qdšh and *nbn* are conjecturally restored from the fragmentary letters visible.
46. *nbl*: conjecturally restored from the remaining wedges. *bl* from *balal*.
58. *l ṭpn*: ṬFN has in xith stem of the Arabic the meaning "dwell peaceably", "be well mannered".
60. *'els*: from *'als*, "deceive".
- v, 5. *rḥntt*: a feminine plural noun from *rḥm*, "feel compassion".
The *m* is changed to *n* before the dental of the feminine ending.
'etrk: cf. the Assyrian *irtu*, "breast".
6. *w'n'ap*: cf. the Arabic *na'af*, "drink one's fill".
'dn: I connect this word with the Aramaic *'dna*, taking *y'dn* in line 7 as a denominative from the same root. *'dn* may, however, be as Virolleaud thinks, *edinnu*, "plain", in which case the denominative verb would mean "manure", "fertilize". The passage would then read, "When the plain cries out for its rain—Baal will make the plain fruitful".
9. *šrh*: cf. the Arabic شَرَّه, "shine brilliantly", "flash".
11. *hm*: Arabic *hamā*, "truly", "verily".
13. *bḥmk* is shown by parallel passages to be a scribal error for *bḥtk*. Perhaps the perpendicular wedge which has changed the *t* to *m* was meant for a word-divider.
39. *mḥmd*: the reading of the text, *lḥmd* is correct to *mḥmd* by the parallel passage above, col. v, 31 f.
41. *kšr-w-ḥss* is treated in this text as a singular. If so it is a compound name. Kasher and Khasas may be compared to Uznum and Khasis, who appear in a Babylonian text as messengers of the goddess Ningal (cf. Delitzsch HWB. 285b). Uznum means "hearing" and Khasis, "thought". Kasher here means "suitable" and Khasas, "thought". In this text they come to help build the temple.
42. I take this enigmatical line to be a rubric. The poem was recited as a part of the liturgy of Alein's festival, and the rubric directs the reciter to turn back and repeat a part of the liturgy. Unfortunately the catch words, telling him where to begin his repetition, must have stood in a part of the text now broken away. For evidence of such recitals from other nations see *Myth and Ritual*, edited by S. H. Hooke, Oxford, 1933, chs. I-III.
49. This line I have conjecturally restored in translating.

- vi, 2. Restored from col. vii, 24, 25.
10. Conjecturally restored by analogy with previous lines.
- 11 and 12 are conjecturally restored.
13. 'lšn: cf. the Arabic 'alaša, which in the second stem means "cause stomach ache".
- psm: cf. the Arabic fšš, "collapse". psm is plural.
- 16 and 17 are conjecturally restored.
23. nblat: Montgomery has satisfactorily explained this word; JAOS, LIII, 119.
32. td: Imperfect from the root WDY.
34. rqm: I take for Arabic rauq, "tent", "canopy", "curtain".
36. ybnt: Ifl perfect of BNH, employed like the prophetic perfect in Hebrew.
37. yu'tm: hophal of 'ATM; cf. Arabic 'atama.
43. W'em: "kids"; so Epstein, Friedrich, and Albright. Cf. the sing. W'a in col. viii, 19.
47. In this and the following lines I read with Montgomery ym, "day", instead of yn, wine.
51. kšm: I take to be k šm, "like (or, "as it were") shame". Cf. the Arabic hašam, "fear", "shame", "bashfulness".
52. ks'at: I also read k s'at. Lines 51 and 52 I take to be anticipatory of the two following lines.
53. rḥbt: probably for rḥmt, "wombs", the m having been dialectally changed to the kindred labial b.
54. dkrn: Montgomery's identification of this with zikrōn in Isa. 57: 8 is both brilliant and convincing; cf. JAOS, LIII, 121. As in so many agricultural cult rituals, the acme of the festival was believed to be a divine marital union. For Babylonia, cf. the writer's *Miscellaneous Babylonian Inscriptions*, p. 34 ff.; *Archaeology and the Bible*, 6th ed., p. 346, and *The Royal Inscriptions of Sumer and Akkad*, p. 259 f. For Egypt, Sethe, *Dramatische Texte zu altägyptischen Mysterienspielen*, p. 83 ff.
- vii, 19. dqt: dqg in the ivth stem of the Arabic means "examine".
31. ykr: cf. the Arabic KRR.
32. 'aḥšn: cf. the Arabic ḥss, "make small", "damage".
36. ḥd: I follow Ginsberg and Albright in regarding ḥd as a short spelling of Hadad, analogous to Adda of the El-Amarna tablets. See JPOS, XIV, 129, n. 147.
- gpt: cf. the Arabic GFF, one of the meanings of which is "hollow". GPT also occurs in Ben Sira 40: 16, where the "hollows of the wady" would make much better sense than that which the Greek translator derived by rendering it "lips" or "edges". In the form GPPY it occurs in Prov. 9: 3, where another meaning of the Arabic root, "crowd" seem to fit, but where the LXX rendered by *epi krētera*, "upon strength".

ḏr: perhaps to be transliterated *ṣr* or *ṭr*, means, as in Poem I, ii, 16, "mountain". It is from this word for "mountain", I believe, that our word "Syria" is derived, and not from Assyria, by attrition. *gpt ṣr* would then be the "hollow of the mountain" or "Celo-Syria", which was in later times the land of Hadad.

38. *lm*: both here and in the next line I take to be the negative *lam* as in Arabic (many Arabisms survive in these texts) and not the Hebrew *lama* as Albright does.

thš: I take to be the equivalent of Ar. ḤYS and not with Albright, of Ar. ḤSY. The sibilants in these texts were not as clearly differentiated as in later times.

39. *nšg*: while ŠQQ means primarily to "split", the 2nd stem of the Arabic means "pronounce distinctly", I take it here to mean "recite".

53. *gpn-w-agr* is, as Virolleaud has perceived, another compound name. Poem III, 8, 15 makes it the vine-god, but here he is equated with Alein.

54. *b*: the variant text (Syria, XIII, 158), reads *bn*, "son", which, in the context, gives a much better meaning.

qlmt: the Hebrew *šalmaweth*, "the shade of Moth".

- 55 f. The lacunae are supplied from the text published in *Syria*, XIII, 158.

'mm ym: "people of Yam". Yam is the personified sea. Apparently the sea-peoples are addressed here as shades along with Gepen-w-Agar.

56. *pr't*: Virolleaud regards this as a feminine plural of the Hebrew *par'oh*, and so gains the meaning "princesses". I regard it as an earlier form of the Hebrew *par'oh*. The *t* in *pr't* would account for the final *h* in Hebrew. Why the feminine ending should have been added in Semitic, we can only conjecture. One thinks of the ascendancy of queen Tiy over Amenophis III, but there may have been some other cause.

57. *'abr*: the Hebrew *'abir*.

mnt: the Egyptian war-god, Mont. "The pride of Pharaoh, the mighty one of Mont," is a reference to the shades of the Egyptian strain in the ancestry of the makers of this liturgy, as the reference to the sea-peoples was to the Aegaeon strain.

viii, 11. *tk*: from NKY.

13. *ḥḥ*: cf. the Assyrian *ḥaḥḥu*, "filth".

šbrn: Virolleaud's copy has *šbr'a*, but he notes that a bit of clay is broken away and there may have been another wedge which would give *šbrn*—a reading which fits the context as *šbr'a* does not.

20. *qnḥ*: from QNN, "flog", "cudgel".

22 f. *l'a šmm*, literally, who art not stopped".

32. *thm*: from the root WHM.

47. *gpn-w-agr*: completed from col. vii, 53.

Appendix

2. *psltm*: cf. the Arabic *fasala*, which, in the 4th stem, has the meaning I have assigned the word here.
- 2-5. These lines are difficult and the translation uncertain.
9. *bk*: I take for the 3 pers. perf. from BKY.
12. '*msm*': the final *m*' is regarded by Virolleaud as a particle to strengthen the meaning of the verb. I regard it rather as employed with *l* as a compound preposition. On '*ms*', cf. the Arabic '*amaša*', which in the 2nd and 4th stems means "make whole", "restore to health".
17. *tštnn*: cf. the Arabic ŠNN.
- hrt*: cf. the Talmudic *hereth*, "soot", "sediment".
18. '*elm*': in this context, not "gods", but "weeds"; cf. the Akk. *alamū*.
19. '*rumm*': cf. the Assyr. *rīmu*.
- gm*: cf. the Eth. *gaman*, "violare".
43. *trmmt*: from the root RMM.
44. *tšzyt*: perhaps from the root DYT' with infixed reflexive *t*, which, after *q* has become *z*. Cf. the Arabic *diyā* "brightness".
45. '*rp'em*': the Hebrew *rēpha'im*; cf. Ps. 88: 11.
46. '*elnym*', is, like the name *al'eyn*, to be connected with the Hebrew word '*ēllah*', *allon*, "terebinth"; cf. e.g., Gen. 35: 4 and 8. I take it that here the spirits of the terebinths are thought to have died with Alein.

Corrections to Vol. 52, pages 221-231

- Page 222, col. i, 23 for *ht'ek* read *h'tek*.
Ibid., line 25 for *l'ašmm* read *l'a šmm*.
 Page 224, line 5 for "who purifies" read "at the source of".
Ibid., line 21 for "the god Ded" read "El-Ded".
Ibid., line 23 for "the storehouse(?)" read "a resting-place".
Ibid., lines 29 and 34 for "cold-places" read "heights".
Ibid., lines 31-33 read "the lord; his legs shall reach the footstool; his head shall reach its top. Then Ashtar, the wise", etc.
 Page 225, lines 6-9a and 27b-30a read "overcame her. Like the longing of a young cow for her calf, like the longing of a ewe for her lamb, so was the longing of Anath for the shrine of Baal."
Ibid., line 24 for "is dust" read "the burning one".
Ibid., line 25 for "of the fleshless" read "verily I will make them".
 Page 226, line 5 for "borne" read "begotten".
Ibid., line 15 read "his feet he set on a footstool".
Ibid., line 22 for "the god" read "El".
Ibid., line 31 for "while" read "there".
 Page 227, line 47 for "god" read "El".
 Page 228, line 12 for "cold regions" read "heights".
Ibid., line 31 for "god" read "El".

A STORY OF VIKRAMA'S BIRTH AND ACCESSION

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THE Vetālapaṇcaviṁśati in its various Sanskrit versions shows a considerable number of interpolations. Some of these are found only in one manuscript or group of manuscripts, others have become integral parts of a version. One of the former type will be presented in this article, and another will be described. These will complete the list of all such insertions which have been found in available manuscripts. Consequently, it seems useful to classify all the interpolations and to indicate the rationale of their insertion. Two types emerge from the mass and will be treated after a short preliminary account of the versions and plan of the work.

The versions of the story-collection known as the Vetālapaṇcaviṁśati are five in number according to the hand books on Sanskrit literature.¹ Of these, Somadeva's and Kṣemendra's versions (in the Kathāsaritsāgara and the Brhatkathāmañjarī respectively) may for our purpose be regarded as two versions of one original, the Brhatkathā. Their subject-matter is identical in the Vetālapaṇcaviṁśati section. Jambhaladatta and Śivadāsa provide a second and a third independent version. The shadowy Vallabhadāsa version is, as I hope to show at some later time, nothing but a sub-version of Śivadāsa, if it may be dignified with even as much independence as this. We have, then, to deal with three independent versions. Of these the Brhatkathā versions and the Śivadāsa version agree in their general outline. There is a frame-story in which king Vikrama (this and several other names are used) and the *vetāla*-inhabited corpse set out on the road to the false ascetic, the *vetāla* telling stories on the way, and, when they finally arrive, the king, following the instructions of the *vetāla*, outwits the ascetic. The *vetāla* on the road tells 24 stories, the conclusion of the frame-story being the 25th story which makes up the number of the title. The 24 stories in these versions agree in subject-matter, though Śivadāsa handles the details in a manner which is different from, and independent of, the Brhatkathā versions. We must conclude that these

¹ The "anonyme Recension" which Uhle published in *AKM* viii. 1 is to be disregarded, since it is merely a prose abstract of Kṣemendra's version.

24 stories and no other were found in the original *Vetālapañcaviṁśati*. Jambhaladatta's version, on the other hand, within the same frame has 25 stories told by the *vetāla*.²

(1) This discrepancy in the number of the *vetāla*'s stories results from the first type of interpolation. Extra stories, namely, are given to the *vetāla*. Three of Jambhaladatta's stories are found in no other version and together with 22 of the original stories make up the 25 of his version. My manuscripts for this version, few as they are, yet divide into two groups on the basis of the stories retained from the original stock. One only, Cambridge Add. MS. 1655, which comes from Nepal, omits the two stories which in the *Brhatkathā* versions are numbers 17 and 18, in *Śivadāsa* 16 and 17. The other manuscripts (viz. India Office Sanskrit MS. 3108 [Eggingling 4097], Oxford MS. Wilson 242c [Aufrecht, *Oxford Catalogue* 327; this is a copy of the India Office manuscript], and MS. 144 in *Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the Calcutta Sanskrit College*, vol. vi., p. 100), all from Bengal, omit the *Brhatkathā* stories 12 and 14, *Śivadāsa* 11 and 13. The omission of these stories in preference to others may be rationalized for the second group. The 12th story of the *Brhatkathā* versions describes the winning of a bride who lived in a world under the sea, and to this extent is similar to *Śivadāsa*'s and Kṣemendra's story 8, Somadeva's 7. The *Brhatkathā* story 14 leads up to the "Laugh and Cry *motif*,"³ which is employed again in *Brhatkathā* story 23, *Śivadāsa* 22. But such a rationalization, weak and subjective as it is, cannot be applied, so far as I can see, to the omission which the other manuscript makes. This curious state of affairs indicates perhaps that Jambhaladatta's version originally included the 24 stories of the other versions plus three other stories, and that later redactors, offended by the discrepancy between the title of the collection and the inclusion of 27 stories, in one way or another ousted a minimal number of stories.^{3a} Whether this is the true explanation or not, we

² The evidence for this is contained in my *Jambhaladatta's Version of the Vetālapañcaviṁśati* (vol. 4 of the American Oriental Series), New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1934, introduction.

³ So designated by Bloomfield in his article in *JAOS* 36. 54-89.

^{3a} The Newāri translation of this version adds further evidence to the same effect; I now regard this theory of 27 stories as certain. Cf. the introduction of the work cited in note 2.

can safely assume that Jambhaladatta's version has an interpolation of three stories, and that the manuscripts give additional evidence that the original *Vetālapañcaviṃśati* put 24 stories in the *vetāla's* mouth.

Other interpolations of this type are found, but the results are less complex and do not establish themselves as permanent features of a recension. In three of the remaining cases the insertion is made in the same place, immediately before the *vetāla's* final story with its unanswerable riddle. (In Jambhaladatta's version the case is not so; one original story intervenes between the interpolated stories and the final story.) These insertions are undoubtedly due to the fact that the title will admit of one more story and the redactor had a good story to tell. The bibliography of these insertions follows.

In some manuscripts of Kṣemendra an abstract of Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* in 78 *śloka*s was inserted. This interpolation I have treated in *JRAS*, 1933, pp. 821-830.

India Office Sanskrit MS. 2239 (Eggeling 4096), which is attributed to Vallabhadāsa, inserts a tale whose theme is that of the "Judgment of Solomon." The text of this story is printed in the *Catalogue*. Manuscript 470 of Bhandarkar's *Report on Search for Sanskrit MSS. Bombay Presidency 1887-91* is identical with this India Office manuscript. Of the two other manuscripts attributed to Vallabhadāsa which I have seen, one is incomplete, the other contains no trace of this inserted story.

India Office Sanskrit MSS. 2688c (Eggeling 4095) and 1668a (Eggeling 4094, Uhle's B), which represent in general Śivadāsa's version, are at the end contaminated with Kṣemendra's version. They contain Śivadāsa's stories 1 to 23, then Kṣemendra's 23, 24, and 25 (the conclusion of the frame-story), giving altogether 25 stories to the *vetāla*. Kṣemendra's story 23 corresponds in subject to Śivadāsa's 22, but the two versions work out the details in such different ways that the stories were evidently regarded by the contaminator as essentially different. Here we have, as it were, a "fake" interpolation.

Uhle's manuscript c of Śivadāsa has an interpolated story which he describes as "Erzählung XXV." He published the text in *AKM* viii. 1, pp. 63-64, and a translation with discussion of the theme of the story on pp. 130-131 of his complete translation of Śivadāsa's

version.⁴ The story is told by the *vetāla*, but Uhle nowhere indicates its exact position in the manuscript.

(2) In the second type of interpolation there is an addition to the frame-story, usually giving some account of the previous history and relationship of the king, the ascetic, and the corpse. The position of the addition is variable. Sometimes it is merely tacked on at the beginning or at the end of the complete *Vetālapañcaviṃśati*, occasionally it is more carefully inserted somewhere in the frame-story.

Uhle, in his article "Eine sanskritische Parallele zu einer Erzählung in Galanos' Uebersetzung des *Pañcatantra*" in *ZDMG* 23 (1869), pp. 443-452, published the text and a translation of a story added at the end of his manuscript g. Unlike most of this class of interpolations, it has to do with the king's use of the magic powers which he gained by his ordeal in the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati*. It is an instance of the application of the *parakāyapraveśavidyā* and, as such, was further treated by Bloomfield in his article "On the art of entering another's body" in *Proc. Amer. Philosophical Society*, lvi (1917), pp. 1-43.

At the beginning of manuscript 353, described in Peterson, *Report on a Search for Sanskrit MSS. Bombay Circle 1884-86*, p. 396, there is a short introductory story written in such bad Sanskrit and so corrupt that publication is impossible. In it a *digambara* Kṣāntiśīla at the end of a long "transformation contest" with his pupil Govinda kills him and hangs his corpse on a tree. We undoubtedly have here a previous history of the *vetāla*-corpse, but no connection is made in the manuscript between it and the main story. I hope to discuss this story at some later date in connection with the introductory story of the Tibetan and Mongolian versions of the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati*.

The motif of "three boys born under the same star"

The three remaining insertions are concerned with an accretion to the Vikrama-legend which does not occur widely elsewhere, but yet seems, from the variety of forms in which it occurs, to be a fairly persistent floating element in the Vikrama-cycle. This is the story of the birth at the same time of three boys, one of whom

⁴ *Vetālapañcaviṃśati*, vol. 9 of the series "Meisterwerke Orientalischer Literaturen", München, 1924.

is Vikrama. The other two are respectively the sons of a potter and an oil-maker. A prediction is made that one shall kill the other two and become king. The oil-maker's son becomes, after different vicissitudes in each version, the *vetāla*-corpse; the potter's son becomes the false ascetic of the frame-story. In the introductory story to Uhle's manuscript **a**⁵ the potter deceitfully befriends the oil-maker's son, who apparently knows nothing of the prediction, and hangs him on a tree. He is then forced to flee the country, but returns in the disguise of a *digambara*, the false ascetic.⁶ The Hindi version of the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati*⁷ contains the same incident (as well as the preceding account of the seduction of an ascetic by a courtesan); the details are so similar to those of **a** that we may infer some close connection between the two accounts. It must be noticed that **a** does not have the three verses introducing the frame-story in the place where they are given in the usually accepted text of Śivadāsa; if it had them at all, it was on the first folio of the manuscript, which has disappeared. Nor does it have the introductory prose sentence which identifies the king and his capital. The patching on of the preliminary story has been done with some consistency.

The long preliminary story in India Office MS. 2688c (Eggeling 4095), the text of which is given below, has already been summarised in the *Catalogue*. The three boys appear again here; the reason for their simultaneous birth is different, and some of the subsequent details differ also from those of **a**. The oil-maker's son voluntarily acts a corpse at first, but later is killed and becomes the *vetāla*-inhabited corpse; the potter's son, as a *yogin*, presents the king with jewels and by a ruse causes the king to enter a parrot's body, while he enters the king's body. Vikrama succeeds in regain-

⁵ Text in *AKM* viii. 1, pp. 1-4; translation in volume cited in note 4, pp. 3-10.

⁶ *AKM* viii. 1, p. 95, critical note on 5. 23.

⁷ Oesterley, *Baitāl Pachisi*, Leipzig, 1873. *Early Ideas: A Group of Hindoo Stories collected and collated by Anaryan* [F. F. Arbuthnot], London, 1881, pp. 103-109, presents an introduction to the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati*, which is merely a somewhat condensed translation of the Hindi version, containing all the incidents of that version. The Marathi version of the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati* has been translated by C. A. Kincaid as *Tales of King Vikrama* (1921). This version is a translation of the Hindi version, made in 1830 by Sadshiv Chatre, and for our present purpose differs not at all from the Hindi version.

ing his own body again, the potter's son again becomes a *yogin* and comes to the king's court a second time with a magic copper vessel with which he wins Vikrama's favor. Then the main cycle of stories begins. The twofold winning of the king's favor is necessitated by the two attempts made on his life, but bad workmanship must be seen in the similarity of the two incidents.

Jambhaladatta's version has an account in the final frame-story given by the *vetāla* himself of his previous history. It is markedly different from the two forms of the story which have just been given, and yet some points of resemblance can be seen. The *vetāla* was originally an oil-maker who was befriended and instructed in magic by a *jñānin*. But he defrauded the *jñānin's* former pupil and in consequence of the *jñānin's* curse became a *vetāla*. The former pupil then gained the king's favor as an ascetic. It is evident that the former pupil corresponds to the potter's son of the other two versions and that we have here the same story without the apparatus of the simultaneous births.⁸ It must be observed that only the Bengal manuscripts have this story; the Nepal manuscript shows no trace of it. This probably means that the original version of Jambhaladatta, like the Bṛhatkathā versions and Śivadāsa's version knew nothing of this story.

Thakur Rajendra Singh's *Legends of Vikramaditya* (Allahabad, The Indian Press, 1913) purports to be an English translation of Lallū Lāl's *Singhāsan Battisī*, i. e. the Hindi version of the *Sinhāsanadvātriṅśikā* or *Vikramacarita*. As in the Jainistic version of the *Vikramacarita* there is a drastic rearrangement of the frame-story, following in the main that of the Jainistic version. The first and second statuettes tell the history of king Vikrama. In the tale of the second are found those incidents of Vikrama's life which the Jainistic version gives to the first statuette. In addition to them there is the tale of three boys born under the same star, in a highly condensed form. The demon conquered by Vikrama tells him of the simultaneous birth of Vikrama, an oil-maker, and a potter. The potter with the aid of his deity had killed the oil-maker and hung his body in a tree and was about to overcome the king by assuming the form of an ascetic and going through the procedure familiar to us in the conclusion of the

⁸ Cf. Uhle's translation of this story in the volume cited in note 4, and the remarks in the introduction to that volume, pp. xxx-xxxi.

frame-story of the *Vetālapañcaviṁśati*. (My summary includes all the essential points of Singh's text and is little shorter than it.)

Other versions of this story of "three boys born under the same star" have not turned up. It occurs in no text of any antiquity except that of *Jambhaladatta*, and there its form is secondary to the other versions and, as we have seen, it is probable that the incident is not an integral part of the original text as composed by *Jambhaladatta*. *Lallū Lāl's* version of the *Vikramacarita* was composed in the early years of the 19th century. The two interpolations can, of course, not be dated. The evidence of the versions, then, points to a late date for the addition of the story to the cycle; the subject-matter and details of the story (e. g. the part played by astrology) do not make such a date necessary, though admittedly they are very much at home in modern India.

Interpolation in India Office MS. 2688c.

In the *Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS. in the Library of the India Office*, part vii, pp. 1563-4, this interpolation is summarised. The manuscript is modern, with no date. It is evident from the incorrectness of the text, as will be seen in the critical notes to the text here given, that the insertion was not made primarily in this manuscript, but was found in the manuscript from which it was copied. The insertion occupies about 18 complete folios.

The following analysis gives the main points in the story:

1. Birth of the three boys, including Vikrama; prophecy. §§ 1-3.
2. Vikrama pretends madness to escape his elder brothers; *Bhartṛhari* becomes king. §§ 4-6.
3. *Bhartṛhari* and the fruit of immortality. He abdicates in favor of *Durmukha*. §§ 7-9.
4. A *rākṣasa* eats *Durmukha* and thereafter one king each day. Jackals prophesy in Vikrama's hearing that he will be king. § 10.
5. Vikrama is helped on his way to Ujjain by an *ulmuka*. § 11.
6. Vikrama becomes king and overcomes the *rākṣasa*. §§ 12-13.
7. The oil-maker hangs in the midst of corpses in a cemetery; the potter leaves Ujjain. § 14.
8. The potter, become *yogin*, gives Vikrama jewels and tricks him into entering a parrot's body, while he enters Vikrama's body. § 15.

9. Parrots are slaughtered, and the Vikrama-parrot comes into Vidyāvati's possession. §§ 16-20.

10. With her help Vikrama regains his body and the potter becomes a crow. §§ 21-23.

11. The episode of the king's wives and the oil-maker. The oil-maker is slain and hanged on a tree. §§ 24-26.

12. The potter gains the body of a *yogin* and comes to Vikrama with a magic vessel. § 27.

The Persian version of the *Vikramacarita*⁹ contains a considerable part of this material. In its frame-story the birth of Vikrama is narrated in a form very similar to the prefixed story in some of the manuscripts of the Jain *Vikramacarita*.¹⁰ Then follows an account of how Bhartṛhari came to the throne and at his wife's instigation drove Vikrama into exile. After this come the incidents numbered 3, 4, and 6 above. The frame-story concludes with an account of the magic throne. In the story of the 7th statuette we have our incidents 8-10. Details of these stories are in general similar to those in our text. Some connexion between the two accounts must be assumed, but in view of the lack of other versions we can say little more than that both are representatives of floating legends about Vikrama. A more detailed examination of some of the incidents is given below.

The story-content of our text is basically simple. The main tale is that discussed above, the *motif* of "three boys born under the same star" and their struggles for the throne. The chief struggle is that between Vikrama and the potter; it is carried on by means of the *parapiṇḍapraveśavidyā*. Of the four versions of Vikrama's adventures with this art treated by Bloomfield, that contained in the Persian *Vikramacarita* is in the main nearest in detail to ours, though it does not correspond exactly. Its *yogin* is, of course, not equated with a potter, nor is he connected in any way with the false ascetic of the *Vetālapañcaviṁśati*. For other divergences I refer to Bloomfield's article.

The stories of the fruit of immortality and Vikrama's winning of the kingdom from the demon appear together again, not only in the Persian *Vikramacarita*, but also in the Jainistic version. The

⁹ Lescallier, *Le Trône Enchanté*, New York, 1817. I am indebted to the Library of Harvard University for an inter-library loan of this rare book.

¹⁰ Edgerton, *Vikrama's Adventures*; text in *HOS* 27, 241-244, translation 26, 263-266.

latter story is found also in the Prabandhacintāmaṇi.¹¹ In the Jain Vikramacarita these stories are numbers 4 and 5 in the frame-story. For the former story there is a close correspondence in detail between these three versions. The fruit passes through the hands of the same people and in the same order. Other versions contained in other texts of the Vikramacarita show differences in detail. In the latter story our text is closest to the Jain Vikramacarita. Neither has an actual battle between the king and the demon, while in the other two versions a battle does take place. The king in our version, when told that he will live to be one hundred years old, says: *mamā 'yuṣi śūnyaṁ patitam. nyūnādhikam kuru*. In the Jain Vikramacarita his words are: *mamā 'yuṣi śūnyaṁ patitam, tarhi tvayā varṣam ekam samadhikam nyūnam vā karaṇīyam*.¹² The Prabandhacintāmaṇi has no exact parallel for the first half of this speech, and its wording is different for the second. In the Persian version this incident is given, but it has no bearing on the final outcome of the king's struggles with the demon; the whole story is loose-jointed in this version. For these two incidents the Jain Vikramacarita seems to be the source for our text.¹³

The incident of the interpretation of the cries of jackals differs somewhat in its details in the Persian Vikramacarita. There Vikrama comes to Ujjain with his patron, a man from Guzerat. Jackals howl at night, one of them with an almost human voice. The patron in Vikrama's hearing tells his wife what the jackal is saying. His interpretation is practically identical with that given in our text. This story is paralleled also in the (interpolated) 32nd story of the Metrical version of the Vikramacarita.¹⁴ Our version shows that there *gaulī* = *gaūrī* = *śīrā*, "jackal." The incident is a special adaptation of the common *motif* of interpretation, real or pretended, of animal speech and cries, which has been treated by Bloomfield.¹⁵

¹¹ In Tawney's translation, pp. 4-5.

¹² Edgerton, *HOS* 27. 233, lines 18-19.

¹³ Singh's work mentioned above has these two stories in the same order. The first is close in detail to the versions of the Jain Vikramacarita and our interpolation. The second differs somewhat; the demon is sent by Indra to guard the kingdom and challenges Vikrama on his arrival. They wrestle, the demon is worsted, and tells of the simultaneous births and the false ascetic who is to appear.

¹⁴ Edgerton, *HOS* 27. 229 and 26. 248.

¹⁵ "On overhearing as a *motif* of Hindu fiction", *AJP* xli. 309-335.

The "life-index" tree (*saubhāgyavṛkṣa*, § 8.7) as a "passive" index is frequent in Hindu folklore, but instances in Sanskrit literature are so rare that its use here is important, though it is of late date and undoubtedly based on modern folklore. It is to be added to the cases of the *motif* in Ruth Norton's article "The Life-index: a Hindu fiction-motif" in *Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield*, p. 220. It should be noted that here the index is introduced with extreme casualness without any statement of its selection or assignment; this is unlike the general tendency pointed out in the article just referred to, p. 223. The incident is not found in the Persian *Vikramacarita*.

Of the other incidents, that of the *ulmuka* is imperfectly motivated and rather unintelligible; we may suspect that it suffers from omission of some important points in the manuscript. The latter part of the incident numbered 11 above is also suspiciously obscure; some omission has certainly taken place and this may be responsible for the obscurity.

Most of the verses in the text are found elsewhere in Śivadāsa's *Vetālapañcaviṃśati* and are repeated later in this manuscript in their usual places. For vss. 2-4 see Uhle p. 5 and critical notes; vs. 6, Uhle p. 17, vs. 23 (also *Vikramacarita* in Jainistic and Brief recensions, *HOS* 27, 364); vs. 7, Uhle p. 11, vs. 26(24); vs. 10, Uhle p. 11, vs. 31(29); vs. 11, cf. Uhle p. 6, vs. 12 and Boehtlingk *Indische Sprüche* 998(379). Vs. 8 is Boehtlingk 5161(2330). The famous stanza describing the "nine jewels" of Vikrama's court (vs. 9) is discussed fully by Weber in his article "Ueber das Jyotirvidābharaṇam."¹⁶ The verse is found in the *Jyotirvidābharaṇa* xxii. 10. The verse in rathoddhatā meter (vs. 5) is not in Boehtlingk. The introductory narrative verse is not found elsewhere.

The manuscript is badly written with numerous corruptions, bad sandhi, etc. In general I have tacitly corrected the sandhi, recording the manuscript readings only where there may be room for difference of opinion. One or two instances of corruption seem to be of more than casual interest. At § 11.2 the ms. has *jācate* for *yācate*, at § 13.24 *sāhājya* for *sāhāyyam*. There are several cases of double sandhi: § 1.13 *tasyārtham* for *tasyā artham*; § 2. last line *sagarbhābhavan* (ms. °*vat*) for *sagarbhā abhavan*. In the episode

¹⁶ *ZDMG* 22. 708-730, especially 722-723.

in § 10 the ms. writes throughout *vanig-* for *vanig-*. Everywhere except at § 19.4 and 13 *piñjara* is read for *pañjara*, and I have retained it in the text. Likewise I have retained *ujjayani*, which is written throughout except at § 6.24.

A number of new or lexical words appear. There are three unrecorded names of coins: *śivāṅka*, m., "marked with Śiva" or "having a lucky mark" (?), § 16.6, § 18.14; *rajatamudrā*, f. (§ 16.12) and *raupyamudrā*, f. (§ 18.14), "silver coin." The last two are synonymous; *śivāṅka* is the smallest coin, next in value come these last two, then the *dināra*.

pulinda (§ 16.7 ff.) appears in this text synonymous with *mrgayu* and *vyādha*; the meaning "hunter" is an easy development from the recorded meanings "barbarian, mountaineer."

dhātār (§§ 4.3, 14.3, 19.14) seems to be used as an expletive. It can hardly be anything but the vocative "oh creator!" but the use seems peculiar. Cf. *vidhātār* (§ 25.11).

bahuvayaska, "of great age" (§ 27.2) is not recorded.

vihāyasin, "heavenly one" (§ 13.17) is an emendation, but a fairly sure one; not previously recorded.

vohittha, "ship" (§ 10. 10) is recorded as a lexical word of neuter gender. It is treated here as masculine with *samāyāntam* in agreement with it. Considering the bad state of the text, *samāyāntam* would be almost equally good; but variation in gender even of common words is frequent in this text, and the emendation is unnecessary.

sādhū, "usurer" (§ 21.3 ff.) is also known from the Pañcatantra; see Edgerton, *The Panchatantra Reconstructed*, 1, 155 and 228.

mañcānaka, gender not determinable, "bedstead" (§ 13.7). The normal Sanskrit forms are *mañca* and *mañcaka*. We may compare the Hindi words *māc* and *macān*; the latter is in part responsible for the form of our word.

niṣpādyā, "having cooked" (§ 19. last line). With this meaning beside the attested "having caused to ripen," compare the two similar meanings of *√pac*.

samārdrya, "having moistened" (§ 6.16), from *sam-ārdayati*, not recorded. Our word is, however, an emendation.

caurāyate (§ 10.11) is a denominative verb from *caura*; the ms. however is hardly to be trusted.

The late stem *duhitā* for *duhitṛ* is found at § 21.9 in the acc. sg.

and at § 21.1 as prior member of a compound; Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, 3.165a.

The stem *śreṣṭhi* is found at § 18.20 and other passages, in the cpd. *dattakaśreṣṭhi*, instead of the stem *śreṣṭhin*.

The late usage of *eka* at the end of compounds, discussed by Wackernagel 3.200 f, is seen certainly in *phalaikam* (§ 7.2) and *nālikeraikam* (§ 15.3) and probably in *yogindraikaḥ* (§ 9.1), though this latter may be an instance of double sandhi for *yogindra ekaḥ*.

A comparatively rare type of compound is seen in *vastavyayogya* (§ 21.7); Wackernagel 2.95ea.

The nominal construction replacing finite verb forms seems to have caused the author or copyists occasional difficulties. In a few cases the nominative subject appears instead of the instrumental with a neuter passive participle: § 2.5 *viśālākṣi tadvacanam śrutvā nijām ceṭīm samāhūya bhaṇitam*; § 2.9 *manoramā tatra gatvā nijām ceṭīm samāhūya kāryam bhaṇitam*; § 3.2 *rajā 'pi . . . jyotirvido brāhmaṇān āhūya kāryam bhaṇitam* (emendation to *rājña* is very easy). Conversely, the instrumental instead of the nominative is found with an active participle: § 7.6 *brāhmaṇena tat phalam rājñe dattavān*; § 15.19 *rājñā cai 'kānte gataḥ* (emendation either to *rājā* or to *gataḥ* is in order). The instrumental seems to occur even with a finite verb: § 15.27 *rājñā kṣaṇam vicintyā 'ha* (*rājā* is a very easy emendation).

The uncertainty as to gender which has been mentioned above involves masculine and neuter nouns. At § 1.13 *anugraha* is treated as neuter. At § 6.2 *vṛttānta*, which is reported as only rarely neuter, is treated as neuter. At § 13.27 *abhiṣeka* is treated as neuter. At § 19.9, the only passage where the gender can be determined, *dīnūra* is treated as neuter. § 15.19: *rājaṅs tram para-piṇḍapraveśam jānāsi. iti prasiddhaḥ*; here we have masc. for neuter. Emendation would be easy enough, but is hardly worth making in such "dog-Sanskrit."

The manuscript begins with the two introductory verses, Uhle p. 5, vss. 1 and 2. Then its text is as follows:

āsīd ujjayano rājā sārvaabhaumo ¹ 'tithipriyaḥ
yasmād ujjayanī prābhūn nagarī 'vā 'marāvātī. (1)

§ 1. *taśya rājño dve bhārye āstām viśālākṣī manoramā ce 'ti. viśālākṣī subhagā manoramā durbhagā. viśālākṣī dvau putrau suśuve. manoramā vandhyā. tayā cintitam: dhātaḥ kiṁ karomi*

katham mama putrotpattir bhavet. ekadā manoramā siddhasena-brāhmaṇasamīpaṁ gatvā prāñjalīm kṛtvā sthitā 'bhūt. siddhasenas tu tān dīnamanasān² vilokya sasneham āha: aho manorame mamā 'ntikaṁ kimartham āgatā 'si. tayo 'ktam: svāminn aham anapatyā durbhagā ca kiṁ karomi. aham api purodhasaḥ³ prasādāt katham sapatyā bhavāmi, manasi bahudinaṁ vicārya bhavantaṁ mahānubhāvaṁ vijñāya śaraṇaṁ āgām.⁴ brāhmaṇeno 'ktam: kṣaṇam atra tiṣṭha. yathā bhavatyā tathā mama brāhmaṇye⁵ 'dānīm bhaṇitam: bho sarvāsāṁ varaṁ dadāsi, anapatyā 'haṁ punar dayitā. mamā 'nugrahaṁ bhavatā katham na kriyate. tasyārthaṁ tavā 'rthaṁ ce 'dānīm yāvad dhomaṁ vidhāya hutaśeṣaṁ pāyasapiṇḍam abhimantritaṁ⁶ dvayoh kare 'rpayāmi. ity uktvā yajña-kunḍāntikaṁ gatvā homaṁ kṛtvā homaśeṣānnaṁ piṇḍadvayam abhimantrya tayoṛ haste dattvo 'vāca: bho brāhmaṇi, imaṁ piṇḍaṁ sāyāhne snātvā śuddhatilatailena dīpakaṁ navīnaṁ prajvālyo 'daṁmukhibhūya nūtanamṛtpātre⁷ kṛtvā bhokṣyase. tava putro bhaviṣyati, vararucir nāma⁸ brahmavidāṁ śreṣṭhaḥ. aho manorame nijāntaḥpure gatvai 'vaṁ kṛtvā bhokṣyase. tava putro bhaviṣyati yasya śākaḥ pṛthivyāṁ caṣiyati, nāmataḥ prasiddho vikramādityaḥ,

kandarpa iva rūpādhyo harivaj⁹ janavallabhah
samudra iva maryādī¹⁰ kṣamayā pṛthivīsamah (2)
himakundendutulyābbhah śūraḥ sūryānśunirmalah¹¹
nānāmodasugandhādhyah śaurye¹² rāmasamah sadā (3)
nānādānaparo nityaṁ nānādharmaparāyaṇah
anekaṇṛpatiśīraḥsamabhyarcitaśāsanaḥ.¹³ (4)

§ 2. Idrśas¹⁴ tava putro bhaviṣyati. nijālayaṁ gaccha. tato manoramā sotsukā¹⁵ piṇḍam ādāya nijarājabhavane 'gamat. tatra gatvā vicārya: adyadine rājā mama samīpe katham samāyāti. bhavatu ko virodhaḥ. viśālākṣīsamīpe gatvā yāce: adya mama snānadinam, rājānaṁ¹⁶ mama grhe preṣaya. viśālākṣī tadvacanaṁ śrutvā nijāṁ ceṭīm samāhūya bhaṇitam: bho sumāle grhe rājānaṁ gatvai 'vaṁ vada mama vākyena: adyadine manoramayā saha vastavyam. sā rājasamīpe gatvā karṇe tadvaco lapitvā punar agāt. manoramā tatra gatvā nijāṁ ceṭīm samāhūya kāryaṁ bhaṇitam: bho¹⁷ ceṭike kumbhakāragrāhād ekaṁ navīnaṁ mṛtpātraṁ māṁ nīyatām.¹⁸ ceṭikā viditavr̥ttāntā¹⁹ kulālālayam²⁰ āgatya kumbha-kāravadhūm āha: kulālakāmini²¹ gaṅge manoramai 'kaṁ mṛtpātraṁ yācate.²² tayo 'ktam: kimartham. ceṭikā 'ha: siddhasenena²³ manoramāyā ekaḥ piṇḍo dattaḥ. uktaṁ ca: manorame, imaṁ

piṇḍam gatvā nūtane mṛtpātre kṛtvā bhokṣyase. tava mahānubhā-
vaḥ putro bhaviṣyati. ity ākarṇya kulālakāminī²⁴ manohlādam
kṛtvā navīnam mṛtpātram ekam ādāya svayam eva manoramānti-
kam āsāda. tasminn eva . . .²⁵ ceṭikayā²⁶ yamunā tailakārīṇī
prārthitā: śuddhatailam rājñī yācate.²⁷ yamunā tailam grhītvā
manoramāntikam agacchat. tato manoramā snātvo 'dañmukhībhuṣya
mṛtpātre piṇḍam kṛtvā yāvad bhuñkte²⁸ tāvad gaṅgā prāha: bho
svāmini²⁹ manorame vidhātrā 'ham api nirapatyā kṛtā. kavalamā-
tram³⁰ mahyam api prayaccha.³¹ gaṅgāyām ittham³² bhāṣamāṇā-
yām satyām³³ yamunā 'pi prāha: manorame mahyam api nija-
prasādam³⁴ kavalamātram dadasva, aham api vandhyā. ittham
taylor vacanam ākarṇya manoramā kṣaṇam vicintya piṇḍam
bibheda.³⁵ piṇḍārdham svayam bubhujē. piṇḍārdhasya bhāgadva-
yam kṛtvai 'kaṁ bhāgam gaṅgāyai³⁶ dattavati, ekaṁ yamunāyai.
tābhyām api bhuktam. atha siddhasenena dattapiṇḍabhakṣaṇāt³⁷
tisraḥ sagarbhabhavan.³⁸

§ 3. daśame māsi manoramā gaṅgā yamunā cai 'kasminn eva³⁹
kṣaṇe putrāṇ⁴⁰ janayām āsuḥ. rājñā⁴¹ 'pi manoramāyāḥ putrot-
pattim śrutvā jyotirvido brāhmaṇān āhūya⁴² kāryam bhaṇitam:
bho brāhmaṇāḥ, lagnaṁ vicārya bhāṇyatām kīdrṣam lagnaṁ asti
yasmin putro jātaḥ. rājño nirdeśād daivajñā lagnaṁ vicārya phalam
abruvan: bho rājan, prathamasya nāma pratiṣṭhitam vikramāditya
iti. anena samāno 'nyo rājā nā 'bhūn na bhaviṣyati na vartate.
sarvalakṣaṇasāmpūrṇo rājarājo bhaviṣyati. paraṁ ṣoḍaśavārṣiky
antardaśā yad ullaṅghya⁴³ yāsyati. tadā rājñā cintitam manasai
'va: mama jyēṣṭhaputraṁ sumukhaṁ⁴⁴ vihāya katham rājā bhaviṣ-
yati vikramaḥ. brāhmaṇānām vaco niśamya nirānando rājā brāh-
maṇebhyo dānam dattvā nijāntahpuram agacchat. etasminn antare
vikramādityakumbhakāraputratailakāraputrāns trīn imān⁴⁵ ākāṣa-
vāṇī nīje nīje grhe sthitān idam āha: yūyam traya ekāṁśabhāgināḥ,
ekasmād ekapiṇḍāt⁴⁶ trayāṇām udbhavaḥ. dvayam hatvā bhavaty
eko rājā. ity eva vicintyatām. trayo 'pi nijanijamātuḥ sakāśād⁴⁷
viditasvajanmavṛttāntā nijaprāṇarakṣaṇe sayatnā⁴⁸ anyonyam
abhavan.

§ 4. tataḥ kadācit kāle viśālākṣyā⁴⁹ yau dvau sutau sumukha-
durmukhau nijamātrmukhād⁵⁰ brāhmaṇānām mukhād vikrama-
praśaṁsām⁵¹ śrutvā viśādam gatau. ekadā tā ūcatuḥ: dhātaḥ
katham vikramo hanyate, yasmin nihata āvayo rājyam niṣkaṇṭakam
bhaviṣyati. ity evam rahovacanam kathayatos taylor manoramāyā

grhād āyāntī⁵² vikramadhātrī karpūramatī pathy āśṛnot. śrutvā tallakṣaṇaṁ manoramānte⁵³ nivedayām āsa. manoramā 'pi tan-mukhāc chrutvā⁵⁴ rodanaṁ cakāra. vikramādityo 'pi mātuh sakāsād⁵⁵ rodanakāraṇaṁ vijñāya mātaram āha: he mātara mā mā rodih.⁵⁶ manasi dhairyaṁ⁵⁷ vidhatsva. kuru mama vacanaṁ yad vadāmi. mātā vadati: kiṁ tad vacanaṁ putra. vikramo vadati: mātara tvam akhilān⁵⁸ lokān śrāvayanti muktakeśā hā putre 'ti śabdaṁ kurvanti⁵⁹ nagare paryāṇaṁ kuru. yadā lokāḥ śrāvayantīm⁶⁰ muktakeśāṁ⁶¹ hā putre 'ti śabdaṁ kurvantīm⁶² evaṁ vadiṣyanti: ⁶³ are ⁶⁴ manorame kim abhūt tava putrasya, tadā tvam evaṁ vakṣyasi: ahaṁ tailodvartanādibhir dine dine putraṁ śu-śrūṣamāṇā 'ṣṭau vatsarān⁶⁵ nināya. aṣṭavārsiko 'bhūd vikramo mayā vidyāgrhe preṣitaḥ. vikramo 'pi gurukulaṁ gatvā vidyāṁ⁶⁶ paṭhitum ārebhe. pūrvaṁ vyāyāma vidyāpāragāmy⁶⁷ ekonasoḍaṣe varṣe vikramo 'bhūt. idānīm vikrama unmatto 'bhūt. kūpe patati, vastraṁ ākulayati,⁶⁸ gālīm dadāti, anyadai 'va⁶⁹ vadati. manorame 'ti vacanaṁ śrutvā putrāt vikramād idānīm chadma bhāvena tathai 'va kurute sma. tāṁ manoramāṁ⁷⁰ tathā vikliṣyamānāṁ lokāḥ pravadanti: aho manorame kimarthaṁ rodiṣi. sā 'vocat: aho bhrātaraḥ, aho mātaraḥ, aho devāḥ, aho pitaraḥ, kiṁ karomi kva gacchāmi. vikramo vikalo 'bhūt. iti vacanaṁ sumukhadurmukhābhyāṁ⁷¹ api śrutam. rājñā śrutam. śrutvā draṣṭuṁ samāyātāḥ. parasparaṁ tā ūcatuḥ: yady eṣa vikramo 'munā prakāreṇa⁷² mṛtiṁ prāpnoti, tadā kim-arthaṁ viśadānaṁ⁷³ kriyate gotravadhabhayāt.⁷⁴ uktāṁ ca:

locane hariṇaśāvalocane mā vibhūṣaya kṛṣāṅgi kajjalaiḥ
śuddha eva yadi jīva hāra kaḥ⁷⁵ sāyako na⁷⁶ garalena lipyate. (5)

§ 5. vikramo 'pi sumukhadurmukha vilokyā 'tīvamatto 'bhūt. yad akṛtyaṁ tat karoti. tan marma mātai 'va jānāti nā 'nyaḥ. tāv api jātānandathū abhavatām. agnidāhabhayāl lokair nagarān nihsārito⁷⁷ vikramaḥ. vikramo 'pi vanāntaraṁ paribhramann ekasmin sarastīre gatvā 'camya, ekottaraśatapārthivapūjanam⁷⁸ ahaṁ kariṣya adyārabhya pratyaham iti saṁkalpam akārṣin ni-jarājyaprapṭaye. tatra sarovarastīre mṛda ekottaraśatapārthivasam-ghaṭṭanam ekena pāṇinā karoti. vedoktavidhinā 'nena saptabhir mantraiḥ pṛthak pṛthak pūjayanti.⁷⁹ haro mabheśvaraḥ cai 'va śūla-pāṇipinākadhrk,⁸⁰ śivāḥ paśupatiś cai 'va mahādeva 'ti visarjanam. anenai 'va prakāreṇa pratyaham ekottaraśatapārthivapūjām karoti. anucchiṣṭaśriphalapātreṇa⁸¹ dhūpadīpanair vedyādinā pūjām vi-dhāya rājyapārthanāntaraṁ śivabhaktiṁ yācate sma. yāce 'ham

yāce 'haṁ śiva tava caraṇāravindayor bhaktim,⁸² yāce 'haṁ yāce 'haṁ punar api tām eva tām eva.⁸³

§ 6. itthaṁ śivārcaṇaṁ kurvantaṁ sarastīre rājakīyavanacāriṇā 'valokya sumukhadurmukhāyor antikaṁ gatvā vṛttāntam ucyate⁸⁴ sma. tāv api samyag varārcāvidhiṁ nīśamya saṁkṣubdhacittau babbhūvatuḥ.⁸⁵ nijapitur agre vṛttāntam ūcatuḥ. rājā sūnvor vacaḥ śrutvā prāhā 'tmīyaṁ parīkṣakān:⁸⁶ gacchantu māmakā bhṛtyā ye cā 'nye tu vicakṣaṇāḥ. manoramāsutasyā 'dya paśyantu hara-pūjanam. tato rājājñayā lokāḥ kutūhaladidr̥kṣavaḥ⁸⁷ tatra samāgatya parīkṣāṇāḥ⁸⁸ sarasas tira āśritāḥ. te paricchannībhūya⁸⁹ yatra tatra sthitāḥ, tasya pūjāvidhiṁ⁹⁰ vilokayantaḥ.⁹¹ vikramo 'pi yathoktavidhiṇā pūjām akārṣīt. pūjānte t̥jambhā⁹² samāgatā. jñāyate mamā⁹³ 'bhīprāyaḥ. sumukhadurmukhābhyāṁ bhṛtyā mama vadhārthaṁ preṣitāḥ. te mama parīkṣāṁ⁹⁴ grahītum⁹⁵ atrai 'va pracchannā⁹⁶ caranti. iti manasai 'va vicārya maheśvarān kṣamāpaṇaṁ⁹⁷ kārayitvā 'parādhaḥ kṣantavyo mame 'ty uktvai⁹⁸ 'kottaraśatapārthivopari mūtrotsargaṁ kṛtvā⁹⁹ tenai 'va mūtrena sarvāḥ piṇḍikāḥ samārdrya¹⁰⁰ samastāṅgeṣu lepanaṁ vidhāya puriṣotsargaṁ¹⁰¹ kṛtvā pārthivamṛttikayā¹⁰² gudaṁ viśuddhaṁ kṛtvā nṛtyaṁ kartum ārebhe mantraṁ idaṁ paṭhan:¹⁰³ śiva śiva bho śrīmahādeva śambho. sarvaiḥ parīkṣakair etat¹⁰⁴ karma dṛṣtvā kathitam: aho bhrātarāḥ pūjām¹⁰⁵ tu samyakprakāreṇa kṛtve 'dam evā 'nucitaṁ kṛtam. yat pārthivopari mūtrotsargaḥ¹⁰⁶ kṛtaḥ, tarhi nā 'yaṁ sāvadhānaḥ. satyaṁ unmatto nā 'tra saṁdehaḥ. calyatām gehaṁ t̥vajyatām¹⁰⁷ ayaṁ vikṣiptaḥ. itthaṁ¹⁰⁸ ābhāṣya sarva ujjayiniṁ puriṁ gatāḥ. rājā¹⁰⁹ ujjāyanaṣvā 'gre gatvā vṛttāntam abruvan. rājā 'pi vikramasya tādr̥śīm ceṣṭām śrutvā vikṣiptaṁ jñātvā sumukhadurmukhau prati prāvocat: aho putrau yuvāṁ eva rājānau bhavatam.¹¹⁰ tatrai 'vā 'tmamukham ādarśe nirikṣya vṛddho 'haṁ iti jñātvā sāmanta mahāmantryṛtvikpurodhasācāryān¹¹¹ etān anyān api samāhūya vākyaṁ jagāda: he, adyārabhya sumukhasya rājyaṁ. ātmīyaṁ uṣṇīṣaṁ sumukhasya śīrasi saṁveṣṭya tilakaṁ kṛtvā vane pracaḷito rājā. purād vinirgatya rājā sumukhaṁ samāhūya kathitavān: he, adyārabhya bhartṛharināmā tvam. sa tu nīśeitam unmattaḥ. tasmād āśaṅkā¹¹² na kāryā. sa yadi mariṣyati tadā mariṣyaty eva. no cej jīvati. tadā vikṣipta eva rājyāṁśabhaḡī na bhaviṣyati. evaṁ śikṣāpaṇaṁ¹¹³ dattvā svayaṁ vane jagāma. sa bhartṛhari¹¹⁴ rājyaṁ karoti. dharmataḥ prajāḥ śāsati.¹¹⁵

§ 7. tatrai 'ko brāhmaṇo bhuvaneśvarīṁ devatām ārādhayām

āsa. tayā ¹¹⁶ tasmai phalaikam dattam. tasya prabhāvaḥ kathitaḥ :
yaḥ phalam bhuṅkte so 'jarāmaratvaṁ prāpnoti. brāhmaṇaḥ phalam
grhītvā svagrham āgataḥ. tatra snātvā pūjām vidhāya yāvat phalam
bhuṅkte tāvad brāhmaṇyā bhaṇitam : bho kiṁ te 'jarāmaratvena.
etat phalam rājñā ¹¹⁷ samarpaya. brāhmaṇena tat phalam rājñe
dattavān, prabhāvaḥ kathitaḥ. ¹¹⁸ rājñā devyai piṅgalāyai dattam.
piṅgalayā māndurikāya dattam. māndurikena veśyāyai dattam.
veśyayā rājñe punaḥ samarpitam. rājā tat phalam punar grhītvā
veśyām prechati : tvayā kuto labdham. veśyayā bhaṇitam : māndu-
rikena dattam. māndurikaṁ samāhūya rājā punaḥ prechati : tvayai
'tat phalam kuto labdham. cintām vinā ¹¹⁹ vada. teno 'ktam :
devyayā piṅgalayā mahyam dattam. rājā satyaṁ jñātvā 'ntahpure
gatvā devīm samāhūya phalavṛttāntam prechati : bho tatphalasya
kiṁśaṁ svādu. ¹²⁰ tayā bhaṇitam : iti hṛdyaṁ vaktum na śakyate.
rājñā ¹²¹ mṛṣāvacanabhāṣaṇāc cintitam :

yām cintayāmi satatām mayi sā viraktā

sā cā 'nyam icchati janam sa jano 'nyasaktaḥ

asmatkṛte ca paritusyati kācid anyā

dhik tām ca tam ca madanaṁ ca imām ca mām ca. (6)

iti vicintya rājā virakto vadati : he piṅgale mām vinā bhavatyā kiṁ
kartavyam. tayo 'ktam : tvām vinā prāṇāns ¹²² tvajāmi. tā anyāḥ
striyo 'svāminīs tiṣṭhantu. ¹²³ rājñā vicāritam. uktaṁ ca :

arthanāśaṁ manastāpaṁ grhe duḥcaritāni ca

vañcanaṁ cā 'pamānaṁ ca matimān na prakāśayet. (7)

§ 8. iti vicārya chalena ¹²⁴ mṛgayām gataḥ. tatra gatvā mrga-
rudhireṇā 'tmavastram avalipyā 'tmavastrakārīṇaḥ kare dattvā rājā
kathitavān : he karmakārin ¹²⁵ grhaṁ gatvā bhavatā vaktavyam : rājā
vyāghreṇa vyāpāditaḥ. idaṁ mama vastraṁ rājñīm darśaya. sa tatra
gatvā tat sarvaṁ rājño 'ktaṁ vṛttāntam nivedya rājñihaste tad vas-
traṁ dattvai 'vaṁ vadati : rājā vyāghreṇa vyāpāditaḥ. devyā cin-
titam : vāṭikāyām saubhāgyavṛkṣaṁ mayā drṣṭavyam. sā puṣpavā-
ṭikāyām ¹²⁶ praviśya tam vṛkṣaṁ haritam vilokya cintātūrā vadati :
he vidhātaḥ, ¹²⁷ kiṁ karomi, vṛkṣāt svāmino maraṇam ¹²⁸ na labhyate.
idānīm mama maraṇam śreṣṭham. iti vicintya tatrā 'gatya hā nātha
hā nāthe 'ti jalpayitvā mṛtā bhūmau patati. etat karma maraṇān-
tikaṁ vilokya śighragāminā ¹²⁹ tena rājño 'gre kathitam. rājā tac
chruṭvā mṛgayām tyaktvā śighraṁ purīm samāyātaḥ. tam mṛtām
drṣṭvā tasyā mukhaṁ kroḍe kṛtvā nadītire ¹³⁰ niśasāda, hā piṅgale
hā piṅgala iti jalpan.

§ 9. etasminn eva kâle yogindraikaḥ kuto 'py āgataḥ. ātmamr-
daḥsthālīm¹³¹ bhūmau nikṣipyā rodanaṁ karoti: hā mṛdaḥsthālī¹³²
kva gatā 'si. tvām vinā katham bhavāmaḥ. rājā tadudīritam
ākarnya yogindraṁ provāca: bho mṛdaḥsthālīm¹³³ prati kiṁ rodiṣi.
yogindreṇo 'ktam: mama sahāyakāriṇīm prati katham na rodimi.¹³⁴
tām hastayoḥ kṛtvā bhikṣām gṛhṇāmi. punas tām rātrau śirasi
kandukīkaromi.¹³⁵ punas tām culhīm nidhāyā 'nnaṁ pacāmi. punas
tatrai 'vā 'dmi. punas tām grīṣme chattrīkaromi¹³⁶ varṣartau¹³⁷
ca. tām katham na rodimi.¹³⁴ tvām piṅgale piṅgala iti rudan¹³⁸ kiṁ
tava karmakāriṇīm nirmanīm raṇḍām prati kiṁ rodiṣi. rājñā cin-
titam: ayaṁ ko 'pi mahāśayo yogindraḥ. iti vimṛśya¹³⁹ tasya pāḍau
gṛhītvā vadati: bho yogindra mām śiṣyaṁ kuru. teno 'ktam: etat
phalaṁ bhuṅkṣva. mama samo bhaviṣyasi.¹⁴⁰ acirāt siddhim avāps-
yasi. rājā tathā kṛtvā yogindreṇa saha vane pracalitaḥ. dur-
mukhaṁ samāhūya rājyabhāraṁ dattvā gataḥ. tatra durmukho
rājyaṁ karoti.

§ 10. ekadā durmukho 'pi mrgayām gataḥ. tatra rākṣasena
ghorarūpeṇa vyāpāditaḥ. punaḥ śiṣṭā yaṁ yaṁ rājānaṁ kurvanti
taṁ taṁ rātrau khādati.¹⁴¹ evam ujjayanī rājyaśūnyā jātā. ekas-
miṁś cit kâle vikramo 'pi deśāntaraṁ paribhraman svakīyodaraṁ
katham katham cid bibharti. ekadā tena cintitam: kṣatriyāṇāṁ
maraṇaṁ śreṣṭhaṁ na bhikṣāṭanam. uktaṁ ca:

yathā hy ekena cakreṇa na rathasya gatiḥ bhavet

evam puruṣakāreṇa vinā daivaṁ na sidhyati.¹⁴² (8)

tat karomi¹⁴³ yathā rājyaṁ prāpnuyām. ekasmin divase vaṇigja-
nānāṁ vohitthaṁ samudrād uttīrṇaṁ samāyāntaṁ drṣṭvā vikramaś
caurāyate.¹⁴⁴ te vaṇigjanās tatra nadīm drṣṭvā śiviraṁ cakruḥ.
tatra vikramo 'pi nadikūle nilīyo 'paviṣṭaḥ. rajanīmukhe śrgālā¹⁴⁵
militvā rāvaṁ vineduḥ.¹⁴⁶ teṣāṁ vaṇigjanānāṁ śākuniko brāhmaṇo
'vocat: he vaṇigjanāḥ, adyai 'kaś cauraḥ samāyātaḥ, nilīyo 'paviṣṭaḥ.
sa tu prasthāya kiṁ grahiṣyati¹⁴⁷ 'ti na jāne. ta evaṁ śrutvā
jāgarūkā eva sthitāḥ. punaḥ śrgālair bhaṇitam. śākunikaḥ punar
abravīt: nadyāḥ pūre¹⁴⁸ vāhyamāno mṛtakaḥ samāyāti. tasya kaṭau
ratnacatuṣṭayaṁ uddyotitaṁ vartate.¹⁴⁹ vikrameṇa tad vākyam
śrutvā nadīpūre drṣṭim¹⁵⁰ dattvā jāgarūkaḥ sthitaḥ. nadīpūrake
mṛtakaṁ drṣṭvā ratnāny avalokya brāhmaṇavacanāṁ satyaṁ jñātvā
bāhubhyāṁ antaraṁ¹⁵¹ nadīmadhyān mṛtakaṁ samānīya ratnāny
ādāya punas tatrai 'va sthitaḥ. tṛtīyaprahare punaḥ śrgālā avadan.
punaḥ śākunikenō 'ktam: kenā 'pi nadīmadhyān mṛtako nihīkāsitaḥ.

tanmāṁsaṁ bhakṣayitvā 'śīrvādaṁ vadanti.¹⁵² yena mṛtako niḥkā-sitaḥ¹⁵³ sa tū 'jjayanīśvaro bhaviṣyati¹⁵⁴ śvo vā paraśvo vā. vikramo 'pi tad vacaḥ śrutvo 'jjayanīm¹⁵⁵ pracalitaḥ. te vaṇigjanā brāhmaṇaṁ nindanti: bho brāhmaṇa, evaṁ mṛṣāvākyam bhavatā kutrā 'pi na vaktavyam. kutro 'jjayanī kva cā 'sau cauraḥ kva rājyam.

§ 11. vikramo 'pi pathi gacchann ekolmukaṁ paśyati. tatro 'lmuke vāṇī saṁjātā: bho varaṁ brūhi. vikramo 'pi varaṁ yācate.¹⁵⁶ yadi tuṣṭo 'si, idānīm ujjayanīm prāpnuyām. punaḥ tvaṁ ko devo 'si. teno 'ktam: bhairavo 'ham. kenā 'pi mamo 'pāsanā kṛtā. mama bhakṣyabhojyasāmagrīm¹⁵⁷ vihāya mayo 'ktam: bho tavā 'deśāt samāgato 'haṁ kṣudhitaḥ.¹⁵⁸ māṁsair mām saṁtarpaya. teno 'ktam: mṛtakasya vāmakarasthāne dakṣiṇakarasthāne pādayoḥ sthāne manuṣyā vartante, tān bhuṅkṣva. tatra tatra na dṛṣṭam. taṁ mṛṣāvādinam dṛṣṭvā mayā bhakṣitavyam. adya tvaṁ netramudraṇaṁ kuru. ujjayanīm prāpnoṣi. vikramo 'pi netronmilanaṁ kṛtvo 'jjayanīm prāpitaḥ.

§ 12. tatrai 'kā¹⁵⁹ brāhmaṇī rodati sma. tatra gatvā vikramaḥ prechati: kim rodasi. sā 'vocat: adya mama putrasya rājyam. tasmād rodāmi. mā rodīḥ. adyā 'haṁ rājā bhavāmi. tad vacaḥ śrutvā yathā śuṣke vrihau jalaṁ nipatati, tathā brāhmaṇī sānandā 'bhūt. tasmin kṣaṇe rājadvārapālakaḥ samāyāti: he brāhmaṇi kva¹⁶⁰ tava putraḥ kva cā 'sau. brāhmaṇyā bhaṇitam: ayaṁ mama putraḥ. tena hastau grhītvā śiṣṭāntike samānītaḥ. śiṣṭās taṁ vilokya vimanaso¹⁶¹ rājyaṁ dattavantaḥ.

§ 13. vikramo 'pi rājyaṁ prāpya śiṣṭān prechati: bho śiṣṭāḥ, yuṣmākaṁ rājā 'haṁ na vā. tair uktam: bhavān asmākaṁ sarvathai 'va rājā. yady ahaṁ rājā mamā 'jñāṁ kuru. prati grāmaṁ dūtān preṣayadhvam. mamo 'pāyanaṁ caturvidhaṁ carvyam¹⁶² coṣyam lehyam peyam madhu māṁsam etāni samānīyāntām. śiṣṭaiḥ preṣyāḥ saṁpreritāḥ. te grhād grhād grāmād grāmād upāyanāni samājahruḥ. tat sarvaṁ maṁcānake sthāpayitvā rajanīmukhe śiṣṭān viṣṛjya khadgaṁ grhītvā jāgarūkaḥ sthitaḥ. kṣudhito rākṣasaḥ samāyātaḥ. taṁ vilokya khādituṁ pracalitaḥ. vikramas taṁ samāyāntaṁ nirīkṣya vacanaṁ vadati: bho, idāṁ bhakṣyabhojyam¹⁶³ addhi. paścān mama māṁsena¹⁶⁴ saṁtuṣyasi. teno 'ktam: evaṁ bhavatu. rajanyaṁ tat sarvaṁ bhakṣitam. pānaṁ kṛtvā mattaḥ prahrṣṭo yayau. punaḥ prātaḥ śiṣṭaiḥ samāyātāḥ. taṁ rājānaṁ sajivaṁ dṛṣṭvā trāsitā babbhūvuḥ. ye¹⁶⁵ vṛddhatarāḥ te bruvanti: anena rājñā sanāthā vayam. dvitiyadivase rājñā tathai

'va kṛtam. sa tu rākṣasaḥ tasmin samaye punar āyātaḥ. caturvidham bhojanam kṛtvā sthitaḥ. rājñā prṣtaḥ: bho vihāyasini¹⁶⁶ tvam kim kim jānāsi. sa vadati: sarvaṁ jānāmi. rājño 'ktam: tarhi mamā 'yuh kiyat. teno 'ktam: śatāyuh tvam. punā rājño 'ktam: mamā 'yuṣi śūnyaṁ patitam. nyūnādhikaṁ kuru. teno 'ktam: nyūnādhike mama śaktir nā'sti. punā rājño 'ktam: tarhi bhakṣyabhojyaṁ na dāsyāmi. mayā saha saṁgrāmaṁ kuru. teno 'ktam: chalito 'ham bhavātā. varaṁ brūhi. rājño 'ktam: yadi tuṣṭo mama saṁkate sāhāyaṁ¹⁶⁷ kartavyam. teno 'ktam: evam astu. iti varaṁ¹⁶⁸ dattvā rākṣaso gataḥ. punaḥ prātar utthāya śiṣṭā ṛtvikpurodhānvāgatā¹⁶⁹ rājadvaraṁ samāyātāḥ. rājānaṁ vilokya prāhuḥ: ¹⁷⁰ bho rājan jyotirvidaṁ prṣtvā punye 'hni tava rājābhiṣekaṁ kartavyam. tasmin brāhmaṇamukhān śrute¹⁷¹ 'hni saptadvīpavatīm pṛthvīm vyāghracarmaṇy ālikhya¹⁷² sīnhāsane saṁsthāpya nāgarikā¹⁷³ varṇāḥ sarve 'pi rājyābhiṣekaṁ kṛtavantaḥ. etasminn antare nijakulasakalaparakāśanaikamārtanḍo¹⁷⁴ vikramādityo mahīm¹⁷⁵ pālayām āsa. tasmin rājñi mahīm śāsati sarve varṇāḥ svadharmanuraktāḥ.

dhanvantarikṣapaṇakāmarasīnhaśaṅku-
vetālabhattaḡhaṭakarparakālīdāsāḥ¹⁷⁶
khyāto varāhamihīro nṛpateḥ sabhāyām
ratnāni vai vararucir¹⁷⁷ nava vikramasya. (9)

§ 14. yadai 'va vikramo rājyapṛāptas¹⁷⁸ tadai 'va tailakāreṇa cintitam: dvayaṁ hatvā¹⁷⁹ bhavaty eko rājā, ity āhā 'śarīravāk.¹⁸⁰ kim kuryām. dhātaḥ, rājakulālau hantuṁ nā 'ham alam. paraṁ¹⁸¹ tv ekaṁ karomi. vaitālikaṁ jānāmi. tat karomi. yad itaḥ krośa-mātropari śiṁśipāvṛkṣe mṛtakā avalambitās¹⁸² tiṣṭhanti, tatrā 'ham api gatvā dīrgharajjvā nijagalaṁ¹⁸³ baddhvā mṛtakaśatāntarālamadhye sarvajanāvijñātamarmā¹⁸⁴ 'valambitas¹⁸⁵ tiṣṭhāmi niśi divā svakarmābhirata¹⁸⁶ iti. atrāntare kulālenā 'pi cintitam: rājābhiyā yady ahaṁ gehe pramādhbhūtas tiṣṭhāmi, tadā rājā tailakāraṁ mām¹⁸⁷ cai 'katra kṛtvā hanti. ahaṁ tau hantuṁ nā 'lam. paraṁ¹⁸¹ tv ekaṁ karomi. ahaṁ parapiṇḍapraveśi rājā ca. ujjayanīm¹⁸⁸ tyaktvā¹⁸⁹ deśāntaraṁ yāmi. ity uktvā deśāntare samudratīre gataḥ.

§ 15. tatra gatvā kanthāḥ¹⁹⁰ paridhāya yogino rūpam āsthāya ratnaśatadvayaṁ alabhat. ṣaṣṭhe māsi tad ratnaṁ gṛhītvo 'jjayanīm āgataḥ. tatra nālikeraikaṁ gṛhītva tasmin ratnam ekaṁ nikṣipyā rājñāḥ sabhāyām āgatya rājña āśiṣaṁ dattvā rājño haste nālikeram

adāt. tatra kṣaṇam sthitvā śiviraṁ gataḥ. punas tatrai 'vā 'yāt
 ṣaṇmāsam. ekadā ṣaṣṭhe māsi punas tathai 'va yāvad rājño haste
 dadāti, tāvan markaṭena grhītvā nijaśirasā vidāritam. tasmād
 ratnaṁ ¹⁹¹ bhūmau patitam. tattejasā sarvasabho 'ddyotitā. ¹⁹² tat
 kautukaṁ sabhāsadbhir janair dr̥ṣṭam cintitam. rājā 'pi sāsca-
 yaṁ ¹⁹³ brūte: yogīndra tvayā kimarthaṁ nālikere ratnaṁ ¹⁹⁴
 samarpitam. yogīndro 'vadat: ṣaṇmāsa eva yāvanti nālikerāni
 dattāni ¹⁹⁵ tāvanti ratnagarbhāni ¹⁹⁶ pramāṇam iti jānihi. tato
 rājā yogino vacanam ākarṇya bhāṇḍāgārikam āhūyā 'pṛcehat: he
 bhāṇḍāgārika, etat sarvaṁ ratnagarbhaṁ nālikeram mahyam ¹⁹⁷
 ādarśaya. tannirdeśād ¹⁹⁸ bhāṇḍāgāriko parigaṇayitvā rājñe datta-
 vān. rājā ¹⁹⁹ sarvāni phalāni ratnagarbhāni dr̥ṣṭvā sānandaṁ
 yoginaṁ āha: bho yogīndra manobhilaṣitaṁ varaṁ yācasva. sarvaṁ
 pūrayiṣyāmi. yogī prāha: rājan yady ekānte calasi tadā nivedayāmi.
 rājñā ca 'kānte gataḥ. punar āha yogī: rājaṅs ²⁰⁰ tvaṁ para-
 piṇḍapraveśaṁ jānāsi, iti prasiddhaḥ. mamai 'ko mṛtaḥ śuko
 vidyate. tvam imaṁ jīvāpaya. rājo ²⁰¹ 'vāca: tarhi bhadram.
 yāvad rājā prāṇān nigṛhya śukaṁ ²⁰² praviśati, tāvad yogīndro
 nijaprāṇān dakṣiṇamuṣṭau ²⁰³ nidhāya sajjībhūya sthitaḥ. ²⁰⁴ etas-
 minn antare rājño 'pi prāṇāḥ svāṅgān ²⁰⁵ nihsṛtya śukapiṇḍe
 praviśṭāḥ. yogīndrasya prāṇā rājapiṇḍam sūnyaṁ jñātvā hr̥dy evā
 'viśan. ²⁰⁶ yāvac chukaṁ hanti, tāvac chabdaṁ kṛtvō 'ddīya ²⁰⁷
 palāyitaḥ. rājā ²⁰⁸ kṣaṇam vicintyā 'ha: yogīndro mṛtaḥ. kṣaṇa-
 mātraṁ mṛśānutāpaṁ kṛtvā janaiḥ kuṭīm kārayitvā yoginaṁ
 nikṣipyā ²⁰⁹ kuṭīmudraṇam kṛtvā śukamāraṇe kṛtaniścayo 'bhūt.

§ 16. tataḥ prabhṛti ²¹⁰ vikramādityarājyopabhogam yogy eva
 karoti. rājāmātyo rājamahiṣyaś ca ye cā 'nye nikaṭavartinas ²¹¹
 te ke 'pi nai 'va jānate. ekadā rājā mṛgayūn upāhūya ²¹² sādaraṁ
 vacanam āha: bho vyādhāḥ, nagaraprāntavanavāsino yāvantaḥ
 śukās tāvantaḥ saṁniyamyā 'nīyantām. bhavadbhyah prati śukaṁ
 mayai ²¹³ 'kaḥ śivāṅko dātavyaḥ. tato rājanirdeśāt ²¹⁴ sarveṣu . . . ²¹⁵
 pulindā jīvataḥ ²¹⁶ śukān niyamya piṇjare kṛtvā ²¹⁷ rājñe dadati. ²¹⁸
 rājā tebhyo mūlyaṁ dattvā śukān āḍāyai ²¹⁹ 'kaikaṁ svapāṇinā
 hanti sma. evaṁ krameṇa trimāsamādhye prāntanivāsinaḥ śukā
 nihataḥ. tato vyādhair āgatya rājā vijñaptaḥ: bho, atra vane śukā
 na santi 'dānim. bho bhrātaraḥ, deśāntarāc chukā ānīyantām. ²²⁰
 mūlyaṁ prati śukaṁ rajatamudrām dāsyāmi. rājño vacanam
 ākarṇya lobhāt kṣṇamānasāḥ sarvā varṇā deśāntarāc chukān
 niyamya rājñe prayacchanti. ekadā 'gatya lokair uktam: mahā-
 rāje ²²¹ 'dāniṁ pañcaśatakrōṣaparyantaṁ ²²² śukā na santi. rājño

'ktam: yadi 'dānīm śukā²²³ ānīyante tadā prati śukam ekam dīnāraṁ dadāmi. lobhavyākulacetasaḥ śukānveṣaṇe yatas tato nikhilalokāḥ paribabhramuḥ.²²⁴

§ 17. athai 'ko jaratpulindo vanād vanam parvatāt parvatam paryaṭan kailāsoṇānte²²⁵ parvatam ekam apaśyat. tasmin paryante²²⁶ śālmalitarum apaśyat. tatra gatvā pulindaḥ śālmalau drṣṭīm dattvā 'cintayat: asmin śukā nivasanti. jālam āropayāmi. ity uktvā jālam ādāya sarvāsu caturdikṣu²²⁷ jālam āropya svayam uttatāra. tattate²²⁸ yāvac chayanam karoti tāvac chukapaṅktayas tā api saṁtatāḥ.²²⁹ vikramo 'nyān śukān vadanti: bho śukāḥ, vyādhenā 'gatya jālam āropitam. tatra sarve saṁjātāḥ. kiṁ kariṣyāmaḥ. śukā ūcuḥ: yathā bhavadādeśaḥ. bhavantaḥ sarve mṛtakībhūtās tiṣṭhantu, sa hi jīvata eva śukān gṛhṇāti²³⁰ na mṛtān. mama vacaḥ śrūyatām. yadā vyādho 'muṁ tarum āruhya śukān mṛtibhūtān drakṣyati, tadā piṅjare na kariṣyati. bhūmāv eva pātayiṣvati. tadā sarvair mṛtakalpais tāvan no 'ddīya saṁtaritavyam yāvad²³¹ aham śabdaṁ na karomi. ekam eva mām²³² vyādho grahiṣyati. pareṣāṁ upakāraṁ tu karomi. iti vikramaśukasya vacanam śrutvā sarve mṛtakībhūtāḥ sthitāḥ. etasminn eva 'ntare suptotthito vyādho 'valokya saṁjātān śukān avalokya vṛkṣam āruhya krameṇā 'dhaḥśākhinivāsinaḥ śukān mṛtakān nirikṣya bhūmau pātayati. tato vṛkṣaśironivāsinaṁ vikramaṁ yadā paśyati, tadā sajiṣvaḥ pāṇinā dhṛtaḥ. yadā dhṛtas tadā teno 'ccaiḥ śabdaḥ kṛtaḥ. tasmin śabde kṛte sati bhūmisthāḥ śukā uddīya palāyitāḥ. vyādhaḥ sānutāpo 'bhūt. kṣaṇam vicintya vikramaṁ piṅjare kṛtvo 'ttrina ujjayanīm pracalitaḥ.

§ 18. vikramaśukam prati sa kruddho²³³ bahudhā saṁtarjayan gālir²³⁴ dadat,²³⁵ ekadā mārgamadhya āgacchan madhyadine ghanachāyam vaṭam āśṛitya piṅjaram svaśirobhāge dhṛtvā svayam suṣvāpa. suptaṁ vijñāya śuko brūte: bho vyādha. vāratrayam āha. vyādho brūte: ko mām āhvayati. śuko brūte: aham. vyādho 'vadat: kimartham.²³⁶ śuko 'vadat: aham tvām pṛcchāmi, yadi matto nivedayasi. so 'vadat: pṛccha pṛccha. śuko 'vadat: kimartham mām piṅjare kṛtvā nayasi. so 'vadat: are vikramā-dityāya tvām dāsyāmi. śuko 'vadat: rājā mām²³⁷ ādāya kiṁ kariṣyati. so 'vadat: haniṣyasi. śuko 'vadat: kimartham. so 'vadat: are, ekadā rājā yoginā sārddham mantram kartum raho gataḥ. yogī mṛto na jñāyate kena hetunā. tataḥ prabhṛti rājā vikṣiptamatir abhūt. śukān eva hanti. prathamam prati śukam

śivāṅko datto maulyam, punā raupyamudrā mūlyam, punar dvayam, punaś catuṣṭayam, idānīm dīnāram ekaṁ dadāti. śuko 'vadat: aho vyādha yadi mamai 'kaṁ vacaḥ śṛṇoṣi, tadā bravīmi.²³⁸ so 'vadat: kathaya. śuko 'vadat: yadi lakṣaṭaṅkaṁ dāpayāmi, tadā mām muñcasi. so 'vadat: tavai 'sa²³⁹ kutaḥ. śuko 'vadat: yadi lakṣaṭaṅkaṁ dāpayāmi, rājñe na dadāsi, tadā dāpayāmi. so 'vadat: kasmāt. śuko 'vadat: dattakaśreṣṭheḥ sutā vidyāvati. tasyā eva²⁴⁰ mām arpayasi.²⁴¹ tadā sā tubhyaṁ lakṣaṭaṅkaṁ dāsyati. so 'vadat: yadi sā na dadāti. śuko 'vadat: tadā rājñe dāsyasi.

§ 19. manasā²⁴² nīścayaṁ vidhāyo 'jjayanīm²⁴³ rātrau praviśya nijālayam ājagāma. bhāryā vyādham alabdhaśukaṁ māsatrayopari gṛham āgataṁ vilokya gālīpūrvakaṁ sakrodhaṁ vacanam āha: are dagdhaśmaśro matīśrāntais tāvatkālaṁ gamayitvā 'gato 'si. pañjare śukās²⁴⁴ tu bahavo na dṛśyante. vyādho 'vadat: are kānte,²⁴⁵ kailāsakandaropānte śālmalau mahatā kaṣṭena mayā śukasahasraṁ²⁴⁶ labdham. paraṁ tv anena śukena śukānām īśitrā chadma²⁴⁷ kṛtaṁ yataḥ sarve palāyitaḥ. atha sa eva²⁴⁸ jīvan dhṛtaḥ. vyādhi prāha: ayam api kathaṁ na hataḥ. kim anenai 'kena yadi dīnāram ekaṁ na prāptam. vyādho brūte: idānīm tvām nītaḥ. pathi śrānto²⁴⁹ vyādhīm²⁵⁰ maireyaṁ pātuṁ²⁵¹ yācitavān. tayā nītaṁ pītaṁ maireyam.²⁵² vyādho bhāryām āha: śuko²⁵³ hanyatām. asya mānsam admi. vyādhi bhartur nirdeśād²⁵⁴ yāvat pañjarān niḥsārayitvā hantūṁ . . .²⁵⁵ tāvac chuko brūte: dhātār aham idānīm anayā vyāpāditaḥ. kim karomi. paraṁ vadāmi. śuko 'vadat: aho vyādhi,²⁵⁶ yadi tubhyaṁ ṭaṅkānām lakṣaṁ dāpayāmi, tadā mām muñcasi. tayo 'ktam: tarhi kathaṁ na muñcāmi. paraṁ tu tvayā labdhavyaṁ kutra. śuko 'vocat: yadi mama kathanāṁ karoṣi, mām dattakaśreṣṭher duhitur antike nayāsi. tubhyaṁ ṭaṅkānām lakṣaṁ nijamūlyam dāpayiṣyāmi. śrutvā śukavaco vyādhi niśi pañjarastham śukam ādāya vidyāvati . . . :²⁵⁷ ekaḥ paṭhitākhilavidyaḥ²⁵⁸ śuko 'sti. mama bhartrā²⁵⁹ kailāsaprānte labdhaḥ.²⁶⁰ vidyāvati vyādhīm āha: kathayā 'sya mūlyam. vyādhi prāha: yad eva śuko nija-mūlyam vadati, tad eva dehi. vidyāvati śukam āha: bho śuka,²⁶¹ ātmamūlyam vada. śuko 'vadat: ṭaṅkānām lakṣam ekam. śukād ākarṇya vidyāvati daśāyutaṁ ṭaṅkānām nijahāram adān²⁶² niḥ-sāryya vyādhi taṁ hāraṁ nītvā haṭṭe²⁶³ tittiram ekaṁ gṛhītvā niṣpādyā bhartāraṁ bhojayām āsa.

§ 20. etasminn antare vidyāvati nijacitraśālāyām sapiñjaram śukam gavākṣe kṛtvo 'pari vastrenā 'cchādya yatra sete tatra śiro-

bhāge 'vasthāpya vṛttāntaṁ prcchati. śuko 'vadat: vidyāvati, vikramādityarājā 'ham. yo rājyaṁ karoti, sa tu yogī bhavati. tena mama sevā śaṇmāsi ²⁶⁴ kṛtā. ratnaṁ kṛtvā nālikeram ekaṁ pratidināṁ ²⁶⁵ samarpayām āsa. śaṣṭhe māsi mama karān markaṭena grhītvā vidāritam. tasmād ratnaṁ ekaṁ bhūmau patitam. tad āścaryaṁ dr̥ṣṭvā yoginaṁ praty aham avocam: ²⁶⁶ bho yogin, tvayā kimartham etad ānītam. bho yogiṁs ²⁶⁷ tava kaṁ ²⁶⁸ kāmaṁ pūrayāmi. punar yoginaḥ sarvaṁ pūrvavṛttāntaṁ nivedya: vidyāvati, tadārabhya śuko 'ham. itthaṁ śukoditaṁ niśamya vidyāvati sānandam āha: dhairyāṁ kuru, yāvat ²⁶⁹ tava kṛte yatnaṁ karomi.

§ 21. etasminn antare dattakaśreṣṭher ²⁷⁰ duhitāvidyārūpam ākarṇya rājā nijāmātyān vivāhacaryān ²⁷¹ dattakasamnidhānaṁ praiśayat. ²⁷² tatra gatvā 'mātyāḥ ²⁷³ sādhum abruvan: bho sādho, nijaduhitarān vivāhārthaṁ dehi. no ced dāsyasi, rājā balātkāreṇā 'pahariṣyati. śrutvā mantrivacaḥ sādhuḥ śokasamdigdhamānasa ²⁷⁴ uvāca vacanaṁ prājño mantriṇaḥ purato rudan: sa deśas tatra vastavyavogyo na bhavati, yatra rakṣako bhakṣakaḥ. rājā mama mitram. yathā rājñaḥ svasutā ²⁷⁵ tathā mama. idānīm rājā vikṣipto jāto nijaduhitāṁ eva pariṇeṣyati. ahaha yataḥ prabhṛti ²⁷⁶ rājā yoginā sārddhaṁ gataḥ, tadavadhi rājā vikṣiptacinto 'bhūt. uktaṁ ca:

rāmo hemamṛgaṁ na vetti nahuṣo yāne yunakti ²⁷⁷ dvijān
viprasyai 'kasavatsadhenuharane jātā matiś cā 'rjune
dyūte bhrātṛcatuṣṭayāṁ ca mahiṣīm dharmātmajo dattavān
prāyaḥ satpuruṣo vināśasamaye buddhyā parityajyate. (10)

§ 22. evamādinī vākyaṇi kathayitvā yathā rājanirdeśa ²⁷⁸ ity eva bhāṣya mantriṇo visarjayaṁ āsa. svayaṁ śokasamtaptamānasah paryaṅke ²⁷⁹ suṣvāpa rājakṛtaṁ dhyāvan. atha taṁ pitaraṁ suptaṁ vijñāya vidyāvati gatvo 'tthāpye 'daṁ vacanam āha: aho pitar mā bhaiṣiḥ. utthiṣṭhā 'nnaṁ bhuṅkṣva. ekāṁ āśāṅkāṁ tvāṁ prcchāmi. tāṁ tvaṁ dūrīkuru. pito 'tthito 'vadat: putri vada. sā brūte: tāta bhartuḥ strī kadā bhavati. pitā prāha: yadā pitrā samkalpo ²⁸⁰ diyate dakṣiṇapārśvād vāmapārśva upaviśati. ity ākarṇya vidyāvati pitaram āśvāṣya tadvṛttāntaṁ śukaṁ nivedya kṣaṇaṁ paryaṅkam āruhya pitaraṁ samāhūya lagnadināṁ vicārayitvā rājño mantriṇaḥ ²⁸¹ preṣayām āsa. rājā 'pi lagnam āśāḍya vivāhasāmagrīm kārayām āsa.

§ 23. etasminn antare vidyāvati vāyasam ekaṁ vyāpāḍya nija-paryaṅkataḥ ²⁸² samsthāpya śukaṁ ²⁸³ sajjikṛtya rājñe sakhīm

preṣayām āsa: bho sakhi, rājasamīpe gatve 'ti tvayā bhaṇitam: bho mahārāja, vidyāvatisaṁdiṣṭam vastu śṛṇusva.²⁸⁴ dinadvayād ūrdhvaṁ bhavantam āhvayati. rahaḥ kiṁcid vadiṣyati. sā tatra gatvā rājānam siṁhāsanaṣṭhaṁ nirīkṣyā 'ntikaṁ gatve 'dam āha: bho rājan vidyāvatyā tvam eka eva samāhūtaḥ. kiṁcid rahovicāram²⁸⁵ kariṣyati. janyā lokā vivāhadine yāsyanti.²⁸⁶ tato rāje 'dam ākarma sānandamanāḥ kṛtālāṁkāra²⁸⁷ ekākī vidyāvaticitraśālām ājagāma. rājānam upaveśya svayaṁ pitur antikam gatve 'dam āha: bho pitā rājā citraśālāyām vidyate. tvam kuṭumbaḥ pracchannābhūya²⁸⁸ samantato 'valokaya. ahaṁ rājāntikaṁ gatvā kiṁcid vaco vadiṣyāmi. pitaram ādiṣya vidyāvati rājasamnidhau²⁸⁹ bhūmāv upaviśya rājānam āha: bho rājan tava strī bhaviṣyāmi pitṛdattā. āvayor antarālam kim api ne 'ti. iti matvā kiṁcid vadāmi. param yadi matkathanam karoṣi. anyathā yadi karoṣi tadā 'ham mariṣyāmi. rājo 'vāca: sundari mā bhaiṣir vada²⁹⁰ vada. sā 'vocat rājānam: maye²⁹¹ 'dam śrutam yad uta rājan²⁹² parapinḍapraveśam jānāsi. rājā prāha: sundari satyam idaṁ vacaḥ. sā 'vocat: ²⁹³ rājan yady evaṁ mṛtasyā 'sya kākasya piṇḍe praviṣyatām. rājā 'pi vidyāvatilāvanyam ālokyā kāmavaśam āpanno matibhrānto vicārayan²⁹⁴ sahasā paṭāntarālam āsādyā kākapiṇḍe praveṣṭum mano dadhe. yāvad rājapṛāṇāḥ²⁹⁵ svapiṇḍān niḥsr̥tya²⁹⁶ kākapiṇḍe praviṣṭās tāvac chukapṛāṇās²⁹⁷ cañcupuṭe nivāsino rājapiṇḍe praviṣṭāḥ. yāvad rājā kākam hanti, tāvac chabdam kṛtvā palāyitaḥ. etat kautukam vikramādityavidyāvatyāv eva jānīto²⁹⁸ nā 'nyas tṛtiyaḥ. tataḥ prāptanijapiṇḍo rājā 'ñjalim ābadhya vidyāvaticaraṇau vavande. dhanyā 'si, putri. nijapitaram āśvāsaye 'ty uktvā rājā nijāntahpuram ājagāma. vivāham atyajat. pūrvavat prajāḥ pratipālayām āsa.

§ 24. etasmāt svakīyāntahpuram rājā tatyāja. antahpurād rājā virakto 'bhūt. suhrado nāma²⁹⁹ mantrī rājānam viraktaṁ jñātvā cintayām āsa: nilagireḥ parvatasya rājā nilo nāma. tasya duhitā lilāvatī. tām rājā pariṇetum³⁰⁰ vicāritavān. rājñāḥ karaṇo³⁰¹ lipitvā vivāhārtham śiṣṭān āhūya preṣayām āsa. te tatra gatvā nilam yācitavantaḥ. pattraṁ³⁰² ca dattam. nilena³⁰³ rājñā pattraṁ paṭhitam. kanyāyāḥ prārthanam pattrābhiprāveṇa jñātvā punas tām rājño vikramādityasya kuśalam³⁰⁴ papraccho 'vāca: bho śiṣṭāḥ, yadā mama kanyā vikramādityam³⁰⁵ vṛṇoti tadā 'smābhir dattā. punas taiḥ sārḍham rājā svabhavanam gataḥ. paṭāntar³⁰⁶ kanyām samāhūya teṣām agre rājā³⁰⁷ lilāvatīm papraccha: he putri, rājā vikramādityas tvām prārthayate. tayo 'ktam: he pitaḥ, evaṁ mā

vada. tāvat tvaṁ śṛṇuṣva. samāhito bhūtvā rājño vikramādityasya bahvyo nāryas³⁰⁸ tāḥ sarvās tailakārīṇyaḥ. sā vadati: he śiṣṭāḥ, vidyābalena jñāyate mayā. paraṁ tu yathā tailakāragrhe yena pathā gacchanti, tanmārgaṁ³⁰⁹ rājavikramādityasyā³¹⁰ 'gre vacmi. te rājño 'gre gatvā tat samūcuḥ.³¹¹ kārpaṭikaveṣeṇa rājā tatra gatvā kautukena nilaṁ³¹² samāhūya provāca tad vacaḥ: he rājan vikramādityo 'ham. yal līlāvatyā bhaṇitaṁ tat pramāṇaṁ vā hāsyam vā kṛtaṁ tayā, tat sarvaṁ śrotum icchāmaḥ. rājā sa lajjitas tasyā 'tithyaṁ vedoktaprakāreṇa kṛtvā provāca: bho rājan vayaṁ na vidmaḥ. līlāvaty eva jānāti. paraṁ tatra gacchāmaḥ. rājā vikramādityena saha kanyāpuraṁ gataḥ punaḥ paṭāntaraṁ³¹³ līlāvatīm³¹⁴ samāhūya punaḥ papraccha: kathaṁ vikramādityasya³¹⁵ striyas tailakārīṇyaḥ. sā vadati: rājan, tailakāreṇā 'tmgrhābhyantare vivaraṁ khāditaṁ. tad vivaraṁ vikramādityasya prāsādamadhye sphuṭitaṁ. tanmārgenā 'hany ahaṁ³¹⁶ tailakārasya grhe sarvāḥ striyo gacchanti. catvāraḥ puruṣā vaitālikāḥ³¹⁷ ṣaṇḍhair³¹⁸ ānītāḥ. te rājñīm ekāṁ paryāṅkaṁ samāropya tatra nayanti. te tailakāreṇā 'hany ahaṁ³¹⁹ kūpe pātītāḥ prayatnena. evaṁ tailakāreṇa bahavo hatāḥ. etat sarvaṁ vṛttāntaṁ vikramādityena śrutam.³²⁰ punas tām prcchati: he sundari . . .³²¹ te vaitālikāḥ kenā 'pi yatnena muñcante.³²² te svasthā grhe gacchanti. rājai 'tad vacaḥ śrutvā svapuram āgāt.

§ 25. ekadā rājā bāhyakakṣāyāṁ³²³ svakīyam alaṁkaraṇaṁ dīpālāye dhṛtvā 'nyad veṣaṁ samādhāya dvāry upaviṣṭaḥ. tatra ṣaṇḍhair vaitāliko³²⁴ dhṛtaḥ. tatra paryāṅkaṁ skandhe kṛtvā tailakārasya grhe gataḥ. paryāṅkaṁ bhūmau nidhāya parivartitaḥ sa śiḡhraṁ pracalitaḥ. rājñā cintitaṁ: asya gurucaraṇau pātitaḥ. ayaṁ rājā bhavati. iti vicārya tailakāraṁ prati prāha: he tailakāra, ayaṁ rājā 'gacchati.³²⁵ bhavatā hantavyaḥ. tailakāras tadvacanāc chīgraṁ samutthitaḥ. khaḍgaṁ grhītvā paścāt pradhāvitaḥ. tāvad rājā vivaraṁ niḥsr̥tya³²⁶ bāhyakakṣāṁ gataḥ. tatra vastrādikaṁ grhītvā svacatvare gataḥ. tailakāro 'pi rājānaṁ na labdhvā punar gr̥ham agāt. atha rājā cintitavān: vidhātas tailakāraṁ kathaṁ ghātayiṣyati. yatho 'ktam:

āyur vittaṁ gr̥hachidraṁ mantraṁ auṣadhamaithunam
vratadānāpamānaṁ ca nava gopyāni sarvadā. (11)

paraṁ yatnaṁ kṛtvā vadhiṣyāmi.

§ 26. ekadā rājā svavayasyān samāhūya śramasthānaṁ vilokayāṁ āsa. tatra gatvā tailakāraṁ samāhūya kathitavān: bho atra

bhavatā śramah kāryah. teno 'ktam: bādham iti. sa tv aindra-jālakam jānāti. aindrajālena nityam eva śramam karoti. ekadā rājā sa tailakāro 'pi prātaḥsaṁdhyām samāyātau.³²⁷ parasparam³²⁸ chidrānveṣṇau³²⁹ khaḍgaśramam cakratuḥ. tadā rājñā rākṣasaś³³⁰ cintitaḥ. sa tu cintitaḥ san samāyātaḥ. tailakāro 'pi tau dvau vilokyai 'ndrajālam samāśritaḥ. tatra tābhyām tailakāro hataḥ. tasya deham śiṁśipāvṛkṣe baddhvā rājā 'ntaḥpuram agamat. evam rājā lilāvatiṁ vivāhya niṣkaṇṭakam rājyam karoti.

§ 27. etasminn antare kāko 'py uddīya samudratīre bubhukṣito³³¹ mṛtakam ekam yoginam bahuvayaskam dīrghaśmaśrum dvitīyarahitam dṛṣṭvā kākapiṇḍam parityajya yoginaḥ piṇḍe prāṇan praveśayām āsa. utthito yogi jīrṇakanthāḥ³³² paridhāya deśāntaram paryatan sarvakāmadām ekām tāmrasthālīm alabhat. tām ādāya kare yogi vikramam ujlayanīm³³³ agamat. yatrā 'ste vikramādityaḥ sabhāyām samupāgataḥ. yogi rājānam dṛṣṭvā 'śiśām dattvā tāmrasthālīm rājñe prādāt.³³⁴ rājā prāha: yogin, sthālīguṇān kathaya.³³⁵ yogi prāha: rājann abhilaṣitam kāmam pūrayati. yad eva manasī 'kṣyate, tad evai 'śā dadāti. rājā sāścaryam āha: yogin kimartham idṛśīm³³⁶ bahuguṇām sthālīm adāḥ.³³⁷ yogi prāha: rājan rahovākyam katham sabhāyām bravīmi. (Then commences the frame-story of the Vetālapañcaviṁśati.)

I append commentary on a few passages.

§ 3. *ṣoḍaśavārṣiky antardaśā yad ullaṅghya yāsyati*, "there is an intermediate condition (for this astrological term, see BR and the places there referred to) at the age of sixteen years, which (*yām* is expected; *yad*, if correct, is an indefinite neuter and distinctly curious grammar) he will transcend and attain (i. e. kingship; or perhaps, get away)." Vikrama's adventures in his sixteenth year are meant.

§ 5. *ekottaraśatapārthivapūjana*. The sequel shows that this is worship of 101 forms or "names" of Śiva (*pārthiva*), embodied in a like number of clay images (*pārthiva*) or perhaps merely clay balls (cf. *piṇḍikāḥ* below, unless this means "pedestals"). The operation *visarjanam* is perhaps the casting of the images into holy water at the conclusion of the rites. The two sentences: *redokta-vidhinā . . . visarjanam*, are a general statement describing the procedure usual in a rite of this kind, if the reading *pūjayanti* is correct rather than *pūjayati*. I have not found any mention of this whole rite elsewhere.

§ 6.28 and § 13.25. For the ms. °*ṛtyuka*° I have read °*ṛtvik*° and made the necessary corrections to produce good Sanskrit. The compound *sāmanta*° then is “vassals, chief minister, priests, domestic chaplain, and spiritual adviser(s).”

§ 22. The bride passes irrevocably into her husband’s power when she has taken seven steps from the south to the north of the fire in the marriage ceremony; *Mānavadharmasāstra* 8.227 and the *Grhyasūtras* — *Sāṅkhāyana* 1.12.11 (see Oldenberg’s note in *SBE* 29) and 1.14.5, *Pāraskara* 1.8.1, *Āśvalāyana* 1.7.19, *Khādīra* 1.3.26.

§ 23.17. The curious word-order *sā ’vocad rājānam* is not without parallel in this text; cf. § 6.4 *rājā sūnvor vacaḥ śrutvā prāhā ’tmīyān parikṣakān*; § 6.6 *manoramāsutasyā ’dya paśyantu hara-pūjanam*; § 24.17 *rājā . . . nīlam samāhūya provāca tad vacaḥ*. However, another emendation is possible: *sā ’vocat: rājan maye* etc. But this would result in repetition of the vocative in the same sentence, unless, indeed, we emend the word after *uta* to *rājā*.

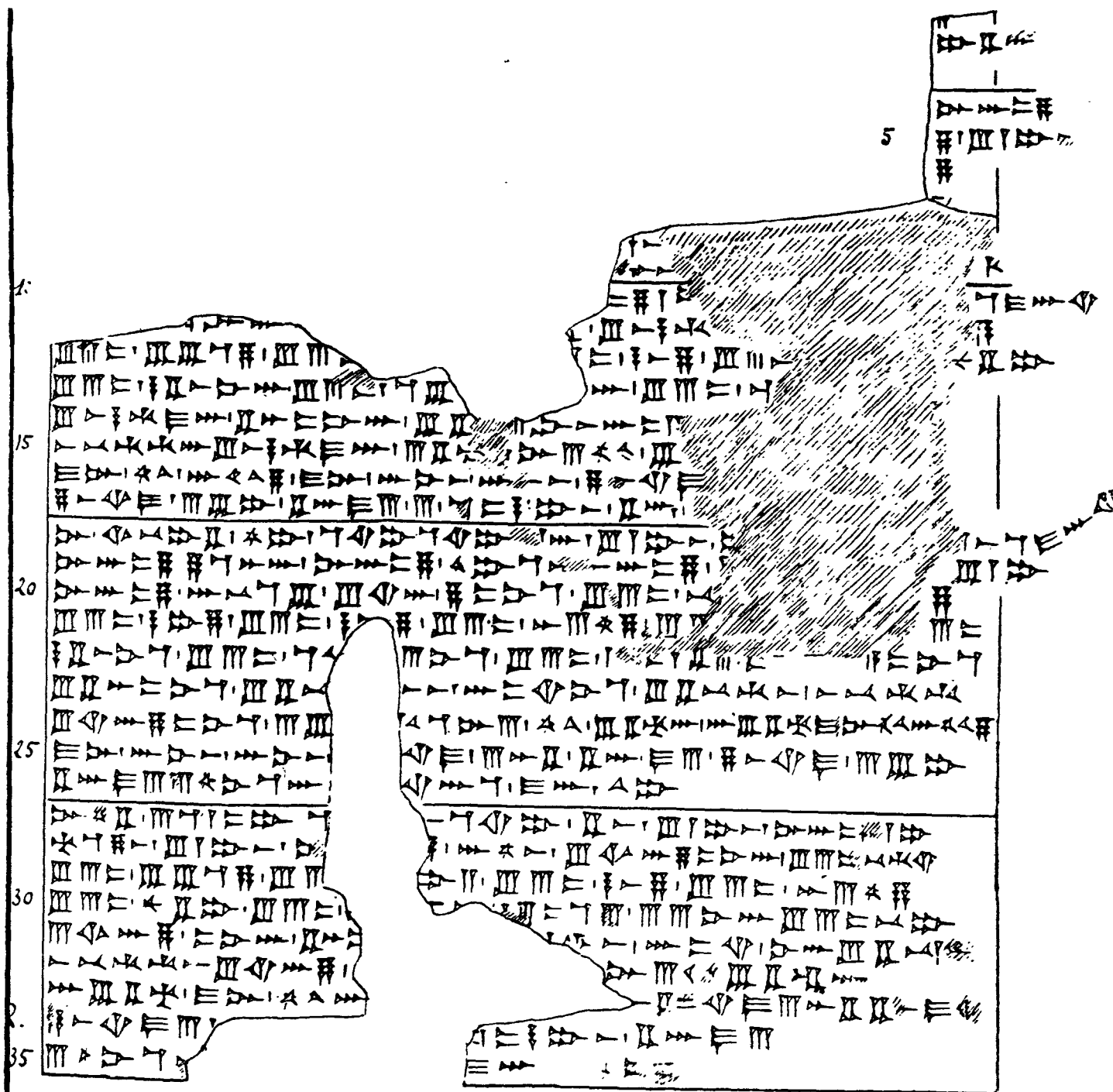
§ 25. This episode is obscure; the darkness might lift if we had the contents of the gap indicated in critical note 321. The king’s thought: *asya gurucaraṇau pātītau. ayaṁ rājā bhavati*, is particularly obscure. The sense seems to be: “his *guru* has been felled. He is (or, will become) king;” but what does this mean?

CRITICAL NOTES

¹ °*bhaume*. ² °*manasām*. ³ °*dhasā*. ⁴ Either this or *āgatā* must be read for the ms. *āgāt*. ⁵ *brah*°. ⁶ *amantritām*. ⁷ *nūtanmr̥tap*°. ⁸ *nāmā*. ⁹ *harir iva*. I give the reading, which is undoubtedly intended here also, of the verse as it is found in the accepted text of *Śivadāsa*. ¹⁰ *maryādā*. ¹¹ °*āṇsu*°. ¹² *saurye*. ¹³ *anekanarap*°. Before this line, the ms. has *mahāsāhasikah*, a gloss, as both the sandhi and the metrical form show. ¹⁴ °*śo*. ¹⁵ °*kān*. ¹⁶ *rājā*. ¹⁷ *mā*. ¹⁸ *mānoyatām*. ¹⁹ °*nta*. ²⁰ *kuḷālayam*. ²¹ °*nī*. ²² *yāce*. ²³ *siksenena*. ²⁴ °*kāmiti*. ²⁵ Some noun is omitted. ²⁶ °*kāya*. ²⁷ *yāce*. ²⁸ *bhukte*. ²⁹ *syāmini*. ³⁰ °*mātra*. ³¹ °*yakṣa*. ³² *ittha*. ³³ Is *satyām* a loc. with *prāha*, or is it merely a corruption for *satīm*? ³⁴ °*praśādām*. ³⁵ *vibheda*. Or emend *vibibheda*? ³⁶ *gāyai*. ³⁷ °*nā*. ³⁸ °*bhavat*. ³⁹ *ekasminva*. ⁴⁰ *putrā*. ⁴¹ *rājā*. ⁴² *brāhmaṇāhūya*. ⁴³ *yaddulaṁdhya*. ⁴⁴ *bhartr̥haris*°. The name *bh*° is a gloss. ⁴⁵ *vikramādityaḥ-kumbhakāraputrastailākāraputrās triṇiman*. ⁴⁶ °*piṇḍā*. ⁴⁷ *śak*°. ⁴⁸ °*nāt*. ⁴⁹ °*kṣāḥ*. ⁵⁰ *nijamr̥tyumukhāt*. ⁵¹ °*śānśām*. ⁵² °*to*. ⁵³ So ms. Read °*ntike*? ⁵⁴ *chrutyā*. ⁵⁵ *śak*°. ⁵⁶ *rodī*. ⁵⁷ *dhairya*. ⁵⁸ *akhilām*. ⁵⁹ °*nto*. Read °*vati*? ⁶⁰ °*ntī*. ⁶¹ °*śā*. ⁶² *kurram*. ⁶³ °*ati*. ⁶⁴ *arā*. ⁶⁵ °*ron*. ⁶⁶ *vidyā*. ⁶⁷ *vyāyāp-tavidyā*. ⁶⁸ *ākāl*°. ⁶⁹ *anyadeva*. ⁷⁰ °*ramā*. ⁷¹ *sumukhed*°. ⁷² °*munātra-kāreṇa*. ⁷³ *viśādānam*. ⁷⁴ °*bhiyāt*. ⁷⁵ °*kām*. ⁷⁶ *śayakena*. ⁷⁷ *nisār*°. ⁷⁸ *ekotara*°. ⁷⁹ See comm. ⁸⁰ This is a half-śloka. ⁸¹ °*patreṇa*. ⁸² *bhaktiḥ*.

83 Probably metrical originally. 84 *ūcate*. 85 *vabhavatuh*. 86 *parikṣ*°. 87 The sentence so far is a half-*śloka*. 88 *parikṣaṇā*. 89 *parikṣannāmbhūya*. 90 Before this word the ms. has *pā*°, perhaps for *pārthivānām*. 91 *tāh*°. 92 I have found no vernacular word that this might stand for. *śaṅkā* is the only Sanskrit word that suggests itself. 93 *mayā*. 94 *kṣā*. 95 *grh*°. 96 *prakṣannā*. 97 *chamāpanam*. 98 *uktā*. 99 *tsaṅgikṛtvā*. 100 *samargha*. 101 *gām*. 102 *mṛtikayā*. 103 For *m*° *i*° *p*°, the ms. has *mamidaṁ paṭhat*. This is the only emendation that suggests itself. 104 *ennata*. 105 *pūjā*. 106 *sargāh*. 107 *yantām*. 108 *ityam*. 109 *rājñā*. 110 *tām*. 111 *sāsaṁta-mahāmantrinṛtyukapurodhasācāryah*. 112 *āśakā*. 113 *śiṣāpanam*. 114 *hari*. 115 *jā śāṣati*. 116 *sah*. Perhaps to be omitted. 117 *rājñam*. I have changed this to genitive, but without conviction. 118 *tām*. 119 *cintāsito*. Perhaps to be read *cintāhino*. 120 *svāduh*. 121 *rājā*. 122 *ṇās*. 123 *striyaḥ yaḥsvāmihis tiṣṭhanti*. Perhaps the verb-form might be kept, 'will stay'. 124 *kṣalayena*. 125 *kārin*. 126 *puspiv*°. 127 *tāh*. 128 *ṇān*. 129 *śighramā-minā*. 130 *nandit*°. 131 *li*. 132 *li*. 133 *li*. 134 *rodmi*. 135 *kaṇḍukimkaromi*. 136 *kṣatrāṅkaromi*. 137 *sārttau*. 138 *rudana*. 139 *mṛṣya*. 140 *samau bhaviṣyati*. 141 *śādati*. 142 *daivena siddhyati*. 143 *karoti*. 144 So ms. 145 *lān*. 146 *noduh*. 147 *prasthaikam grahiṣyati kim grahiṣyati*. 148 *nadyā-pūre*. 149 *vartta*. 150 *tir*. 151 *bāhubhyāntaram*. 152 *vadati*. 153 *niḥkṣā-śitah*. 154 *yatu*. 155 *nī*. 156 *jācate*. 157 *gri*. 158 *tām*. 159 *ko*. 160 Not in ms. 161 *vimānaso*. 162 *caravam*. 163 *jya*. 164 For *m*° *m*°, *mamāṁsena*. 165 *te*. 166 *vahāsim*. 167 *sāhūjya*. 168 *vara*. 169 *śiṣṭāh ṛtyukapurodhā anyā-gatthāh*. 170 *haḥ*. 171 *śrko*. 172 *āliṣya*. 173 *nāgār*°. 174 *mātaṇḍo*. 175 *mahi*. 176 *dhanyaṁtarichapanakā*°, *ghaṭa*°. 177 *rucinra*. 178 *ptā*. 179 *gatvā*. 180 *āhaśariravāk*. 181 *para*. 182 *mṛtakāval*°. 183 *rājyānimugalam*. 184 *jñāna*°. 185 *tās*. 186 *syak*°. 187 *mā*. 188 *nī*. 189 *tyaktā*. 190 *kanthā*. Should *kanthām* be read? 191 *ratna*. 192 *tām*. 193 *sahācaryam*. 194 *keratnam*. Perhaps to be emended *keraratnam*. 195 *śanmāsāvayāvaṁti nālikeratnāni dattvāni*. 196 *ratnabhāni*. 197 *mahy*. 198 *śod*. 199 *rājñā*. 200 *rājas*. 201 *rājñō*. 202 *śuka*. 203 *śinemuṣṭau*. 204 *sthi*. 205 *prāṇāśyāṁgān*. 206 *hrdityevācīsat*. Read *hrdaye prāviśan*? 207 *jjiya*. 208 *rājñā*. 209 *pye*. 210 *bhṛtya*. 211 *tikaṭa*°. 212 *mṛgapūpāhaya*. 213 *mama*. 214 *rājān*°. 215 Some word, perhaps *vaneṣu*, is omitted. 216 *jīvantah*. 217 *kṛtvāni*. 218 *dadāti*. 219 *pādāyāi*. 220 *ntarā śukān āniyatām*. 221 *rājñe*. 222 *yaṁścaśatahkrōśa*°. 223 *śuka*. 224 *pari-bhramuh*. 225 *kāilāśopāte*. 226 *paryate*. 227 *śukāsu* is inserted before *c*°. 228 *tāṭe*. 229 *chukampaktavyaḥ sopi saṁtatah*. The plural is not certain, but seems better than a masc. sg. 230 *grahnāti*. 231 *tāvantā udḍiyaman-tarvyayāvad*. 232 *mā*. 233 *ruddha*. 234 *gālīm*. 235 *dadān*. 236 *rtha*. 237 *mam*. 238 *vṛvimi*. 239 *va*. 240 *tasyaiva*. 241 *apayasi*. 242 *manasām*. 243 *nī*. 244 *kas*. 245 *kāte*. 246 *sra*. 247 *iṣitā chaghna*. 248 *athamera*. 249 *śrāntayo*. 250 *dhi*. 251 *yāmtum*. 252 *pāntamaireyo*. Perhaps read *pātum*. 253 *ako*. 254 *bhartu nirdeśā*. 255 Some word, *ārebhe* or the like, has been omitted. 256 *dhi*. 257 There is an omission, *-grhe gatvā brūte* or the like. 258 *vidyā*. 259 *bhartā*. 260 *labdhcah*. 261 *śukam*. 262 *adām*. 263 *hade*. 264 *khaṇm*°. 265 *dina*. 266 *avocat*. 267 *yogis*. 268 *kim*. 269 *yovat*. 270 *ṣṭhe*. 271 *caryyā*. 272 *preṣayā*. 273 *mat*°. 274 *śokaśamā*°. 275 *rājñasyasutā*. 276 *bhṛtya*. 277 *yaneṣunakti*. 278 *rājān*°. 279 *kām*. 280 *kalpa*. 281 *mantri*. 282 *paṭyaṅka*°. 283 *śuka*. 284 *vastucchrṇusra*. 285 *ahov*°. 286 *yāsyati*. 287 *kṛtal*°. 288 *prakṣannī*°. 289 *nidhya*. 290 *dyaḍa*. 291 *sāvodhadājanamaye*. 292 *rāja*. 293 *vod*. 294 *nicār*°. 295 *prāṇah*. 296 *nisṛtya*. 297 *prāṇā*. 298 *vaty* *jāṇāsi*. 299 *nāmā*. 300 *rājñah parinetu*. 301 *karo*. The emendation is doubtful; I take *karāṇa* in the sense 'scribe'. 302 The ms. has *patra*-throughout. 303 *nile*. 304 *rājñau vikramādityakuśalam*. 305 *tya*. 306 *paṭāntarpatē*. 307 *rājñā*. 308 *nāryās*. 309 *gām*. 310 *rājān*°. 311 *samvocaḥ*. 312 *likām*. 313 *paṭṭant*°. 314 *tī*. 315 *syā*. 316 *genahanyahannya*. 317 *vaitālikārikāh*. 318 *khaṇḍhair*. 319 *han-nyahamni*. 320 *tah*. 321 V's speech is omitted. 322 *muñcanti*. 323 *vāhya-kacchāyām*. So also below. 324 *śaṇḍhair vaikāriko*. 325 *gacchanti*. 326 *nisṛtya*. 327 *yāto*. 328 *paran*. 329 *nidr*°. 330 *rājasāś*. 331 *vibhukṣito*. 332 *tho*. Perhaps read *thām*. 333 *nojj*°. 334 *pradāt*. 335 *katha*. 336 *śi*. 337 *adāt*.

The article represents a small part of the work which I was enabled to do on the Vetālapañcaviṃśati during my tenure in 1932-3 of a fellowship from the American Council of Learned Societies. It is a pleasant duty to acknowledge here the help of the Council. The manuscript in which the interpolation treated in detail in this paper is found was one of a lot of manuscripts which the India Office Library with its well-known courtesy put at my disposal in 1929-30. I desire to make this partial acknowledgment of the invaluable helpfulness of the India Office Library, pending complete publication of the material I was thus able to use.



REPRODUCTION OF VIROLLEAUD'S TABLET NO. 2.

A	II	וּשְׁקִרְבַּי	בֶּן מִשְׁרָטָשׁר	בֶּן אֶגְרֹת	ת	מִהַנֶּשׁ
	III	לְאֶהָב	לְמִאֲפֹר מִאֲשֶׁר	בֶּת אֶגְרֹת		מִהַנֶּשׁ
	IV					
B	II	וּנְפִי יִמְאֵן	וּנְפִי וְרִמָּן	וּנְפִי אֶגְרֹת	וּנְפִי וְרִמָּן	וּנְפִי וְרִמָּן
	III					
	IV					
C	II	אֶת חֲטָאִי	אֶלֶף קֶטֶף	אֶלֶף קֶטֶף	אֶלֶף קֶטֶף	אֶלֶף קֶטֶף
	III	אֶשׁוּן יִפְכֶם	אֶלֶף קֶטֶף	אֶלֶף קֶטֶף	אֶלֶף קֶטֶף	אֶלֶף קֶטֶף
	IV	אֶשׁוּן יִפְכֶם	אֶלֶף קֶטֶף	אֶלֶף קֶטֶף	אֶלֶף קֶטֶף	אֶלֶף קֶטֶף
D	II					
	III					
	IV					
E	II	אֶת חֲטָאִי	בֶּאֱפֹן	אֶלֶף קֶטֶף	אֶלֶף קֶטֶף	אֶלֶף קֶטֶף
	III	אֶשׁוּן יִפְכֶם	אֶלֶף קֶטֶף	אֶלֶף קֶטֶף	אֶלֶף קֶטֶף	אֶלֶף קֶטֶף
	IV	אֶשׁוּן יִפְכֶם	אֶלֶף קֶטֶף	אֶלֶף קֶטֶף	אֶלֶף קֶטֶף	אֶלֶף קֶטֶף
F	II	אֶת חֲטָאִי	לֵב	וּלְתֵּעַ	וּלְתֵּעַ	וּלְתֵּעַ
	III	אֶשׁוּן יִפְכֶם	לֵב	וּלְתֵּעַ	וּלְתֵּעַ	וּלְתֵּעַ
	IV	אֶשׁוּן יִפְכֶם	לֵב	וּלְתֵּעַ	וּלְתֵּעַ	וּלְתֵּעַ
H	II	יִתְשֶׁה לֵאב	בֶּן אֶלֶף	לְמִסְחָת	בֶּן אֶלֶף	לְמִסְחָת
	III	יִתְשֶׁה לֵאב	בֶּן אֶלֶף	לְמִסְחָת	בֶּן אֶלֶף	לְמִסְחָת
	IV	יִתְשֶׁה לֵאב	בֶּן אֶלֶף	לְמִסְחָת	בֶּן אֶלֶף	לְמִסְחָת

RAS SHAMRA NOTES III

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1. *Virolleaud's Tablet No. 2.* This text, published by Virolleaud in *Syria*, 1929, Pl. LXII, and reproduced here as Plate 1, is divided into several panels, in the topmost one of which only one word survives, *rbn* ("our lord" ?). My enumeration of the panels, as I-IV takes account only of the panels that follow. Dhorme recognized, in his essay at interpretation, *Rev. Biblique*, 1931, 37-39, the textual distinction of these four panels by the alternating use of *-kn* ("your," fem.) in Panels II and IV, and *-km* ("your," masc.) in III, and so we may presume for the almost entirely obliterated I. Dhorme's early and prompt treatment of these tablets suffered from the lack of final definition of several of the characters. The mutilated character of the text and the cryptic form of the vocables, apart from the obvious proper names—some of which were not recognized in the earlier publications, have rendered interpretation difficult.

The accompanying Plate 2 presents a parallelistic rearrangement of the three surviving panels. For the technical reproduction of this plate I am indebted to my younger colleague Dr. Z. S. Harris, as I am also in his debt for his excellent advice and criticism of this study. The panels are grouped in sections, A, B, etc., based upon the obvious parallelisms.

This Plate gives the actual text, without corrections, save for a few cases of faulty punctuation in the original. At once it is evident that the panels are for the greatest part repetitive, and so we may infer, liturgical, although, as we shall see, with a crescendo of motif. A primary result of this presentation is control of the textual errors. Thus in C we can restore *ktš* to the expected gentilic *ktšy*. In the same group the apparent *hrš* must be read *hry* with its parallels. In E *lšnyphn* is to be corrected by the parallels to *ušnyphn*. Some further emendations are suggested below.

I proceed with sundry fresh diagnoses of several misunderstood or unknown vocables. In the first place the character *'u* introducing the initial words in C, D, E, with two additional cases in E, can be nothing else than the conjunctive *waw* vocalized before a consonant with semi-vowel, as in Hebrew. As the cases here prove, this ob-

servation corroborates the point I made in my "Notes II," in this JOURNAL, 1934, 61, although without much evidence. With this letter = "and," we have for the following words at the beginning of C, E, F, the vocables *ḥṭi'n*, *šnyḥkm/n*. The former is evidently the root *ḥṭ*, and the form *t(u)ḥattî'ûn*, "you shall make atonement." The following vocable I recognized to be composed of *šny* and *ḥkm/n*, and the latter as *pikem/n*, "your mouth." Casting about for an interpretation of the evidently verbal root, I found the Arabic *šny*, "lift up," only classical, I think, in the verb, but better known in its derivative *sanîy*, "exalted, beautiful," = Eth. *šannay*. This identification has been happily corroborated for me by the discovery of the same root in Biblical Hebrew by Prof. D. Winton Thomas in an interesting communication to ZAW 1934, 236 ff. Translate then, "lift up your (mouth) voice"; cf. Heb. *naša' kôl*. These two phrases at beginning of E, "you shall make atonement," and "lift up your voice," are followed by "with your mouth." (For 'ap in this sense, in Epic C, see this JOURNAL, 1934, 64; in panel III the 'u before the noun is an error.) In the same group, E, there follows evidently "and with the x (an illegible word) of your soul, and with the *kṭṭ* which you will *kṭṭ*," again an unknown root, the verb in intensive, denominative form, and the noun in cognate relation. Evidently the address is not to deities (so Dhorme) but to two choirs, male and female respectively. At the beginning of F the same two verbs recur, *ḥṭi'n* being followed by *lb*., possibly *lbkm*, "your heart," in which case the parallel *ld*.. is an error or a misreading.

At the end of F, passing over *lt'* for the moment, we read,³ "our sacrifice we shall sacrifice," imperfect tense, as the following imperfects prove (vs. Dhorme, "we have sacrificed our sacrifice"). There follows *hw t' nṭ'y hw nkt nkt*; the construction is obvious: "this is the *t'* we shall *t'y*, this is the *nkt* we shall *nkt*," the second verb representing *nnkt*, with assimilation of radical *n*. The root *t'y* I can now identify. The noun occurs, in sing. and pl., in Tablet 1, line 1, (also apparently verbal *t'w* in Tab. 9:1), where Dhorme translates with "devin," apparently from root *š'y*, "to inspect." But the root is found in South-Arabic *mṭ'y*, *mṭ'yt*, used in parallelism with root *ḏbh*, "to sacrifice"; see CIS IV no. 428; Rossini, *Chrestomathia*, 261, and a discussion by Rhodokanakis in his *Studien zur Lexicographie und Gramm. des Altsüdarabischen*, II, 66; its

special nuance is not yet known.¹ There follows in H: "let it be lifted up" to the gods as named; the verb *yattasi'* is Ifteal; for the sacrificial use of the root cf. Ps. 96: 8, etc. Thus the several panels after directions for a choric liturgy terminate in a declaration of the performance of the sacrifice as culmination.

But also the introductory theme in each panel is sacrificial. In A, panel III opens with *škrb tr*, obviously "present (Shafil—cf. the similar use of Heb. Hif.) a bull"; this is paralleled in IV with *tb lmgpr*; the first word is the imperative "repeat" (and so the verb in the Epics); the second is infinitival noun from a root *gpr*. I can provisionally only relate this root to Akk. *ḡapāru*, "to cut." The sacrifice appears to have been of the primitive kind, with the mere cutting of the throat of the victim (see Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heidentums*, 114 ff.), or with the cutting of the victim to pieces, as in the covenant sacrifice, e.g., Gen. 15. For the following enigmatic *mšrmšr*, in both panels, I can only suggest the Akk. root *mašāru*, again "to cut." For such intensifications of a root I may refer to Eitan in *JPOS* 1, 180 ff.; cf. Is. 29: 9. There follows in III of A the vocative, "sons of Ugarit," in IV "house of Ugarit"; but I think that in the latter case *bt* is error for *bnt*, "daughters (of Ugarit)," as appropriate to the female choir addressed.

There comes the crux in this liturgical composition, dependent upon a sacrifice, in B, C, D. In C occurs the thrice repeated list of six peoples, specified generically with the term *'ulp*, "tribe," Heb. *'ēlep*; or the word may be vocalized *'ullūpe* (pl.), "chiefs," = Heb. *'allūp*, used of the Horite chieftains in Gen. 36; see for review of the discussion Ginsberg and Maisler, *JPOS* 1934, 259. The last four peoples were promptly identified: the Hurrians, Hittites, Alashians (of Cyprus), the Subareans. The second, *Ddmy*, was connected by Dhorme with the alleged Greek Didymaeans; for the first term, *Ḳtšy* I may compare the Kadousioi noticed at length by Kent in this JOURNAL, 1934, 45, and also the *Kattešhišša* in Götze's *Annalen des Muršiliš*, 165. In III of B *npy* occurs five times in construction with a following noun, the last two of which are the god's name Ugar (patron of Ugarit) and the royal name *Nḱmd*, both

¹ Supplementarily I note that the root occurs in the colophon to Epic text A just published by Virolleaud in *Syria*, 1934, 241, indicating a function of the "chief of priests," i.e. as *t'y* of "king Nḱmd," that is, his sacrificiant; the noun is apparently of *ḱattāl* formation.

well known in these texts. The preceding *trmn* may be error (easily induced by similarity of signs—yet *trmn* occurs elsewhere) for *Tkmn*, the chief deity named at end of group H.² The first word in the series, *ym'n*, cannot be *Yawan*, “Ionians,” with Dhorme, whether philologically or contextually. In IV of B there is a variation from III. I think we must amend to read *np̄y 'ugr*, as in III, the following *hmyt 'ugrt* is then the god's epithet. Recognized by Dhorme as = Heb. *hōmah*, “wall,” I take the word to be similar to Biblical epithets and ascriptions of Deity as “the wall,” and “who-is-roundabout,” e.g. Ps. 125: 2; Zec. 2: 9; and still more to the point may be recalled the enigmatic phrase addressed to the Prince (i.e. patron deity) of Tyre at Eze. 28: 14: “Thou art the encircling Cherub.” The following *np̄y n̄tt* I cannot interpret; may the second noun be parallel to *'itt*, “woman,” found in Epic C, a development from Arabic *'untay*, and mean “women,”—and so appropriate to the female choir?

The obscure *np̄y* Dhorme translates with “expulse!” sing. impv., with the following noun as object. But we can hardly expect such a ban to be placed upon the native god and king. As from the same root I propose a noun which may be expressed by the magical term “aversion”; it is the ban of (laid by) the gods and the king upon the hostile peoples named in C. Then the very prosaic repetition of those names is explained; the “word” of a magical rite includes the explicit and repeated naming of the object. In C order is given to the two choirs to pronounce these names. In D the several cases of initial *'ulp* is to be rendered as plural, “the tribes (chieftains) of your *hbt*, of your *mdll*.” The former word may belong to the root *hwb/hyb*, and in its construction mean “(those) in your debt, in guilt towards you”; and the second may be from the root *dll*, *dll*, *zll*, in Arabic, Aram., Heb., and mean “(those) of your despite, contempt.” At end of D we read *'ulp kr* paralleling two mutilated phrases: I have no key to the riddle.

In H there is the *sursum* to the gods: “to the Father of the Divinities, to the circle of the Divinities”; then in alternating

² This divine name, occurring also at 1: 3, 6; 3: 31. has been identified by Dussaud (*Syria*. 12. 70), Bauer (*ZAW* 1933, 100), with Kassite *Šukamuna*, but this is denied by Albright (*JPOS* 1934, 107) by reason of the distinction of *k* and *ḳ*. As for *trmn* it occurs probably at 1: 15, at 1: 12 in the form *trmm* (in both cases in god-lists); and now it appears in Virolleaud's fresh text, p. 241.

form, II, "to the company of the Divinities," III, to *Tkmn* the Father of Years" (all these theological terms being found elsewhere); then IV unites these two latter terms in a final crescendo.

Finally, at the end of H, at least in III and IV, occurs the enigmatic *kn 'r* (in IV the second word is written in sprawling fashion to indicate the end). I can only suggest that the phrase means, "Behold, he (the god) is awake." (Both words occur in the Epics, the root *'ûr* in Hif. at A vi 31, as also otherwise in intensive forms). This then is the pronouncement of the successful culmination of the rite. The application of this verb to Deity is frequent in Biblical usage, e. g. Ps. 44: 24; 59: 5, and in particular note "the LORD's Remembrancers" of Is. 62: 6. Most interestingly the phrase throws light upon Elijah's satiric taunt to the Phoenician Baal-priests: "Call with a loud voice, for he is a god . . . perhaps he is asleep and must wake up!" (1 Ki. 18: 27). And, supplementarily, Dr. J. Finkel has given me another striking parallel, at Hab. 2: 19: "Woe to him who says to a timber, Awake! — Arouse thee! (*'ûrî*), to a dumb stone."

A definite progression is to be noted in these groups. A contains the order for sacrifice; B gives the statement of the "aversion," followed in C, D with the naming of the hostile objects; E is a summons to expiation and to song. F and G express the occurrence of the sacrifice in the first person plural, H the "elevation" and destination of the sacrifice in the passive mood; at the end is chanted the oracle that "the god is awake."

This study adds an illustration to the liturgical art of Ras Shamra, already capitably presented by Dr. Harris in this JOURNAL, 1934, 80-83. The bearings of our text upon the forms of Hebrew psalmody are manifold.

2. *Supplementary Notes to Tablets 3, 15.* 3: 1. *byrh—šmtrg*: i. e. "in the month—," and in line 3 "on the 13th (day?)," i. e. a date; then read *šamtî rg(m)*, "I have given word," an introduction to the document. For such use of the root *rgm* cf. Tab. 18 and the tablet published by Dhorme in *Syria*, 1933, pp. 235 ff.

3: 5. Translate *wkm 'it*, "and so it is." Understand the final *štm yd* as *šatti-ma yadi*, "and I have set my hand," i. e. as notarial signature to the document. Cf. Heb. *nātan yad*, and the equivalence of "hand" and "name" at Is. 56: 5.

3: 15. The text reads: *bt šbn—wb'lh ddy 'my 'iwrnr 'alnr l'ahḏt*

'*aly ydn mnm wbnh*. Translate: "The house of *šbn*—and its owners, my friends, my relatives, '*Twrr* (and) '*Alnr* for a possession for me. Our hand, *Mnm* and his son(s)." To be sure, the preposition '*al* would be unique. I take '*ahdt* to be identical with לְאִחָיו at Gen. 23: 9. As for the name *Mnm*, it occurs, as has not been recognized, in the tablet of Dhorme's noticed above, lines 17, 17: *mnm rgm*, "*Mnm* has spoken." The gentilic *šbny* occurs in Virolleaud's fresh text, p. 241, and throws light upon our *šbn*.

A note may here be added on '*iwr*, an element of the first n. pr. It occurs in the name of the writer of Dhorme's tablet cited above, '*iwr-šr*, which Virolleaud, *Syria*, 1934, p. 83, has rightly identified with Hurrian *Ewiri-šarri*. See further the remarks made by Speiser on the Hurrian element *iwri* in his *Mesopotamian Origins*, 145 f.³ Also it occurs in Tab. 28 in the form '*iwrn*. I am inclined to refer to this origin the perplexing name of the Jebusite whose threshing-floor was bought by David, 2 Sam. 24: 16 ff. The Hebrew tradition of the name varies remarkably, as is notorious, not only as between Ktib and K̄re, but also within the Ktib. At v. 16 Kt. presents אֹרְנָה (preceded with the article!), vs. אֹרְנָה, and this is universally supported by the Greek transcription Orna. Punctuate then as '*Ewrina*. We may then possibly explain the obscure phrase at v. 23: "All of it gave Araunah (sic) the king to the king." Now '*iwri* means 'king' (so Speiser); is the Jebusite's epithet a gloss to his name? Finally may the name of David's 'Hittite' captain אִירִיָּה go back to the same origin as *Ewrina*?

³ [The Nuzi name *Irci-šarri* is not uncommon with persons of prominence; cf. e. g., *Ir-ūi-šarri mār Ki-in-zi-ia šangû ša dAdda* "Irwi-šarri, son of Kinziya, priest of Adad"; Chiera, *Nuzi I.* 13. 39. E. A. S.]

A HURRIAN AFFRICATE OR SIBILANT IN RAS SHAMRA

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In their valuable article "Semitized Hurrians in Syria and Palestine,"¹ H. L. Ginsberg and B. Maisler discuss the name *'iwrzr* from a recently found Ras Shamra tablet.² They note that the sign here transcribed \bar{z} is not the usual \bar{s} of the Ras Shamra alphabet, and suggest that it is a Hurrian sibilant, transcribing it \bar{z} . This is a most excellent suggestion, well borne out by the evidence, and the following remarks are intended merely to offer additional material.

The character under discussion is a two-edged sign, similar in construction to the three-wedged \bar{s} . It occurs but rarely and is generally regarded as a mere variant of the \bar{s} sign³; it is not even mentioned in the tables of the Ras Shamra alphabet as constructed by various scholars. It is by no means certain, however, that variants existed at all in this script, and before discussing the evidence for this sign it might be best to review what is known of the script in general. For the writing in itself presents certain problems. In the Tablets it is often unwieldy, and there are actual variations in form in certain of the letters. Some tablets exhibit these variations consistently: in T 3, obverse, the letter *r* is usually written with 6 or 7 wedges instead of 5, while *m* and *g* are also peculiar; in T 9 *n* has 4 wedges instead of 3, *r* 7; in T 12 *h* and *n* each have 4 wedges. In many of the other tablets similar variant forms occur exceptionally. It is true that the writing is in general bad in some of these tablets, especially in the obverse of T 3. The variations are sufficiently consistent, however, to give the impression that the script had but recently become fixed and that in some cases the exact arrangement of wedges had not yet been settled in the scribal school of Ugarit. We may, therefore, have here an indication that

¹ *JPOS*, 1934, 243 ff.

² The Ras Shamra texts will be referred to as follows: Tablets T, *Syria* 1929, 304 ff.; T², *ib.* 1933, 229 ff.; T³, *ib.* 1934, 75 ff.; T⁴, *ib.* 1934, 148; T⁵, *ib.* 1934, 244 ff.; Poems A, *ib.* 1931, 193 ff.; B, *ib.* 1932, 112 ff.; C, *ib.* 1933, 128 ff.; A sup., *ib.* 1934, 226 ff.

³ Thus Albright, *JPOS* 1934, 108 (cf. also his treatment of the words discussed below); Dhorme, *OLZ* 1933, 8.

the Ras Shamra script did not have a very long tradition behind it at the time when these tablets were written. In the poems, however, there is no question of such variability; the writing is on the whole excellent, every character is definite in form, and there are no deviations from the "correct" arrangements of wedges. If, then, the tablets do indeed betray an early stage of the script, they must be somewhat older than the poetic texts. At all events, the script had certainly become standardized by the time the poetic texts were written.

The standardization of the script is also seen in the spelling, for the orthography is fixed throughout.⁴ There are no variant spellings in either the poems or the tablets. This in itself may not be sufficient proof of a long tradition, for the consonantal writing is etymological and would therefore have been easier to maintain. Even foreign words, however, have a set spelling, as for example in the name *'uṣḥr* in T 13 and Syria 1931, p. 389, and in the various frequently repeated Hurrian words in T 4. It may be therefore assumed that the scrip in the poems is well normalized and that haphazard variations of signs are not to be expected.⁵

The casual occurrence of a *š* with two wedges for the usual form with three, would, then be quite surprising. Actually, however, there is no such irregularity, for we find the two-wedged sign used as a distinct character. It appears only in certain words, and then consistently each time those words occur. The sign is rare in the

⁴There are, incidentally, but few errors (i.e. confusion of similar letters) in the poems, and even the tablets are not too badly bungled.

⁵One possible variant is the elaborate *š*, Virolleaud's and Dhorme's *s*₂, Albright's no. 17 (*JPOS* 1932, 187), which is accepted as a variant of the usual *s* sign. It is entirely absent from the poems, but is found in T 1: 9 (*kšm*; cf. *kšm*, 3: 19?), 12: 11 (*ḥšwn*; cf. *ḥšwn*, 12: 3?), 33: 7 (*kš'u b'lt*; cf. *ks'u 'ilt*, 23: 2). 46: 4 (*-š'u*), T³ A 2, 7, B 14 (*'ašš-*), 17 and in the word *ššw*, "horse." T³ A 4, 6, 10, B 31, 32, now also in T⁵ 1: 6 (*'aršn*), 15 (*šdy*). In all these tablets the usual *s* also occurs. In all the cases above where words with *š* have been compared with similar ones in *s*. Bauer (*Das Alphabet von Ras Schamra*, p. 33) considers the two to be variant spellings of the same word. The evidence seems to bear this out. The consistent use of *š* in *ššw* (a non-Semitic word) would, however, argue for a special value for this sign, while its absence from the poems may also point to its having originally represented a non-Semitic sound. Its similarity to the *s* (*samek*) of the early Phoenician alphabet is noteworthy. If it is indeed a variant, its absence from the poems would again show the standardization of the writing in the poetic texts.

poems. It occurs in *zrt* in A iii 5, 11 which is not to be confused with *tbšr*, *bšrtk*, B v 88, 89; the passage in A iii 4-5, repeated in 10-11, reads *bhlm ltpn 'il dp'id bžrt bny bnwt*, "In the dream of Ltpn El dPeđ, in the vision (?) of Bny Bnwt," *bžrt* being *b* + *žrt*.⁶ The sign appears also in the phrase *žd 'il* in A i 6, B iv 23. Here *žd* is distinct from *šd*, "field." The latter is always spelled with *š* (A ii 20, 34; B v 86, 118, viii 25; C 13, 18, 68), whereas the *ž* occurs only in the sentence *tgly žd 'il*; if this were a mere variant for *š* it would be hard to explain why it happens regularly in this phrase and in this phrase only. The character occurs again in *žbt*, B v 75, 92, 99, of which nothing can be said except that in view of its repetition the spelling with that sign is obviously definite. It appears once more in the broken vocable *ktXž*,⁷ B iii 41, and perhaps in *žd*, 'breast' in C 61, the meaning of which is made definite by the context *ynqm b'ap žd*, 'sucking at the breast';⁸ this word may be the same as the *žd* above. Lastly, it occurs in *zr'h*, in A sup i 4, while in the unpublished parallel text which Virolleaud quotes *ad loc.* the word appears again with the same spelling. So much is at all events clear from all these cases, that the sign is no variant, but a letter in its own right. Ginsberg, indeed, has suggested⁹ that the two-wedged sign is *ś* (Hebrew masoretic *śin*), the three-wedged *š*; the evidence does not bear this out however, for all the words which have *ś* in Hebrew are here written with *š*: *šmh*, *šd*, *bšrt*, etc.

It is impossible, however, to identify this new letter among known Semitic consonants, and it is only additional evidence from the tablets that carries the investigation farther. In the Tablets the sign is found, in obscure context, in T 6: 8 (*lžr-*), 34 (*hž-*); 7: 5 (*lyžt* ?); 28: 7; 30: 4 (*'aržl*); T³ B 15 (*hžr*). Tablet 7 and 28 are Hurrian, and 30 probably so. In T 4, the only large Hurrian

⁶ See Montgomery, *JAOS* 1933, 101. Cf. also *ibid.* Professor Montgomery's invaluable notes on the words discussed below.

⁷ *X* is used for the sign of undetermined value, Albright's no. 8 (*JPOS* 1932, 187), formerly read *z*; see Albright, *JPOS* 1934, 104 ff.

⁸ This phrase occurs also in C 59, where our character happens to be effaced, and in C 24, where the word is written *zd*. If the writing in C 61 is correct, the *z* in C 24 would be an error for the somewhat similar *ž*. However, both the sign in C 61 and that in C 24 may be errors for *t*, which is similar to both and which would be the correct letter if the word is *td*, "breast."

⁹ *Tarbiz* 4 (1932) 380; *OLZ* 1933, 593, n. 1.

tablet in the group, the sign is very frequent. It occurs in 19 words, some of them often repeated: 'i \dot{z} r (18 times), $\dot{h}\dot{z}$ r (15 times), $\dot{h}\dot{z}\dot{l}\dot{z}$ (also 15), $\dot{h}\dot{d}\dot{z}\dot{n}\dot{n}\dot{k}$ (5), 'ar $\dot{z}\dot{n}\dot{n}\dot{k}$ (3), 'in \dot{z} (3), p $\dot{z}\dot{z}\dot{p}\dot{h}$ (2), n \dot{z} r, 'a $\dot{z}\dot{n}\dot{n}$, m \dot{z} gd, pn $\dot{z}\dot{n}\dot{n}$, p \dot{z} y, 'it \dot{z} dn, tr $\dot{h}\dot{n}\dot{z}\dot{k}$, dp $\dot{z}\dot{l}$, pb $\dot{n}\dot{z}$ -, 'iy $\dot{k}\dot{z}$, 'i \dot{z} -, -l \dot{z} . In the apparently Hurrian T⁴ the sign occurs in 'i \dot{z} (r), p \dot{z} p-, $\dot{h}\dot{z}$ r, $\dot{h}\dot{z}\dot{z}$ (twice), and in T⁵ 1 in m \dot{z} r and tg \dot{z} n. In *Syria* 1931, p. 389, in a tablet giving a list of mostly Hurrian deities, the sign appears in p $\dot{z}\dot{z}\dot{p}\dot{h}\dot{n}\dot{d}$, a name which occurs in T 4: 35, 37 without the Hurrian ending -nd. In all these tablets the usual \dot{s} also occurs, and in no case does the one sign come for the other. It seems fairly clear, therefore, that this is a special sign for a common Hurrian sound which did not exist in the Semitic speech of Ras Shamra. What sound it was is hard to tell; *a priori* it need not have any connection with the \dot{s} . The two remaining occurrences of the character give us nevertheless some indication of its value. In T 14, a list of non-Semitic deities, the name 'a \dot{z} mny occurs. This is in all probability the name of the Phoenician god Eshmun, which, in the accepted opinion, was of foreign origin.¹⁰ This Hurrian sound would then have been a peculiar sibilant which in Phoenician borrowing was taken over as \dot{s} . Fresh evidence appears now in the name 'iwr \dot{z} r, identified as *Ewiri-šarri*¹¹ by Ginsberg and Maisler, and independently by Virolleaud¹² and by Albright.¹³ Finally, Professor Speiser suggests that the name Tg \dot{z} n in T⁵ 1: 9 may be the Hurrian *Tagi-šenni* or *Taki-šenni*.¹⁴ In both cases we again find a Hurrian sound, and one which, in cuneiform transcription, appears as \dot{s} .

I had discussed this \dot{z} with Professor Speiser last year, before the name 'iwr \dot{z} r was published by Dhorme. He noted at that time that

¹⁰ See Albright, "The Syro-Mesopotamian God Šulman-Ešmun," *Archiv für Orientforschung* 7 (1931-32) 164 ff., where he discusses a Hurrian name bearing the element Šulman in an Akkadian letter from Ras Shamra, *Syria* 1929, pl. LXXVI, no. 2, 11: 6, 16; the connection of the divine names Šulman and Ešmun is now complicated by the occurrence of 'a \dot{z} mny = Ešmun in the Tablets.

¹¹ On the name, and especially the element *iuri*, see Speiser, *Mesopotamian Origins*, p. 145, n. 90.

¹² *Syria* 1934, 83.

¹³ *Bulletin ASOR*, April 1934, p. 26.

¹⁴ Cf. *Tagi*, Amarna 249. 8, etc., and *Taku*, Amarna 51. 5, in Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln*, also the many names in -šenni, e. g. *Puḫi-šenni* (listed as *Buḫi-šenni* in Gadd, cf. note 15 below).

there is a sound peculiar to Hurrian which is represented by cuneiform *z* in the Nuzi tablets, and which may be the sound in question. The Nuzi tablets are written in Akkadian, in large part by Hurrian scribes, and the spelling often shows the linguistic background of the writers. Dr. Speiser pointed out that in these texts the Akkadian sibilants are completely confused, showing that the scribes could not recognize the differences between them. In the Hurrian proper names in the same tablets, however, *s* and *z* are kept reasonably distinct.¹⁵ Since the Hurrian scribes did not hear the difference between Akkadian *z* and the other sibilants, this *z* in their own proper names must have represented a peculiar sound, different from the Akkadian *z* and distinct from their own *s*. Its exact value is unknown, but Professor Speiser is of the opinion that it was an affricate rather than a simple sibilant, for there is evidence that the sound could be represented in writing either as a dental or as a sibilant. To the cases which he intends to publish elsewhere, there is now added the variation of *Ni-iq-me-aš*¹⁶ and *Nqmd*,¹⁷ if indeed it is phonetic rather than morphological. This variation of dental and sibilant may yet be found within the Ras Shamra alphabet itself, for Virolleaud reports that in an unpublished text¹⁸ the name *Lṭpn 'il dp'id* is written *Lṣpn 'il ṣp'id*.¹⁹ There must have been more phonetic peculiarities in Ras Shamra than the writing betrays.

We have here, then, a Hurrian affricate or sibilant. Its use in Hurrian words in the tablets is hardly surprising. What is of particular interest, however, is the use of this letter in apparently Semitic words in the poems. Ginsberg and Maisler recognize this Hurrian character, outside of *'iwrṣr*, only in T 4 and 7 and in

¹⁵ For the Nuzi tablets and the Hurrian names in them, see Gadd, *Revue d'Assyriologie* 1926, 49 ff.; Speiser, "New Kirkuk Documents Relating to Family Laws," *Annual ASOR*, X, p. 1, and "New Kirkuk Documents Relating to Security Transactions," *JAOS* 1932, p. 350; 1933, p. 24.

¹⁶ Virolleaud, *Syria* 1934, 243. The name comes from a Babylonian letter found at Ras Shamra and announced in *C. R. Acad. des Inscr.* for Dec. 2, 1932, where it was rendered *Niqméaz*.

¹⁷ King of Ugarit, in the colophons in A sup. vi 56, and the end of B viii.

¹⁸ A "hymn to the moon," *Syria* 1934, 82, mentioned also *ibid.* 1932, 143, n. 1.

¹⁹ The sign here represented as *ṣ* is Albright's no. 9a (*JPOS* 1932, 187), now transcribed *ṣ* by him (*JPOS* 1934, 105) and *ṣ* by Virolleaud. In the same unpublished text Virolleaud mentions *ṣhrm* for *ṭhrm*, showing what may be a regular variation in that text.

Syria 1931, p. 389; they divorce it completely both from the three-wedged *š* and from the two-wedged sign as it appears in the other tablets and in the poems, assuming the existence of two two-wedged signs, the one, Hurrian, in the tablets just mentioned, and the other, Semitic, everywhere else. The sign which they recognize as Hurrian is, however, the same as the *z* elsewhere. The only difference between the *z* in these tablets and elsewhere is calligraphic, a difference noticeable in the other signs also. The Hurrian value of this character must therefore be recognized in all its occurrences, e. g., in the name *'ažmny* in T 14, and in the poems. It is this last phenomenon which is linguistically the most interesting. Why certain Semitic words should be written with this sign or pronounced with this foreign sound, is difficult to explain. The contact between the two linguistic communities of Hurrians and Semites at Ugarit may well have led to certain contaminations and to changes in the pronunciation of some words, depending always on the individual history of each word. For that matter, since none of these words have been definitively identified, they may be merely semitized loan-words, retaining the sound of their original Hurrian sibilant. Beyond this point it is hard to go at present. Further occurrences of the sign will surely aid in explaining its use.

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

The Origin of the Alphabet of Ras Shamra and its Bearing on the Origin of the Phoenician Alphabet

In a paper read before the Prussian Academy of the Arts and Sciences on January 11, 1934, Professor Erich Ebeling of Berlin ascertains that "das Ras-Schamra Alphabet aus den einfachen Zeichen des babylonischen Keilschriftsystems, die bekanntlich als Silbenzeichen Vokal und Konsonant in sich vereinen, entwickelt worden ist."¹

The present writer reached essentially the same conclusion before Ebeling's paper had been published differing only with regard to the derivation of the Ras Shamra characters from their Babylonian models in the following instances:

No. 1 = '₁: from Babyl. *an*, and not from *a*.

No. 3 = '₃: from Old-Babyl. *un*, and not from Babyl. *u*.

No. 4 = *b*: from Babyl. *ba*; E. from Babyl. *bi*.

No. 10 = *h*₂(*h*): from Babyl. *hu*; E. from Old-Babyl. *ha*.

No. 15 = *l*: from Babyl. *la*; E. from Babyl. *lu*.

No. 20 = ' : from Babyl. *en*; E. from Babyl. *u*, *ha*.

No. 22 = *s*₁: from Babyl. *zu/su*; E. from Babyl. *za*.

No. 25 = *r*: from Babyl. *ra*; E. undecided between *ur* and *ra*.

Professor Ebeling bases his argument for the Babylonian origin of the Ras Shamra characters solely upon the similarity between these characters and certain signs of the Babylonian cuneiform system. I would stress in addition the historical situation during the middle centuries of the second millenium B. C., when Babylonian (or rather "Akkadian") was the lingua franca in the Near East while the Ras Shamra alphabet was being developed; it is logical to assume that the Ras Shamra characters had cuneiform signs as models. The Ras Shamra alphabet probably compares with Babylonian cuneiform writing as the Sinaitic alphabet compares with the Egyptian hieroglyphs.

¹ *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Sitzung vom 1. Februar 1934, p. 11.*

After this consideration of the Babylonian origin of the Ras Shamra alphabet it is surely pertinent to inquire whether the Phoenician alphabet might not have developed out of the Ras Shamra script. Even a superficial comparison between the Ras Shamra characters and those of the Phoenician alphabet reveals certain striking similarities between the two scripts. Some of the differences between the two alphabets might be explained by the change of wedges into straight lines and the ultimate direction of the writing from right to left instead of from left to right.²

I submit, therefore, that the Phoenician alphabet and all alphabets derived from it go back to the cuneiform script rather than to the Sinaitic alphabet. Concerning the latter view, which is held by Professors Olmstead and Sprengling, Dr. Flight has this to say: "Their argument on the point in question is based for the most part, however, upon the similarity of form between corresponding characters in the two alphabets. So far as this argument is concerned one can see as much evidence for the derivation of certain Ras Shamra characters from the Canaanite-Phoenician as from the Se'irite-Sinaitic."³

TRUDE WEISS ROSMARIN.

New York.

A Note on the "Description of the Holy Land and of the Way Thither" by Ludolph Von Suchem (1350)

Aubrey Stewart, in his preface to Ludolph Von Suchem's *Description of the Holy Land*, which he translated for the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society in 1896 (London), comes to the conclusion that the original was written in 1350; this date is printed on the front page of this book just below the title. I find, however, that there is some doubt about the accuracy of the date in question.

In Ch. XXXII, entitled "Ancient Babylon, or Baldach" we read: "I will tell you somewhat about the loss of this city of Baldach, according as I have read thereof in the chronicles¹ and

² [A number of detailed arguments had to be left out for lack of space. E. A. S.]

³ F. W. Flight, "Semitic Alphabet Origins," *Macdonald Presentation Volume*, 1933, p. 190.

¹ According to Stewart, the reference is probably to *Haithoni Armeni*

histories of the kings of Armenia, and have heard from a right truthful knight who was there at the time. In the year of our Lord 1268, when the Tartars had conquered all the kingdoms of the East, Ayco, the then King of Armenia, of his own accord proceeded to the great Khan, the Emperor of the Tartars, to visit him. Ayco was kindly received by him, because so great and singular an honour had been shown him, that kings should of their own accord visit him and come to meet him, whereat he was much pleased and honoured the king with many presents. In process of time, when the King of Armenia was about to return home, he asked the Emperor to grant him five boons" (pp. 73, 74).

This statement contains three serious errors.

1. The Armenian King Ayco, mentioned by von Suchem, was the King of Lesser Armenia, Haitum I (1226-1270), while the Tartar Khan in question was Manku Khan (1256-1259). Haitum I left for the court of Manku on Feb. 4, 1254 and returned on June 5, 1256; the year 1268, in which the trip is placed by von Suchem, cannot represent the correct date.

2. The Baldach of von Suchem is Baghdad, which was taken by the Tartars, aided by the forces of the Armenians and the treachery of its own commander, on February 5, 1258. The Mohammedans were ruthlessly butchered, but the Christians were not molested because of the intercession of the Armenians and other Christians then in the army and at the court of the Tartars.

3. Von Suchem states that "about the loss of this city of Baldach" he has "heard from a right truthful knight who was there at the time." From that statement we are to infer that this truthful knight was actually present on the battlefield at the fall and capture of Baghdad by the Tartars in the year 1258. Now if von Suchem wrote his *Description of the Holy Land* in 1350, 92 years must have elapsed by then since the fall and capture of Baghdad. And if he heard this story on his first visit to the Orient (about 1336) his informant must have been at least 100

Historia Orientalis, in Vol. II of Vincent of Beauvais's *Fragmenta*. This Armenian chronicler is really Haitum, prince of Gorigos, whose work is entitled *Liber Historiarum Partium Orientis*. In a French MS now in the Bibl. Nat. of Paris (No. 12201), entitled *Merveilles du Monde*, is included an excellent copy of the Haitum Chronicles, mentioned above, together with forty-three splendid illustrations.

years old, or he could not have taken part in a battle fought in 1258.

It follows that we should place the date of von Suchem's book and the year of the author's first visit to the Holy Land at a much earlier time. If it should be found that no change in either date is justified, then we cannot but conclude that the truthful knight was not so truthful and von Suchem was a very gullible tourist. Or did he make up the story to give his work a more authoritative aspect?

H. KURDIAN.

Wichita, Kansas.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

A Guide to an Exhibition of Islamic Miniature Painting and Book Illumination. By M. S. DIMAND. New York: METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, 1933. Pp. ix + 53, with 39 illustrations. \$1.00.

We see from the title that this pamphlet is a guide to the exhibition which remained in the Metropolitan Museum from October 9, 1933 to January 7, 1934. But it really contains a brief manual of Mohammedan painting written in a serious, but popular, form by a noted specialist in this field. The author was the soul, the organizer, and the manager of this exhibition, which proved both interesting and important to the lovers and connoisseurs of Oriental Art in this country. There were shown wonderful miniatures and bookbindings from twenty private collections, eight of them from abroad, and from the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, the Louvre, and four American museums.

The book opens with a preface by H. E. Winlock, Director, and the first chapter, dealing with Islamic calligraphy, is prepared by Joseph M. Upton, Assistant to Dr. Dimand. The work of Dimand is divided into five sections: The Beginning of Islamic Painting, The Mesopotamian school (12-13 cc.), Persian, Indian, and Turkish Painting. The last chapter is devoted to bookbinding, which is an important branch of Moslem art.

From this brief summary everyone can appreciate what a wealth of material is concentrated in about forty pages, and the name of Dr. Dimand is the best guarantee that the results are trustworthy. His work can be warmly recommended to anyone who wishes to know something of Islamic painting. The pamphlet is decorated with 39 beautifully made reproductions of sections of manuscripts, bindings, and of several miniatures.

Studien zu einer osttürkischen Lautlehre. VON GUNNAR JARRING. Leipzig: OTTO HARRASSOWITZ, 1933. Pp. xv + 126 + 53. RM. 12.

The author, a young Swedish Orientalist, studied the Eastern Turkish dialect in 1929-1930 in Kashgar. Chinese Turkestan, and

the book under discussion is the result of these studies. First of all, Mr. Jarring in two bibliographical lists shows a deep knowledge of technical literature, and especially, of the Russian works which he handles quite successfully. He is not like so many Orientalists who think that in our time it is possible to be a Turcologist without studying the Russian works on the subject. Concerning the first bibliography we can remark that a very important dissertation published in 1903 by the late Prof. N. Katanov on the Uriankhai dialect is missing, and the works of Mr. Polivanov are uselessly mentioned because this scholar is a Japanist and only recently, with a political aim, has turned to Turcology.

After defining Eastern Turkish, and surveying the earlier works on the subject, the author gives us a detailed study of the vowels (pp. 22-98). In two of the last chapters (11th and 12th, pp. 98-128), we have an explanation of the system of the consonants. The most interesting part of the book, with a separate pagination, is entitled "Materials." It contains several extracts from some Eastern Turkish literary works and popular songs given in the Arabic alphabet, with a phonetic transliteration and a German translation. The phonetic transliterations are especially useful for Turcology, because linguistic data on Eastern Turkish are not too familiar to European scholars. At the end the photo of a fragment of a poem is added.

Our one quarrel with Mr. Jarring and modern philologists in general is that their system of transliteration is exaggerated (54 signs used by Mr. Jarring!). The old great scholars, like W. Radloff, who had published many and many volumes about Turkish linguistics, have used a much simpler phonetic alphabet, but their results were none the less valuable.

Die verschollene Columbus-Karte von 1498 in einer türkischen Weltkarte von 1513. Von PAUL KAHLE. Berlin und Leipzig: WALTER DE GRUYTER UND CO., 1933. Pp. 52, with 9 maps. RM. 5.

We cannot review this work without mentioning an article published later on the same subject, also by Prof. P. Kahle, in the *Geographical Review*, New York, October, 1933, pp. 621-638, under the title "A Lost Map of Columbus." In this article the same

question is discussed, but in a more condensed form, and only one map is reproduced.

In 1929, at Constantinople, among several maps found in the Seraglio, Dr. Kahle discovered a Turkish map of the Atlantic Ocean. When he had read the Turkish inscriptions on it, he suggested that it was a portion of the world map which had been prepared in 1513 and presented by the Turkish admiral, statesman and cartographer, Piri Reis, to Sultan Selim I at Cairo in 1517; Kahle had already a special interest in Piri Reis and had written two works concerning his activities. When our author later studied the charts of Columbus and compared them with this Turkish map, he concluded that the latter was a reproduction of a lost map of Columbus of 1498. But in what way did the map of Columbus reach the hands of the Turkish admiral? Kahle tells us that the uncle of Piri Reis, Kemal Reis, had a Spanish slave who had travelled three times with Columbus to America. He was captured after a Turkish naval victory in the Mediterranean, near Valencia, in 1501. Thus, this map either belonged to the Spanish slave or was a part of the booty. And Piri Reis reproduced it later as a Western portion of the world map when he was ordered by Sultan Selim to prepare such a work.

The material given as proof by Prof. Kahle is considerable enough and his hypothesis is possible. But he, himself, writes: "A complete discussion of this remarkable document and the many problems that it raises must be reserved for a longer study now in preparation." We are obliged to wait, with great interest, for the final solution of these problems.

N. MARTINOVITCH.

New York City.

Ancient Synagogues in Palestine and Greece. By E. L. SUKENIK.

London: 1934. 90 pp., with numerous drawings and 19 plates; royal oct. \$3.50.

The British Academy is to be congratulated on having asked Dr. Sukenik to deliver the 1930 *Schweich Lectures* which this book gives to the general public in printed form. Discoveries in the field of synagogue architecture and ornamentation since the days of Kohl and Watzinger have made a new treatment of the subject

highly desirable, and no one is more intimately acquainted with the field than the Archaeologist to the Institute of Jewish Studies at Jerusalem, himself the excavator of the Beth Alpha and other important synagogue sites. That the book is the fruitage of a series of lectures is quite apparent, for its method is to instruct by choosing certain of the outstanding monuments as the subject of discussion, rather than to cover the whole field as Krauss did in his *Synagogale Altertümer* (1928). The choice, however, is excellent. It embraces the synagogues of Capernaum, Chorazin and Kefr Bir'im from the older Palestinian series, Delos, Miletus, Priene and Aegina from the publications of classical archaeologists, and Na'aran, Beth Alpha and Jerash from the post-war discoveries in Bible lands. An appendix brings important comment on the most recent finds at Stobi, Hammath, Dura and 'Esfia.

The book is one which will delight the general reader desiring to acquaint himself with the important facts about the most significant of these ancient Jewish monuments. But its appeal is equally to the scholar searching for contributions to the field of inquiry. Three things about the publication give it special value in this connection: first, the detailed analysis of the architecture of the Capernaum synagogue (superseding Watzinger), second, the section on inscriptions, and third, the discussion of the use of pictorial art in ancient synagogues generally.

The last-mentioned topic is one that the excavations at Jerash, Beth Alpha, Na'aran and Dura have brought to the fore. Most of the implications involved in the existence of an ancient Jewish pictorial art are as yet obscure. The question which everyone faced with the evidence naturally asks himself is how the use of such representations in synagogues can be reconciled with the commands of Exodus 20:4 and Deuteronomy 5:8. Dr. Sukenik has made the first real attempt to answer this question. His suggestion is that the ancient Jews were generally more favorable to pictorial and even sculptural art than we have imagined, and that only in times of national crisis was there objection to it. The final proscription against the use of pictures in Jewish houses of worship he places in the period between 400 and 600 c. E. This position is thoroughly sound, but one may well wonder whether the earlier exegetical treatment of the Old Testament passages did not also distinguish between images that might be the occasion of idolatry and those that did not, and whether place was not as im-

portant a factor in determining the attitude toward art as time was. Certainly the most lavish pictorial decorations are those of the synagogue at Dura in Mesopotamia, and even in the troublesome second half of the first century the author of *IV Maccabees*, who lived outside Palestine, was able to contemplate a structure on the walls of which the sufferings of the Jewish heroes were depicted.

*In the discussion of the architectural form of the ancient synagogues Dr. Sukenik gives due prominence to the basilica type so commonly found, and implies that there was probably an earlier type lacking certain of its features. Possibly the discoveries at Dura will eventually permit us to construct a clearer picture of this earlier type. The Dura synagogue is utterly unlike the Palestinian edifices, and, as it agrees in many important respects with those of Hamam-Lif and Priene (if this was a synagogue), may well be taken as the representative of a distinct type. The fact that it meets Jewish devotional needs more immediately and recalls the Wilderness Tabernacle in some of its features makes it possible to consider the Dura type as the precursor of the later Hellenistic edifice.

To all interested in ancient Jewish life and culture Dr. Sukenik's newest publication can be warmly recommended as a most satisfying treatment of a highly important and thoroughly live topic.

CARL H. KRAELING.

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Les Noms Magiques dans les Apocryphes Chrétiens des Éthiopiens.

By A. Z. AEŠCOLY. Extract from *Journal Asiatique*, 1932.

Pp. 88-137.

The author studies the magic names contained in Basset's *Les Apocryphes Éthiopiens*, with references also to the texts which have been published by Worrell and Euringer. He finds that many of the names drawn from foreign sources may be traced to an origin in Jewish magical usage; this conclusion is, perhaps, somewhat too strongly expressed. Further study, we are inclined to think, will show a larger borrowing from the Coptic. However this may be, every worker in the field is indebted to the author of the present brochure for his pioneer—and very thorough—efforts

in throwing light upon a difficult and interesting subject. In the study of the names of native origin every possible attempt is made to find an etymological derivation. Here a higher degree of success has been reached than the reviewer was able to attain in the study of a lengthy text which he has just completed; many of the names here seem to be meaningless combinations of letters although a large number end with 'êl or yâl, which would indicate an origin at least partly Jewish. We find Aešcoly's work so valuable that we venture a criticism only with the hope that the author will continue his labors in this field and find it useful; that he arrange the names in the sequence of the Ethiopic alphabet, not of the Latin. No one is likely to use the work who is not acquainted with Ethiopic.

FRANK H. HALLOCK.

Oriental Institute, Chicago.

Vedic Variants. By MAURICE BLOOMFIELD, FRANKLIN EDGERTON, and MURRAY B. EMENEAU. Volume III: Noun and Pronoun Inflection. Special Publication of the LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA, University of Pennsylvania, 1934. Pp. 513. \$5.50.

With gratifying promptness comes now to hand this third volume of *Vedic Variants*, full of interest and enlightenment. In the introductory chapter of the first volume we have read: "For the most part . . . the variants between text and text are based upon the natural freedom of expression in prayers and songs of praise, and upon the looser syntax which, compared for instance with Greek and Latin, pervades Sanskrit from the Veda to the end of its career." These words gave an intimation of the large significance of the study and analysis of the variants. The first volume dealing with the verb and the second volume dealing with phonetics have indeed offered opportunity for many interesting observations concerning grammar and linguistic psychology: this third volume "aims to include all variations in the inflected forms of such words [nouns, pronouns, and adjectives] in the repeated mantras of the Veda," with some slight exceptions; and the material divides itself into "formal variants and syntactic and stylistic variants." The study of the formal variants is a contribution to morphology in

Sanskrit grammar, and the study of the other variants illumines the uses of cases, numbers, and genders, but for the most part the uses of cases. One fact clearly emerging in this volume is that case constructions which would at first thought seem in no wise similar are in the variants actually interchanged to a surprising extent: and one can hardly fail to be surprised at the number of the variants which have their place in this volume. The variants are interesting because "they illumine the ways in which the whole stock of mantra material was reworked in the course of the centuries." It might be added that those ways are many and some of them strange.

Although the syntax of Sanskrit is looser than that of Greek and Latin there are certainly many close parallels which come to the mind of a student of the classical languages. The circumstances which produced the variants in the Vedic texts have no counterpart in Greek and Latin but in these latter languages different cases are at times found expressing the same idea; so in Latin we find genitive of quality and ablative of quality with a considerable overlapping of usage. Something vaguely approaching a Vedic variant appears in the following lines:

quae nos materiem et genitalia corpora rebus
reddunda in ratione vocare et semina rerum
appellare suemus . . . (Lucr. 1. 58-60.)

The dative of reference as variant for possessive genitive or possessive pronoun is common in Roman comedy and appears not rarely in Augustan poetry; indeed the type *optundit os mihi* (Cas. 931) is more frequent than the type *auris graviter obtundo tuas* (Cist. 118).

Case usages are not merely matters of syntax but are influenced by the particular words used (e. g. some Latin nouns are defective), by the literary form or department, and by the times. Some such matters are set forth in this volume of the Variants, and there seems to be opportunity for further study along such lines. Indeed one might hope that these volumes of Vedic Variants may stimulate studies in syntax.

The reviewer has spent some time in editing a Vedic text and finds in this volume reason to think that he has at times too readily "corrected" a case form of the manuscript; but on the other hand

has at times thought in going through this volume that some variants may be merely mistakes in the tradition.

The volume is commended not only as sound and instructive but also as interesting, and we may surely be permitted to express the hope that the next volume may not be too long delayed.

LEROY C. BARRET.

Trinity College, Hartford.

NOTES OF THE SOCIETY

The Society's Committee on Policy held its second meeting on Monday, December 31, 1934, at the Hotel Pennsylvania, New York City. The session lasted from 10 a. m. to 5 p. m., and was devoted to an exhaustive study of changes in the Constitution of the Society as recommended by the special sub-committee headed by Prof. Sturtevant. Another meeting of the Committee will be held in conjunction with the forthcoming meeting of the Society at Ann Arbor. It is hoped that the present and the amended Constitutions can be printed in parallel columns in the next issue of the JOURNAL so as to enable the Society to take formal action at its meeting in 1936.

The Executive Committee of the Society authorized the Editors to apply the balance of the sum of \$200.00, which the Board of Directors set aside for the purpose of enlarging vol. 54. 2-3 of the JOURNAL, to the last number of vol. 54.

The President of the Society appointed Drs. Kent and Speiser as delegates of the Society to the Annual Meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, to be held at the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel, Philadelphia, April 5-6th, 1935.

Owing to an oversight on the part of our printer the title-page and the table of contents of vol. 54 were printed on the same sheet of paper as the last eight pages of the volume. Subsequently the printer supplied separate copies of pages in question for the use of those who care to bind their volumes. These copies are being sent out to subscribing libraries with the present issue of the JOURNAL. Members may obtain them free of charge upon application to the Office of the Society, in care of the Yale University Press.

Volume 6 of the Society's Monograph Series, containing *The State Letters of Assyria*, by Robert H. Pfeiffer, is now on sale. Volume 7, which will contain *A Union List of Printed Indic Material in American Libraries*, by Murray B. Emeneau, is in press.

NOTES OF OTHER SOCIETIES

A Summer Seminar in Arabic and Islamic Studies, sponsored by the American Council of Learned Societies, will be held at Princeton University from June 20 to July 31 in the coming summer. The Committee of Direction consists of Prof. P. K. Hitti, Director, Prof. W. L. Wright, Secretary, Professors H. H. Bender, A. M. Friend, Jr., and J. T. Gerould, and Mr. Mortimer Graves, for the American Council of Learned Societies. The set courses will include elementary and advanced courses in Arabic.

an elementary course in Turkish, and in case of demand courses in Persian; general courses in Islamic Culture and Literature, History of the Ottoman Empire, Islamic Art, will be given by Professors Hitti, Wright, and Dr. Aga-Oglu. Also a number of Semitists and specialists in allied fields have been invited to give lectures, among them Professors Calverley, Montgomery-Sarton, and Sprengling. Further information can be obtained from Prof. W. L. Wright, 20 Maple Street, Princeton, N. J. The Seminar will be housed in the Graduate College of Princeton, where dormitory accommodations have been provided for both men and women.

PERSONALIA

Professor James Haughton Woods, of Harvard University, died on January 14th, 1935, at the age of seventy-one. He was graduated from Harvard in 1887, and from the Cambridge Theological School in 1889, and studied at the University of Berlin (1889-91) and the University of Strassburg (1894-97). He was first appointed to the faculty of Harvard University in 1891. He taught at various times History, Philosophy, and Anthropology. In 1913 he was made professor. In 1916-18, and again in 1921, he was exchange professor to France. Professor Woods was especially interested in Comparative Religions, and investigated the philosophy of India and Japan, travelling to the Orient for that purpose. He was a member of many learned societies, and was well known as an author, translator, and editor. He contributed to the Harvard Oriental Series the volume on the *Yoga System of Patanjali* (1914). One of the most distinguished of American Orientalists, Professor Woods combined wide interests with thorough scholarship and mastery of detail.

Benjamin F. March, of the University of Michigan, died on December 13th, 1934, at the age of thirty-five. He was one of the most promising of American sinologists. He graduated from the University of Chicago in 1922, and attended the Union Theological Seminary the following year. He was in China from 1923 to 1927, as a member of the faculties of the Hopei and Yenching universities. He lectured on Chinese Art at the Summer Session of Columbia University in 1927, was Curator of Asiatic Art at the Detroit Institute of Arts, 1927-33, and went to the University of Michigan in 1933. He was the author of *China and Japan in Our Museums*, 1929; *Standards of Pottery Description*, 1934; and *Some Technical Terms of Chinese Painting*, to be published in 1935. He is survived by his wife, Dorothy Rowe March, and a child, Judith. During the World War he served in France with Field Remount Squadron No. 305.

LINGUISTIC SCIENCE AND THE ORIENTALIST *

ROLAND G. KENT

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ABOUT A YEAR before I was admitted to membership in this honorable Society, I was engaged in tracking down a review which proved to have been used in dishonest fashion by the publisher in his promotion circular, and while thus occupied I happened upon the following letter sent by one Edward S. Dodgson to the editor of *The Academy*, and by him printed in the section reserved for Correspondence: ¹

Sir,—To primitive man the sea must have seemed more shiny, open, and seeable than the land, which is blocked with hills, and covered with a hull of woods and forests. Whether *ἕλη* and *silua*, *sylua* are connected with Old-English *hulen*, Icelandic *hylja*, Gothic *huljan*, is for philologists like Dr. W. W. Skeat to say. But may it not be that, just as Latin *māre* appears to come from a root meaning *to shine, to gleam*, so the Gothic *saiws* = *the sea*, is akin to Gothic *saihwān* = *to see*? In the Carpathian Mountains there are lakes known as “eyes of the sea;” and in Baskish a spring of water is called *ur-begi*, literally *water-eye*. The Greek is *ὠκεανός*, and is thought by some to come from *ὠκός* = *swift*, but is it not possible that its *etymon* is the same as the Latin *oculus*, and other Indo-European words meaning *eye*?

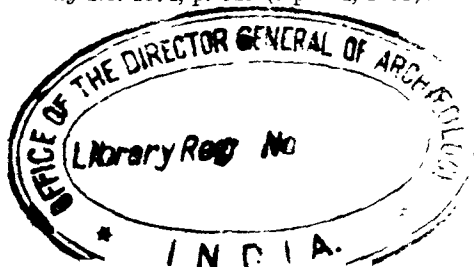
Under date of the very day on which *The Academy* containing Mr. Dodgson's letter was issued, Mr. A. L. Mayhew of Oxford penned the following protest, which appeared in *The Academy* one week later: ²

Sir,—As a student of comparative philology for more than forty years, and as a sincere friend of THE ACADEMY, I most earnestly entreat you, as you value the representation of THE ACADEMY as a literary and scientific weekly review, not to admit letters from Mr. E. S. Dodgson on the subject of com-

* Presidential Address delivered at the meeting of the Society, in Ann Arbor, April 24, 1935.

¹ *The Academy* No. 1873, p. 626 (March 28, 1908).

² *The Academy* No. 1874, p. 648 (April 4, 1908).



parative philology. In the letter which appears in this week's ACADEMY on the etymology of "Sea," there is scarcely a line which does not contain a gross blunder. The letter clearly shows that the writer is absolutely ignorant of the elements of old English or of Gothic scholarship. There is not a single etymology which is suggested in this astounding letter that would not be laughed out of court by any competent scholar.

I am quite sure that if you had been told how bad the communication was you would never have given it the hospitality of your columns. I tell you now so that you may be warned in future.

You listened to my advice on philological letters in the case of the late Mr. Hall; I think that it will be to the interest of THE ACADEMY if you listen to me now, or at any rate take the advice on the matter of some competent scholar.

The editor, thus cornered, thought to extract himself from the position of having committed a bad bull, by appending the following note to Mr. Mayhew's letter: ³

We do not editorially profess to be authorities on comparative philology and we decline responsibility for views expressed in our correspondence columns. We constantly admit to its hospitality correspondents with whom we are in profound disagreement, and the responsibility for any mistakes and blunders they may make must rest on their own heads. Admitting that Mr. E. S. Dodgson's etymology is at fault, of which there appears to be little doubt, the value of his letter lies in the fact that it has drawn from Professor Skeat an authoritative pronouncement. Regarded from this point of view, correspondents who write and make inaccurate statements in the columns of THE ACADEMY are really often conferring a benefit on our readers, since they afford the means for the exposure of error.

A rather naive view of editorial responsibility! And if the publication of error does the readers a service if the error is later corrected, what a field of service the newspapers of today have but imperfectly realized, since they rarely publish the corrections of the errors. But to return to *The Academy*, we find on another page of this issue the letter from Dr. Skeat: ⁴

³ *The Academy*, loc. cit.

⁴ *The Academy* No. 1874, pp. 643-4 (April 4, 1908).

I am afraid that hardly any of the conclusions suggested in Mr. Dodgson's letter are likely to be accepted by the best authorities.

The Gothic *huljan* is allied to the Latin *celare*, and cannot be connected with *silua*.

The connection of the Latin *mare* with a root meaning "to gleam" is just a possible guess, but cannot be said to be convincing.

The Greek for "ocean" is spelt with a *kappa*, and cannot be connected with the Latin *oculus*, the root of which appears in Greek with a *pi*, as in our borrowed word *op-tics*, and is therefore not *ok-*, but *oq-*.⁵

The connection of the Gothic *saiws*, sea, with *saihwan*, to see, is impossible. It is unlucky that Gothic uses the symbol *ai* in two different and unconnected ways; but such is the fact. In *saihwan* the *ai* represents short *e*, and the root takes the form *seq*. But in *saiws* the *ai* is really a diphthong, and the Germanic type is either *saiwiz*, or else, as Uhlenbeck writes it, *saigwiz*, on the strength of a possible connection with O. H. G. *gi-sig*, a lake or pool. In other words, the forms *saihwan* and *saiws* have nothing in common except the initial *s*.

One might suppose that Mr. Dodgson would withdraw from the field; but no! he is sans peur, even if not sans reproche. He at once writes another effusion, to which the editor of *The Academy* gives space:⁶

"I am obliged to my friend Dr. Skeat for commenting on my letter about the word 'Sea.' . . . We cannot see or know the origin of all the oldest words; but we are free to guess at it, in the light of the phenomena of nature, as they meet the reason of mankind." No, Mr. Dodgson; only as they meet the requirements of linguistic science. "How very ancient is humanity, and how few are the languages which can boast of ancient documentary evidence! *Huljan* does not resemble *celare* so much as *saiws* does *saihwan*. In favour of *mare* meaning 'shining' one may cite *mar-mor*, *mor-ning*, and perhaps *mar-tyr*, a person who enlightens by his testimony." Why, Mr. Dodgson, do you cite Latin, English,

⁵ The contrast of *ok-* and *oq-* hardly makes clear the difference in the roots; the second root would now be quoted as *oqz-*.

⁶ *The Academy* No. 1875, p. 672 (April 11, 1908).

and Greek, all in one breath, and on the same basis? And do you not know that the pre-Christian meaning of *martyr* was "witness", and that the word got its new meaning as the result of the painful deaths of "witnesses" to the Christian faith? "I gathered from Liddell and Scott that in the optic words, to which Dr. Skeat refers, the root *oc* or *ok* was older than *op*, and that *okeanos* must be a very ancient word. It may have been the name of a *demon* like Neptune, and possibly referred to the western strait of the Midland Sea, considered as *the eye* of the great unknown 'whale-road' out beyond." What rubbish, mixed with lack of understanding! "The 'root' *seg*, and the Germanic 'types' *saiwiz*, or *saigwiz*, are mere matters of pedantic conjecture, without any documentary evidence." Yet how much better than Mr. Dodgson's ignorant conjecturings! Of which he makes some more: "Is not *saiwala*, the Gothic for *soul*, *seele*, derived from *saihwan*? Does it not mean the *seer*? Is not the *soul*, more than the *eye*, that which *sees*? Written words are but dead letters, except for those who know what things, thoughts, and sounds they represent. I do not think many readers of THE ACADEMY will follow Mr. Mayhew in his attempt to stifle free thought and enquiry about comparative philology, which is so necessary a study", a praiseworthy idea, expressed by an unworthy champion, "if all the citizens of the world are to understand one another and live like a happy family." Even here I must disagree with Mr. Dodgson: as a comparative philologist, I do not anticipate that the study of comparative philology will smooth out international differences and bring universal peace.

Curiously, in this four-cornered wrangle of Dodgson, Mayhew, Editor, and Skeat, I look upon the perhaps discourteous Mayhew as the only one with reason on his side. Mr. Dodgson was one of the many persons who thinks that anyone has a right to etymologize, and to get a hearing for his views; but he was ignorant even of the fact that there is a science of linguistics: he was no more qualified to air his views on etymology, than a street-sweeper is to expound views on the tensile strength of structural steel, or on the correctness of the logarithmic tables. The editor was wrong in admitting such trash to his columns; as we know, it is pedagogically wrong to set error before learners (wherein I include readers of *The Academy*) unless the correction follows at once, and reaches all who read the original: even then, there is a waste of time and space. Mr. Skeat was wrong in his dignified refutation, because

his very judicial manner dignified his unworthy opponent's views. Mr. Mayhew, however, struck at the root of the matter: silliness should not be spread abroad, in etymology any more than in any other science. The editor would surely not have given printing space to a communication which claimed, as a matter of scientific fact, that sugar and vinegar would unite chemically and form beefsteak; no more should he befriend silly etymologies.

But whereto all this? It has not touched on Oriental science, you may say. True: the illustrations have been from Occidental languages; but etymology is a science applying to every language, and virtually all Orientalists have to devote a great part of their time to the understanding of languages. A high percentage of them must or should busy themselves with the interpretation of languages: and it is to them that I intend especially to direct my remarks from this point on. There are also others who must utilize the results of other scholars' linguistic researches; to them I say: You must make yourself able to judge of the validity of the work which others have done, or you may base your own work on discredited theories.

For there is a science of linguistics, just as there is a science of textual criticism, of biblical exegesis, and now also of archaeological excavation. But comparatively few scholars in our country have any definite idea about the science of linguistics and its methods—even though in most of the subdivisions of the linguistic field we have some notable exponents who rank high in the linguistic scholarship of the world. Let us come to the main divisions of the Oriental field, however, disregarding the rest. We may fairly divide it into Semitic studies, with Hittite, Egyptian, and Hamitic bordering upon them; Indo-Iranian; Dravidian; Chinese and other monosyllabic tonal languages; Japanese; Indonesian; Bantu.

The first step toward a scientific knowledge of a language⁷ is to draw up a careful descriptive study of it: what sounds it has, how they are made, in what positions in the words they are found, etc.; what variations of form, if any, are used to express the modifications of the idea expressed by the word and its relations to its

⁷ In the case of a language not previously reduced to writing, this involves the taking down in a phonetic notation a series of texts, as dictated by a native speaker of the language. With such tasks we are not here concerned, since this address is directed essentially at the interpretation of older languages preserved in manuscripts and inscriptions.

neighbors in the expression of thought; what suffixes, prefixes, infixes are used, if any; the means of expressing the logical relations of the ideas (syntax); not to omit a list of the words or roots composing the vocabulary.

Some of the Oriental languages have as yet hardly been subjected to this careful descriptive study; but I would pass to the next step, the preparation of an historical grammar of related languages. In this, the first step is the gathering of a stock of word-groups, which seem by similarity of form and of meaning to be genetically related. Thus Latin *pater*, Greek *πατήρ*, Sanskrit *pitā*, English *father* are, for example, such a group of related words. In addition to this, there must be an observation of the differences between corresponding sounds, as that in the examples just quoted the original sound which appears as *p* in Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit, appears as *f* in English, at least in the initial position. From such observations a series of inductions will give the formulation of the sound-changes in accordance with which the various languages which stand in relation to one another have become differentiated.

Now for the present I wish to speak only of two sets of Oriental languages, the Indo-Iranian and the Semitic. The former are a branch of the Indo-European, and have been well studied; their historical study stands on a firm and valid basis. It is otherwise with the Semitic languages: and I wish to illustrate by certain examples, which are symptomatic, the fact that much which has been written on the linguistics of Semitic languages is entirely unscientific in its method. It would be possible for me to draw my material from the published works of members of this Society; but I recall what the Roman Juvenal felt obliged to do when in a spirit of revulsion at the follies of his time he started on the writing of satire: warned by his friends of the danger involved, he announced that he would draw his examples from those whose ashes lay buried by the Flaminian and the Latin highways.⁸ So I, out of fear for my own safety as well as for the feelings of some of my friends, now draw my examples from the writings of those who are separated from us by the width of an ocean.

I wish at the outset to emphasize the fact that I am not so much concerned with errors of fact as I am with errors of method.⁹

⁸ Juvenal, *Sat.* 1. 170-1.

⁹ My friend and colleague Prof. E. A. Speiser has contributed most generously of his time and his learning, to verify the facts of Semitic grammar

And the canons of method which may here be illustrated are the following:

a. There must be a careful distinction between speech, which consists of sounds, and writing, which consists of visual symbols indicating to the eye what the ear is to appreciate.

b. There must be a correct and consistent technical terminology.

c. There must be strict observance of the formulation that sound-changes are regular, if the conditions are the same; if they seem not to be, then there is some special cause affecting the development.

d. The fact that a sound-change, as of *n* to *l* or of *l* to *n*, may be found in one or more languages, is no evidence that it is to be assumed as normal in some other language.

e. Only comparables may be compared with one another: thus in an etymological comparison, words from languages not mutually related cannot be compared — English, Hebrew, Chinese, for example.

These are only a few matters, each (except the first) divisible into many; but they are convenient for the development of my thesis, that many scholars who write on the linguistics of the Semitic languages have not acquired the technique of linguistic science, without which their work is futile and their results may be, and often are, worthless.

Perhaps I may most profitably take as a work for examination the *Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*, by De Lacy O'Leary, published in 1923, the most recent of foreign treatments of the subject in English.¹⁰ Alas, he offends against the principle that sound and letter are to be carefully distinguished, for on pages 56-7 he says,¹¹ "The four letters *ṭ*, *ẓ*, *ṣ*, and *ḏ* are called in Arabic

which are involved in my discussion; and I hereby express to him my sincere thanks. Without his cooperation in this and other ways I should not have ventured to speak upon this topic; but the blame for any errors that still remain must be mine, and not his.

¹⁰ De Lacy O'Leary, D. D., *Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*: London, Kegan Paul Trench Trubner and Co., 1923 (and New York, Dutton and Co.).

¹¹ The citations from O'Leary's work, and from the works of others, are verbatim, except that words in Oriental alphabets are transliterated in my quotations, for ease of typography, and that words and phrases unnecessary to my purpose are omitted, though never in such a way as to prejudice the author's meaning.

'covered', because the lingual outlet of the letter is covered by the opposite side of the palate." He means "sound" where he says "letter".

This is a bad beginning. I pass now to his technical terminology. On page 29 he states: "It must be noted that *b, g, d, k, p, t* are aspirated as *bh, gh, dh, kh, ph, th*, in Hebrew and Aramaic by the influence of a preceding vowel." On page 88 he refers to the same process as aspiration. But aspiration is the emission of a puff of breath at the end of the utterance of a consonant, such as we have in English *p* in *pin*, but not found in *spin* nor in *upper*. O'Leary's error is in confusing aspirate with spirant: a spirant is a consonant produced by the friction of the breath against some part of the vocal apparatus, a very different thing from an aspirate: examples of spirants are found in the English words *the views of the faiths*.

We pass to another point of terminology. On page 63 he says: "There are four sonants, *l, r, n*, and *m*. Of these *m* is allied to the labials, *n* to the dentals." Quite absurd: sonant means voiced, emitted with a vibration of the vocal cords; and not only these four sounds, but also *b, d, g*, and their spirant variants, and also *y, w*, and *z* are sonants. However difficult it may be to find a single term to denote *l, r, n*, and *m*, sonant is another thing. And then "*m* is allied to the labials, *n* to the dentals:" not at all, but *m* is a labial, and *n* is a dental—no mere alliance. He forgets himself on page 135, where he calls *m* a labial outright; but on page 123 he says: "the labials, among which we must include the sonant labial *m*;" his trouble is that he has failed to acquire a generic term for the stops (mutes, occlusives) *b, g, d, p, k, t*, so that for *b* and *p* he must say "labials" and leave *m* aside as a pariah. If he had said "labial stops" or "labial stops and spirants" (including the values *f* and *v*, which are spirants), he could then have added "the labial nasal"; but the term "labial" would have included all five in a perfectly proper manner, intelligible to all clear-thinking linguistic scholars.

He has another term, apparently a favorite, elision, which he uses to denote any loss of a sound or of a syllable. On page 72, in speaking of "Abyssinian",¹² he says: "The vowel of the

¹² It is impossible to determine exactly what O'Leary means by "Abyssinian", a term which he uses on page 4 (cf. also page 1), although he summarizes the linguistic conditions of Abyssinia on pp. 22-3. In quoting him, I am obliged to use the term.

formative *ta-* is not elided in the perfect, but in the imperfect (*yetqatel*, etc.) it is brought into contact with the initial radical." What has taken place is syncope, the loss of a vowel in an unaccented medial syllable: here **yataqatel* became *yetqatel*, the syncope (not elision, which O'Leary's wording indicates) of the vowel leading to a change in the quality of the preceding syllable.

On page 135 O'Leary has a heading "Haplology and Elision", seemingly intended to cover losses of every kind: the first examples are really examples of haplology, loss of at least a consonant and a vowel when similar or identical groups stand in close proximity to one another. But he never uses the word haplology except in the heading, overworking elision for every phenomenon of loss, even (page 136) that of consonants when another consonant of identical or nearly identical sound is separated from it by one or at most two vowels: this is of course loss by dissimilation, as when Latin reduplicated perfect **ste-stī* became *steti* (to present *stō*). On page 137 he speaks of the loss of a final short vowel as elision; this might be correct if the next word began with a vowel: for elision can be said only of the loss of a vowel before a vowel; but he uses it of the loss of a final vowel at the end of a phrase ("in pause"), where nothing follows.

It must be clear that in these respects, which I could amplify (I limit myself to clear cases, readily set forth), the technical terminology of O'Leary lacks all agreement with conventional usage, and is even inconsistent within itself. No science can be advanced by such exposition; for science is exact, or it is not science. Curiously, at the very outset (page 4) O'Leary has cut out from under his feet the possibility of making his treatment scientific by asserting that while the five main Semitic languages (Arabic, "Abyssinian", Hebrew, Aramaic, Assyrian) cannot be arranged into closer sub-groupings, "still less are we able to designate any one of them as the parent language, or to construct a 'proto-Semitic' as representing the mother speech." Of course no one of these is the parent language; but as for the reconstruction of the proto-Semitic, the comparative grammar of a family of languages consists in that very thing, the reconstruction, so far as the evidence carries us, of the mother tongue of the family, and the tracing of the development from this mother tongue down to the various later and recorded languages and dialects. O'Leary might better have said that there was no possibility of writing

a comparative grammar of the Semitic languages, and have refrained from writing his volume. But how about the truth of his statement? The Semitic languages are all quite closely similar to one another, much more so than are the languages of the Indo-European family; and yet the Indo-European mother-tongue has been reconstructed to such an extent that the comparative grammar of Indo-European languages is further advanced than that of any other group of languages, and serves as a model for the studies of other language-families. It is even probable that the variations among the Semitic languages, at least among the five which O'Leary named in the passage which I have cited, are no greater than those within the modern Balto-Slavonic division of the Indo-European; their differences are certainly much less than those among the modern Indo-Iranian languages. But after denying the possibility of a firm basis for his comparative grammar, O'Leary seems to have gone ahead with some vague unnamed and unnamable previous linguistic state as his starting-point: he dare not name it, for its only possible name is proto-Semitic.¹³ What does he mean (page 60) when he asserts that "the original sounds [uncovered sibilants] are retained, it would appear, in Hebrew alone, for there only do we find the four non-emphatic sibilants distinguished as *s*, *ś*, *š*, and *z*."¹⁴ What can he mean, except that these are proto-Semitic sounds? And similarly, whenever he discusses the values assumed by a sound in any Semitic language, he assumes a starting value to which he attaches no name. Thus, on pages 65-67, he discusses the semi-vowel *w* and the values which it takes in the languages; he says (page 66): "Generally initial *w* becomes *y* (in Hebrew), thus Arabic *walada*, Hebrew *yalad*,¹⁵ etc." What is this "*w*" and to what does it belong, whence does it come unless from proto-Semitic—which is proved for Hebrew by citation of an Arabic cognate word?

In historical linguistics, it is de rigueur to state the conditions in which a change of a sound takes place. Thus in Sanskrit, when one original sound splits into two in Sanskrit, as when an earlier

¹³ German *ursemitisch*.

¹⁴ Passage quoted verbatim, except for omissions; cf. note 10. I make no comment on the correctness or otherwise of the statements in the passage, as I am concerned with matters of method and not with matters of fact.

¹⁵ Both meaning "bear" (verb), and therefore exact equivalents.

k becomes either *k* or *c*, and an earlier *s* becomes either *s* or *š*, we must (and do) specify the conditions which produce the division. Such a problem lies before the Semitic scholar in the development of the spirants from the stops, a phenomenon which I have mentioned: the condition is that the stops become spirants when they are postvocalic. Over such statement of conditions O'Leary usually passes lightly; thus on pages 50-53, he treats the palatals (i.e., palatal stops), and speaks of various shifts in their sounds without attempting to state the phonetic environment in which the shifts take place. (If the change is universal for the sound in question, no definition of conditions is needed, nor is indeed possible.)

There is a flagrant example of neglect of this principle in pages 42 and 61-2. On page 42 he says: "The most striking change of *h* to Hamza¹⁶ occurs in the preformative of the Causative stem of the verb, where *ha-* itself is derived from an earlier *ša-*." And on 61-2, he presents a table of examples from Arabic, "Abyssinian", Hebrew, Aramaic, and Assyrian, showing that the sibilants remained sibilants in these languages, though there were some shifts in their articulation: with that I am not concerned here, but only with the fact that they remained sibilants. But he goes on to say:¹⁷ "At a very early date it would seem that there had been changes from *š/s* to *h* and thence in normal course to Hamza. Thus, in the personal pronoun Assyrian *šu*, *ši*,¹⁸ Minaean *su*, Hebrew *hū*, *hī*, Arabic *huwa*, *hiya*, but both retained in Mehri, where *he*, *hi* appears as masculine, *se*, *si* as feminine. So in the causative preformative *š-* in Assyrian and sometimes in Aramaic, with very rare survivals in Hebrew; *h-* in Hebrew and in older Aramaic, with a few survivals in Arabic; Hamza in later Aramaic, in Arabic, and Abyssinian, but in these two latter with *s-* retained in the reflexive *st-* (Arabic *istagtala*, etc.). Here, again, Mehri retains both *š-*¹⁹ and *h-*. Minaean shows causative *s-*, and this becomes *h-* in Sabaeen. So in Mehri we often find *h* for Arabic *s-*, as in Arab *saḇ*, "seven," Mehri *hōba*; Arabic *sitt*, 'six,' Mehri *hitt*, etc."

¹⁶ The change of *h* to Hamza is here not phonetic, but due to a process of re-formation (so Dr. Speiser informs me); nothing in my argument depends on this, and I pass it by without discussion.

¹⁷ The passage is quoted verbatim; any errors of fact are therefore retained.

¹⁸ So O'Leary for the correct *šū*, *ši*.

¹⁹ Mehri has not *š*, but *s*, in the causative; cf. J. Barth, *Pronominalbildung* 17 (1931).

Now if this statement is to be taken at its face value, we can extract from it the following: that *s* and *h* varied with each other when initial before a vowel; that this variation is limited to the pronoun and the causative preformative; and some other matters with which we are here not concerned. My objection lies against the points specifically named; for phonetic changes do not (as O'Leary implies and almost asserts) affect a selected list of words: unless we admit that phonetic changes are regular and affect all occurrences of the sound where the conditions of speech are the same, there is no science of language.

Our author seems to mean that the sound which he is discussing started as an original *s* and in some languages developed to *h*. Why then did the initial antevocalic *s* in Hebrew *sagad*²⁰ 'salute', the *š* in Hebrew *šēš* 'six', and in *šēm* 'name', persist in Hebrew, which has *h*- in the pronoun and in most of the causative forms? The same holds for Arabic, except that the *h*- of the causative has been replaced by Hamza; "Abyssinian" is like Arabic, and Aramaic also, except that there are a few causatives with *s*-. Assyrian has a sibilant throughout.²¹ No, there is no possibility of deriving the *h*- forms from the *s*- forms; there is a persistence of the Semitic sibilants in other typical words. It is necessary to assume two sources for these words, one a pronoun beginning with *s*- and the other a pronoun beginning with *h*-, which may later become Hamza. Professor Speiser, in a paper read last year at the meeting of this Society, identified the causative preformative with the pronoun;²² and an admission of the twofold origin of the pronoun sets matters in order.²³

I come now to matters of wrong interpretation. where the evi-

²⁰ Sic! This is O'Leary's example; it is really a word borrowed by Hebrew from another dialect. Any Semitic scholar can substitute another example that will illustrate my point.

²¹ Apart from some very modern dialects, the change of *s* to *h* is found in Semitic only in a few words, which are under special influences and must be discussed individually.

²² This paper is not yet published, he informs me.

²³ There is nothing astonishing in such a twofold origin. For comparison, consider the Indo-European demonstrative, which has the stem *so*- in nom. sg. masc. **so* (Skt. *sa*, Gk. *ó*), fem. **sā* (Skt. *sā*, Gk. *ή*), and the stem *to*- in all the other case-forms: nom.-acc. sg. neut. **toδ* (Skt. *taδ*, Gk. *τό*), gen. sg. masc. **tosjo* (Skt. *tasya*, Gk. *τοιο*, *τοῦ*), etc. Cf. also English *he* and *she*, from different roots.

dence lies at hand. On page 89, O'Leary, under the heading Palatalization, says: "In Arabic dialect²⁴ palatal *k* is thus affected by a neighboring *i*, *e* (*a*): in 'Iraq and Nejd, as well as amongst the Bedwin of the Syrian desert and the fellahin of Palestine, *k* often becomes *č* after *e*, *i* (*a*), thus in 'Iraq 2nd fem. suffix *-ič* for *-ik* (= *-ki*), plur. *-čen*." Any student of linguistic processes knows that vowels are much more likely to produce changes in preceding consonants than in those which follow, especially if the consonant standing between vowels belongs in the syllable which contains the following vowel. Such is the case here: the original ending was (as O'Leary himself knows) *-ki*, in which the final *-i*²⁵ palatalized the preceding consonant and changed the preceding vowel, whereupon it was lost in pronunciation. It has escaped O'Leary that such a lost sound might have produced its effect before it was lost—but such is an extremely common process. Curiously, after this example, O'Leary lists a number of instances in which a following front vowel has palatalized (often with assibilation) a preceding consonant; but as the vowel was retained in the pronunciation, there was no obstacle to his making a correct interpretation.

A lack of historical perspective appears also in O'Leary's treatment of the suffixed pronoun of the first person singular. On page 149 he speaks of this as attached to nouns and prepositions, in the forms *-ya*, *-iya*, *-i*, and their phonetic developments, "and so we may regard *-iya* as in all probability the original form." On the next page he speaks of this pronoun as attached to verbs, "where it has the inserted consonant *-n*-. This is a purely phonetic addition called by the Arabic grammarians 'the supporting *n*' or 'the protecting *n*', and so Brockelmann refers to the *n* as used to avoid hiatus (Brockelmann, *Sem. Sprach.*, Leipzig, 1906, p. 100); but Wright (*Comp. Gram.*, p. 96) seems disposed to regard it as in some way denoting the accusative." These are most astonishing statements. Even a "phonetic addition" must have some origin, genetic or analogical—in the latter instance the source of the analogy must be sought; and as for its "denoting the accusative", there is, I think, no basis for a view that a case-element may here be attached to the end of the verb or to the beginning of the pro-

²⁴ Properly, in some Arabic dialects.

²⁵ The final vowel in this termination is by origin a long vowel, but is not so marked by O'Leary.

noun. The explanation is simple: this *n* is the same *n* which appears in all forms of the first person pronoun in the singular,²⁶ when it is a separate word: Arab. *'anā*, Heb. *'anī*, Ass. *anāku*, etc.

Another instance of unclear statement and wrong attitude toward a phenomenon is seen in the treatment of the demonstrative *ha* (page 162), which "occurs as the definite article in Hebrew, Phoenician, Moabite, and sometimes in Samaritan. In this use it appears as *hā*- with closure by doubling the following consonant, or (in Hebrew) as *hě*-, *hā*-, before the laryngals; but of these *hā*- is obviously the normal form, although this does not preclude its identification with Arabic *hā*, the shortening being due to its use as a prefix. . . . it is . . . simply an instance of the preservation of a short vowel by the expedient of closing the syllable by doubling²⁷ the following consonant." The true solution is simple, but escapes him: an original *hā* (still preserved in Arabic in a different use, and sometimes in Hebrew) has, as a proclitic, suffered shortening of the vowel, with a simultaneous lengthening of the initial consonant of the word to which it was proclitic. O'Leary's misunderstanding of this comes out clearly on page 105, where under "Preservation of original *ā*" in Hebrew he says: "Sometimes *ā* is preserved by doubling the following consonant so as to produce double closure, . . . thus *hā*- in *hāmmēlēk*, etc." This is based on the assumption that *ha* was originally *hā* and not *hā*; and strange to say, it immediately follows the formulation that "Very often even in nouns the initial syllable shows *ā* changed to *ī* in double closure, thus *yaktūl* > *yiktōl*." In other words, to preserve the short *a* in *ha*, the following consonant is doubled, which produces the very condition in which *ā* becomes *ī*—but it here prevents the very same change!

The same attitude is taken toward the interrogative *mā* (page 173), which appears in Hebrew as *mā* or *mā*, "the short retained by closure of the syllable"; the original length of the vowel is seen abundantly in the other Semitic languages. The proper formula of this phonetic change is that when a monosyllable ending in a long vowel is united closely with the following word, the long vowel

²⁶ A fact recognized by J. Barth, *Pronominalbildung* 36 (1913); and by H. Bauer and P. Leander, *Historische Grammatik der Hebräischen Sprache* 260 (1922).

²⁷ Properly, by lengthening the following consonant, so that part of the consonant belonged to the preceding syllable.

is shortened before any one of certain consonants, that consonant being simultaneously lengthened to preserve the syllabic quantity.

I wish to quote one more passage from O'Leary's grammar, in which he has failed to make the obvious explanation. On page 195, in discussing the dual, he says: "Hebrew has [as ending of the dual] *-ay*, which appears in the construct, and so *yaday* 'two hands' (Ezek. xiii, 18), rarely *-ē* as in *šnē* 'two' in the combination *šnē 'āšār* 'twelve'. With mimation *yādayim* 'two days', etc." Now to call this addition of *m* mimation is to imply that this *m* is identical with the *m* which Proto-Semitic used in the singular to mark a noun as indeterminate (i. e., the *m* had the value of an indefinite article); it is far from certain that the *-m* of the plural is of the same origin, and it certainly does not have the same semantic function. In reality, *yādayim* is the dual *yāday* + *m* taken from the plural;²⁸ any writer of a comparative grammar should be able to see this fact and to state it unequivocally.

I would not have you think that my critique is directed against O'Leary's work alone, nor even specifically; his is but a type, and its failings are symptomatic, although, as a comparative grammar, it furnishes more abundant material for my scrutiny than do most other volumes. I turn now to one passage taken from C. F. Burney's edition of *The Book of Judges*,²⁹ which illustrates a different violation of linguistic method: the assumption that if a change of a sound to another sound has occurred in some other language, or is a variation seen in the comparison of two other languages, this same change or variation may be operated with in connection with the problem in hand. On page 430, Burney is speaking of *Joshua* 15:9, where he translates a phrase as "the spring of the waters of Nephtoah",³⁰ which he says is "probably Liftâ", in justification of which he sets a long footnote: "The interchange between *n* and *l*, as seen in Nephtoah, Liftâ, may be illustrated by Hebrew *niškā* and *liškā* 'chamber,' Heb. *nāḥaš* (root of *nāḥāš* 'serpent') and *lāḥaš* 'to hiss,' Bab. *nēšu* and Heb. *lāyiš* 'lion,' New Heb. *nākaṭ* and Bib. Heb. *lākaṭ*, Aram. *nēkaṭ* and

²⁸ Hebrew alone is in question here.

²⁹ Rev. C. F. Burney, *The Book of Judges*, edited with introduction and notes; 2nd ed., London, Rivingtons, 1920.

³⁰ The words *mē nephtōah* more probably are the name of the Egyptian Pharaoh Mineptah or Merneptah; an interpretation first set forth by von Calice, *OLZ* 6. 224 (1903).

l̥kaṭ, 'to pick up,' Heb *nāthan* and Aram. *nēthan* and *nēthal* 'to give,' Heb. *'almānā* and Aram. *'armēlā* 'widow,' etc. The interchange is not confined to Semitic: thus the English *Lincoln* appears in Northern French as *Nicole*; *level* is from Old French *livel*, which has become *niveau* in modern French; *lilac* comes ultimately from the Persian *lilak*, a variation of *nilak* 'blue'; etc." The non-Semitic pairs of words are quite irrelevant, but all show one feature, the presence of two *l*'s at some period of their history: thus *niveau* for *livel* shows a dissimilation of the *l*'s, *lilac* for *nilak* shows an assimilation to the second *l*, *Nicole* for *Lincoln* shows a dissimilative loss of one *n* and of one *l* and a metathesis of the remaining *l* and *n*, so as to produce a familiar name.³¹ Of the Semitic examples—if for purposes of argument we grant the correctness of Burney's equations—some seem to show the same processes as the Indo-European words; others are onomatopoetic; still others may be products of contamination of two roots having more or less the same meaning; but there is nothing which can justify the assumption of the etymological equivalence of *n* and *l* in Semitic words,³² any more that to assume from some scattered Indo-European words that the *nude* is ipso facto, etymologically, the *lewd*. No; Burney here transgresses against linguistic science.

I turn now to a third volume, *The Book of Job, a revised text and version*, by C. J. Ball;³³ as it happens, it is equipped with a preface by Mr. Burney, who in eulogistic terms commends Mr.

³¹ I could add other examples from the Indo-European languages, of this same scattered character, but all resting on assimilation or dissimilation.

³² Some of the (non-Indo-European) languages which were in contact with the Semitic languages geographically did have this change of *n* to *l*, or of *l* to *n*; but no such change is found in the Semitic languages themselves (on the authority of Prof. Speiser). Such interchange might sporadically result in any Semitic language as the product of the linguistic substratum or through borrowing. S. L. Skoss, in the *Jewish Quart. Rev.* 23. 1-43 (1932), has an article on "Permutation in Hebrew", in which he edits and translates a chapter from the dictionary of David ben Abraham al-Fāsi on this subject: in which 25 different pairs of consonants (among them, *n* and *l*) are listed as varying with each other. The examples are sporadic, and must be studied and judged individually; to regard them as establishing normal phonetic developments is to turn the linguistic science of this field into chaos.

³³ C. J. Ball. *The Book of Job, a revised text and version*; Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1922. Quotations are verbatim, except for omissions that do not change the meaning.

Ball's linguistic discoveries, and says that for himself "one of the most interesting and valuable features of the book is the elucidation of the original biliteral forms of Semitic roots by reference to Sumerian." I am not qualified to judge the validity of such a theory: certainly Sumerian words could have been, and were, taken over by the Semites when they overspread the territory formerly occupied by the speakers of Sumerian; but that Sumerian influence was so strong that it formed the basis for a new make-up of the language of the Semitic successors, not only in that region, but also among all speakers of Semitic dialects, wherever located, is rather hard on the credulity of the Indo-Europeanist without an intimate knowledge of Semitic dialects. But to return rather to matters of method, I illustrate this by the following passage (page 229, note to *Job* 14:2): "The Prim. root of this *mll* is prob. the same as that of '*ml*, '*mll*, *droop*, *languish*, *become weak and powerless*. And since MAL = BAL, PAL, *nbl*, *npl*, may also be regarded as cogn. Cf. Sum. MAL in KA-ŠU-MAL = KA-ŠU-GAL, *labânu appi*, 'to throw down the face', i. e. prostrate oneself, face downwards in prayer; KI-AN-BAL (place + high + low), *šapiltum u elitum*, 'upper and lower side'; IM-BAL, a *wind that downs things*, a hurricane (*nabbaltu*); *nabâlu*, written also *napâlu*, to 'down', *throw down*, *destroy*, cities; *nabultum*, a *prostrate body*, a *corpse*, Heb. *nēbhēlāh*; perhaps *nabâlu*, *land*, as opp. to *tāmtu*, the sea, str. the *low*, the *bottom*, *ground*, *fundus* > the *dry*, which would connect it with *nablu* = Sum. BIL, BAL, *fire*, a different word. The Assy. *labânu*, to 'down', may be a phonetic variant of *nabâlu*, *throw down*. (So *mll* to *say*, *speak*, is akin to Sum. BAL, to *speak*, *say*, *tamû*, *dabâbu*.)" Out of all this, the central point seems to be that as the Sumerian ideograms MAL, BAL, PAL are interchangeable in meaning, so the Hebrew *mll* is identical with *nbl* and *npl*, or all three go back to the same biliteral root which is seen in Sumerian in three ideographic forms. But as an ideogram does not represent the pronunciation of the spoken word, there is no basis for regarding *m*, *b*, *p* as interchangeable sounds in this root: they are at best only interchangeable writings in Sumerian. With this the entire basis for his disquisition is swept away.

Again, page 273, in a note on *Job* 19:18, Ball seeks to establish a root *han* 'smell, stink' (with the validity of his argument for this, based on Semitic words, I am not concerned), and adds the

following: "This HAN (KHAN) is probably a weakened form of the primitive Asiatic root KAN (GAN), which we seem to see in the Sumerian GIN, *sweet, pleasant* (*tābu*; cf. *qāne(h) haṭṭōb* Je 6²⁰), KU(N), *sweet*, and in the Chinese kan, kam, keiñ, kō, *sweet*, which Edkins regarded as the source of hōng, Jap. kyō, kom, *incense, sweet-smelling* (Rad. 186)." ³⁴ We must ask what is a "primitive Asiatic root"? Is there a proto-Asiatic language? Such an inference is not wont to be drawn by scientific linguists. Perhaps he means that from a very early language of Asia this root or rather a word based on this root was borrowed by other languages and was thus spread over much of Asia; but his terminology does not indicate this. And it is startling to see that he thinks that one and the same root might yield derivatives in Sumerian, Chinese, and Japanese, as well as in the Semitic languages, though no two of these are genetically related. ³⁵

In equating words of languages unrelated by origin Ball is going back to the methods of those who derived all languages from Hebrew, ³⁶ regardless of all internal and historical evidence. This is not with him an exceptional proceeding: cf. page 349, in the second paragraph of his note to *Job* 30:9: "*N^egīnā(h)* music, playing on stringed instruments, La 5¹⁴, and the verb *ngn* appear to be derived from the root NAG, *to strike*; cf. Sum. BA-LAG, *harp, lyre, music*, SIR BALAGA, *zamār balaggi*, 'harp-music', 'harp-playing', BA-LAG ZURA-TA, *ina balaggi u ikribi*, 'with music and prayer'; and the Ch. lok, ngok, Annam. lak, ñiak, 'joy,' 'music'." Wherein he adds Anamese ³⁷ to his list of equated languages, which may go with Chinese, but has nothing to do with Semitics. He has also assumed the *n* : *l* variation, which has been discussed above; of which I repeat that in each Semitic example it must be explained, however it is to be dealt with in Chinese and in Anamese.

I fear to bore you, but I would introduce one more example before I come to my summation of the matter. On page 424, in a

³⁴ Again a mere verbatim quotation, except that I have transliterated the Hebrew words; the validity of his etymological combinations may be left in abeyance.

³⁵ It is only by borrowing that words or derivatives of the same roots could be common to genetically unrelated languages.

³⁶ Following the narrative in *Genesis* 11.1-9.

³⁷ A spelling preferable to that with two *n*'s.

note to *Job* 38:32, we read the following statement by Ball: "If, as Burney thinks, EB s. v. Stars, 'āyīš is the Pleiads and *kīmā(h)* Canis Major, the Great Dog which lies at the feet of Orion the Hunter southward,³⁸ perhaps *kīmā(h)* = *kīnā(h)*, with interchange of *n*, *m*, such as we find elsewhere and *kīnā(h)* may be compared with the Aryan base KWAN, Gk. κυν-, Lat. can-, Chinese k'üen, F. k'ëing, hound, Irish and Gaelic *cu*, dog, Welsh *ci*, Chinese *kou*, J. *ku*, dog." Here is even worse confusion of languages: Indo-European (the correct term rather than Aryan),³⁹ Semitic, Chinese, Japanese. But he seems to think that where *n* stands, it may equally well be *m*. It is true that *n* and *m* interchange before certain consonants of similar position of articulation (*n* standing before *t* and *d*, *m* before *p* and *b*, etc.), but this is emphatically not true when the nasal sound stands before a vowel. All Ball's argument in this passage, so far as it is linguistic, is nonsense.

I would remind you that my aim is not a critique of the scholars whose works I have introduced into the argument. They appear in the picture simply because their work is symptomatic of what is done even now by Semitic scholars, and I can reveal the defects of Semitic scholarship through them, without giving direct offense to friends whom I esteem highly. Yet if the shoe fits, they also must put it on. I cannot have them feel that they are exempt from criticism because they are not named: but at the same time I wish to enter here the explanation of the curious situation which exists in Semitic scholarship, in its linguistic aspect.

From before the beginning of the Christian era the books composed in Hebrew and Aramaic, which are collectively known as the Old Testament, have been the subject of an intense interest, as is natural and proper, to those who professed the Jewish religion. Targum, Halakhah, Mishna, Midrash, Talmud, Masoretic text, and commentaries galore, enter upon the scene; and little of this could be done without etymological interpretation of the more difficult words and passages. The doctrine of the triliteral⁴⁰ roots was

³⁸ This identification with the Dog-Star is, Prof. Speiser tells me, a pure assumption unsupported by evidence.

³⁹ The term Aryan is now properly used only in the meaning of Indo-Iranian.

⁴⁰ 'Triliteral' is an unfortunate term, since it implies that the roots are made up of letters rather than of sounds; 'triconsonantal' would be

established by Judah Ibn-Ḥayyūj of Cordova in the early part of the eleventh century of the Christian era; his discovery was a notable achievement. But in all this time the Old Testament books were of high importance also to Christians, who, though having split off from Judaism, still claimed to retain a share in their historical and spiritual message. From the pre-Christian Greek translation known as the Septuagint, and from later Greek versions, as well as by comparison with the original Hebrew text, Latin versions were made for the use of the Christians. That of St. Jerome, toward the end of the fourth century, gradually gained general acceptance: it was presently known as the Vulgate. More and more the Christian scholars found it necessary to have a first-hand knowledge of the original Hebrew text; and despite the reluctance of orthodox Jewish scholars to impart such learning to their religious opponents, there were some who were broad-minded enough to have no such scruples, and there were also those Jews who were converted to Christianity, and brought their knowledge of the Hebrew language with them into the service of their new faith. The situation has been thus summed up: ⁴¹ "At first, and indeed down to the middle of the seventeenth century, Jewish traditions and methods in the study of Hebrew dominated Christian scholars; but in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the study of other Semitic languages opened up that comparative linguistic study which was systematized and brought nearer to perfection in the nineteenth century by scholars such as Gesenius," and others, whose names need not be quoted.

Meantime another field of linguistic study had been lying dormant. The grammatical studies of the Greeks and the Romans had been available to the Christian Church from its earliest days, but they were rather devoted to the interpretation of difficult words and passages in pre-Christian authors; and except for the practical purpose of learning Latin as a spoken language in the days when vernacular languages had replaced it with the peoples of western Europe, Latin grammar was in a static condition. Interest in language as such received its first effective stimulus from Sir William Jones, who on returning from India made known in 1796, to

preferable. But of course the term is too firmly established by centuries of use, for any change to be thinkable.

⁴¹ George Buchanan Gray, in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., 3. 858-9, s. v. *Bible*.

Occidental scholarship, the high importance of Sanskrit. And though the exact status of Sanskrit was for a time somewhat misunderstood, acquaintance with it led to Friedrich von Schlegel's recognition in 1808 of the fact that certain languages were genetically related, which we now term the Indo-European family or group.⁴² His studies were speedily followed by the works of Franz Bopp, Rasmus Rask, and Jacob Grimm, and before 1825 it was recognized that to the Indo-European family there belonged Sanskrit, Avestan, Armenian, Greek, Latin, Lithuanian, Old Church Slavonic, Gothic, and German, as well as other languages obviously akin closely to these. Grimm's Law of the Germanic Sound-shift, the Aryan law of palatalization, Verner's Law (as a regularly formulated exception to Grimm's Law), Brugmann's demonstration of the presence of vowel nasals in the parent Indo-European language—all these were steps in the direction of a science of language. The final step was taken in 1876, when A. Leskien propounded the view that sound-changes are regular and universal: that is, that a given sound in the earlier parent language will develop to the same sound in any specified later language, without exception.⁴³ The formulation, known as the Invariability of Phonetic Law, needed to be amplified by the proviso *under the same conditions*: the sound may develop differently if the conditions in which it stands are different in different words. To this must be added also the possibility, frequently operative, that analogical influences may have their effect and produce other changes.⁴⁴ Into such details I cannot now go; but from the day when the regularity of linguistic processes was recognized linguistics entered into the dignity of a science.

⁴² Formerly called Aryan (cf. note 39); and in German regularly denominated *indogermanisch*.

⁴³ Cf. Otto Jespersen, *Language, its Nature, Development, and Origin*, 32-96 (New York; Henry Holt and Co., 1922); Holger Pedersen, *Linguistic Science in the Nineteenth Century*, translated by J. W. Spargo, 248-310 (Cambridge; Harvard University Press, 1931); Leonard Bloomfield, *Language* 346-68 (New York; Henry Holt and Co., 1933). I refrain from commenting here on the recording of hitherto unwritten languages (cf. note 7), and on the comparatively new subject of linguistic geography, since neither would contribute directly to the purpose of this address.

⁴⁴ Mixture of dialects through the borrowing of forms of one dialect by the speakers of another dialect is also an important factor, which might perhaps better be made a separate item in our list.

Indo-Europeanists busied themselves with historical studies in all known Indo-European languages; and comparative grammars of the whole field, and of special branches of the family, as well as historical grammars of the separate languages, are available for virtually all the parts of the field.

During these last sixty years, also, linguistic scholars have entered upon the study of other language groups. The languages of the American Indians, themselves forming many mutually unrelated families; the Bantu languages of Africa; the Indonesian languages of the Pacific and the Indian Oceans, have all been taken up by scholars trained in the methods of Indo-European linguistics, as well as other scattered languages.

Here we come upon a remarkable situation, so far as Semitic studies are concerned. Indo-European methods have made less impression upon scholars in Semitic languages—apart from some notable exceptions⁴⁵—than upon those in the other less-known fields which I have named. Why so? The explanation is not far to seek. Semitic scholarship is largely in the hands of those who came into it by way of theological and religious interests, often with a missionary interlude which turned their attention upon the practical speaking of languages. When these theologians—I use the term without disparagement, to include those whose first interest in languages has started from theological studies—when these theologians, I say, turned to pure scholarship, they were mature scholars, though trained for another career and not for linguistics. Yet when they turned to scholarly work in Semitic languages, they were obliged to perform the tasks of the scholar in linguistics: and for this they were not prepared. It is not human nature for a person of mature years to go to school again, to learn a new technique which is to apply to a subject matter already familiar to him. Such, of course, is the reason for the present situation in Semitic linguistic scholarship, and notably in this country.

But this natural human impulse does not excuse Semitic scholars. Their craft obliges them to perform tasks of linguistic science. They are under obligations therefore to learn the technique of that science. If they do not do so, they cannot claim validity for their

⁴⁵ Brockelmann was a disciple of Brugmann, the eminent Indo-Europeanist; Bergsträsser at one time lectured on general phonetics at Bonn. They are the most distinguished exponents of scientific Semitic grammar.

conclusions, except such as was reached in the hit-or-miss method prevailing in Indo-European studies before the discovery of the regularity of phonetic law. The easy problems have ceased long ago to be problems; advances can now be made only by a scientific procedure. For the sake of accuracy and correctness in his own work, the Semitic scholar must learn from the Indo-Europeanist the method which the Indo-Europeanist has worked out, with stumbling and straying, but at last with validity, which he alone has worked out, which he alone is able to pass on to workers in other linguistic fields.

I have no desire to scold nor to rebuke, nor to assume a "holier-than-thou" attitude. I have attempted merely to present a picture of the present situation which holds with most Semitic studies which in part or in whole lie within the linguistic field, notably among scholars of English speech, less among those of German and French speech. My concern is perhaps even more limited than it seems to be: it is with the Semitists who are my fellow-members in the American Oriental Society, representing the best that there is in this field in my own country. To them I appeal that they should acquaint themselves with the essentials of linguistic method, that the fruits of their research may be founded not upon the shifting sands of superficial resemblance and sporadic analogies, but upon the firm rock of scientific method.

POLITICAL THEOLOGY IN EARLY ISLAM

ḤASAN AL-BAṢRĪ'S TREATISE ON QADAR

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1. GENERAL SIGNIFICANCE. To the student of Islam, the name and fame of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī have always conveyed reminiscences of a legendary figure rather than a historical personality. He is of that early and stormy era of Islam in the annals of which truth is forever fused with fiction, and the facts of his life, just as the features of his individuality, can only be found in a sea of fancy and anecdote supplied by an adoring posterity.

Born in the year 21 A. H., his very childhood is surrounded by the mist of fable. Significant, if only as a symptom, is the endeavor of tradition to bring him into the sacred circle of Muhammed himself. He is said to have been suckled by the wife of the Prophet 'Umm Salama; or to have imbibed heavenly wisdom by having once drunk from a pitcher that had been used by Muhammed; upon hearing him speak, 'Ā'isha exclaims that he talks with the tongue of prophets. Over against fabulous elements of this kind, stands the plain fact of his vast and lasting influence in nearly all branches of Muslim lore and all denominations of Islam—a fact which has often tempted modern scholars to appraise his actual contribution from such reliable, if secondary, sources as were at their disposal.¹

Under these circumstances, a document bearing the name of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī would command our attention, whatever its contents. As it is, the Arabic text found in a Constantinople codex and published in a recent issue of *Der Islam*,² by Hellmut Ritter,

¹ See Louis Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la Mystique Musulmane*, pp. 152-179; and *Recueil de textes inédits concernant l'histoire de la Mystique en pays d'Islam*, pp. 1-5; H. H. Schaeder, "Ḥasan al-Baṣrī," *Der Islam* 14, p. 42 ff.; Hellmut Ritter, *Studien zur Geschichte der islamischen Frömmigkeit* (see the following n.); cf. also G. Bergsträsser, "Die Koranlesung des Hasan von Basra," *Islamica* 2, p. 11 ff.

² Vol. 21, pp. 67-82. (In the present article, this text will be referred to by the pages and lines of Ritter's edition, without further specification.) Preceding the text-edition, R. offers an important, if not entirely lucid contribution to the problem of Ḥasan on pp. 1-66; for the data of his manuscript material, cf. especially p. 62 (and this article n. 7 and 10).

contains a treatise of unusual interest. The problem of qadar, it has often been observed, occupies the center of philosophical and theological speculation in Islam, from its earliest beginnings through all stages of its historic development. Owing, however, to the complete absence of contemporary records, our knowledge of the speculative movements in early Islam, and therefore also of the genetic history of qadar, has been to date both meager in extent and unreliable in character.

The early school of Arab thought known as that of the Mu'tazila, and founded by Ḥasan's pupil Wāṣil Ibn 'Aṭā', has often enough been the subject of scholarly presentations, to be sure. Yet these presentations are not based on the works of the great pioneers of the Mu'tazilite school, none of which have come down to us, but depend either on its younger representatives³ or, and this is the rule, on doxographies written by Sunnite authors and, therefore, not free from bias of one kind or another. Nor is the Mu'tazila the "first" school of speculative thinking in Islam. It was preceded by the movement of the so-called Qadarites, whose relationship to the Mu'tazila must be said, from all appearances, to have been paternal both in time and ideology. If, therefore, the treatise is authentic, as we hope to demonstrate, it represents not merely a work from the hand of Ḥasan, but the only product of early Muslim theology that has come down to us; a treatise on qadar contemporary to the Qadarite movement in its pre-Mu'tazilite period.

2. THE LETTER OF 'ABDALMALIK. Our document is in the form of a *risāle*, that is, a message, a brief, an epistle, the seeming casualness of which is perhaps one reason why the work is not found mentioned by any of the earlier Arabic authors dealing with Ḥasan.⁴ Another, more probable, reason would be deliberate

³ The pertinent material offered by Jāhiz, Zamahshari, Murtaḍā, has of late been considerably increased by the publication of the *Kitāb al-Intiṣār*, of al-Ḥayyāt (edited by H. S. Nyberg, Cairo 1925), and the *Maqālāt* of al-'Ash'ari (edited by Hellmut Ritter, Istanbul 1929-30), whose extraordinarily rich material on the Mu'tazila (still to be critically appraised) must have been gathered, if not actually compiled, before the author's break with al-Jubbā'i; (see R. Strothmann, *Der Islam* 16, p. 280 ff., and 19, p. 220).

⁴ Ibn Sa'd († 230), *Ṭabaqāt* (ed. Sachau-Meissner) VII, 1, pp. 114-129; Ṭabarī († 310), *Ta'riḥ* (ed. M. J. de Goeje) III, 4, pp. 2488-2493; Ibn Qutaiba († 276), *Ma'ārif* (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. 225 f.; see, however, the following note.

"conspiracy of silence". Official orthodoxy, as crystallized in the centuries after Ḥasan, could not well afford to have this pillar of the Muslim church associated with ideas that had come to be labeled as heterodox.⁵ As far as can be seen, the first to face the issue of the *risāle* is Shahrastānī.⁶ While he is too good a Sunnite to refrain from expressing some misgivings as to its authorship, there is apparently no question in his mind as to its genuineness. He merely suggests that it was written, at the request of 'Abdalmalik b. Merwān, by Ḥasan's pupil Wāṣil Ibn 'Aṭā'. Our document is actually addressed to the famous Omayyad Calif, the author introducing nearly each paragraph with the words *yā 'amir al-mu'minīn*. And it contains, fortunately, not only Ḥasan's treatise in extenso, but also the letter of 'Abdalmalik inviting him to write the treatise.

This letter would deserve a critical study on its own account. It begins with the words *From 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, Commander of the Believers, to al-Ḥasan b. 'Abī 'l-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. Peace be upon thee*. In the course of the letter, however, the writer, with but few exceptions, appears to refer to the Calif in terms of the third person singular.⁷ This would seem to fit well with a

⁵ This "conspiracy," however, cannot be said to have been very successful; apparently the tradition associating Ḥ. with the qadar-problem and the Qadariyya was too persistent to be passed over in silence altogether (which fact is no small support of the authenticity of our document). One cannot help wondering whether such statements as *wa-kāna takallama fī shay'in min al-qadari* (Ibn Qutaiba) or *kāna yaqūlu bi-qawli 'l-qadariyyati* (Ṭabarī 2489, 17) do not hint at the *risāle* before us. Significant, too, is the report of an admirer who, after Ḥ. had died, inquires about his writings and is told that, while on his sick-bed, Ḥ. had ordered all his works burnt! (Ibn Sa'd 127, 10 ff. and, with some variations, Ṭabarī 2492, 1 ff.). Cf. below n. 45 and 57.

⁶ *K. al-milal wa-'n-niḥal* (ed. W. Cureton), p. 32 (mark the rather mild expression: *wa-la'allahā li-Wāṣil b. 'Aṭā*). That in Sh.'s time († 548) copies of our document were rare (and unavailable to the public?) may perhaps be inferred from the words *wa-ra'aytu risālatan*.

⁷ Only two instances of the 1st person occur both in (a) the MS underlying Ritter's edition (Köprülü 1589) and (b) the abridgment used in his critical apparatus (Āya Sofya 3998); viz. in the introductory formula (*fa-'innī 'uḥammidu 'ilayka 'llāha*), and in an apparently parenthetic clause at the end of the letter (*fa-'innā lam nasma' fī hādā 'l-kalāmi mujādilan*). In both instances the usage of 1st p. would be most natural if Ḥasan's correspondent was al-Ḥajjāj acting upon orders from the Calif. The other occurrences of the 1st p. are not borne out by both texts and present no doubt "corrections" of later copyists; (a) *balāḡanī* = (b) *balāḡa 'amīra*

statement of the Mu'tazilite author Ibn al-Murtadā, suggesting⁸ that the letter was written not by the Calif himself but by his brilliant general and viceroy al-Ḥajjāj, governor of 'Irāq, at the order of the Calif—a suggestion quite plausible in itself. Al-Ḥajjāj is known to have maintained, during his residence in Baṣra, friendly relations with Ḥasan until 86, in which year the intercourse of the two men came to a tragic end.⁹ Indeed, there seems to be ample evidence for al-Ḥajjāj having been the intermediary not only in conveying to Ḥasan the Calif's request but also in presenting to the Calif Ḥasan's reply. Accordingly, our treatise appears to have existed from the beginning in two recensions: (a) the authentic form as it left the hand of the author, addressed to the Calif, but actually submitted to al-Ḥajjāj; and (b) a summary of it forwarded to the court in Damascus by al-Ḥajjāj together—and this should be well noticed—with a vigorous indorsement by himself.¹⁰

'l-mu'minīna; and (a) *wa-lā ya'lamu 'amīru 'l-mu'minīna 'anna 'aḥadan 'adarakahu min aṣ-ṣaḥābati* = (b) *wa-lā na'lamu 'aḥadan takallama bihi mimman 'adaraknā min aṣ-ṣaḥābati*. See below n. 10.

⁸ *Kitāb al-munya* (viz. *Bāb ḍikr al-mu'tazila*, ed. T. W. Arnold), p. 12: *wa-risālatuhu 'ilā 'Abd-al-maliki mashhūratun wa-dālika 'inna 'l-Ḥajjāja kataba 'ilā 'l-Ḥasani balaḡanā 'anka fi 'l-qadar* etc. (cf. the preceding note).

⁹ See, e. g., Mas'ūdī, *Les prairies d'or* 5, p. 314; the very manner in which the break between the two men is reported (cf. Ṭabarī 2490, 13; *Kitāb al-aḡānī*, Būlāq 1285, 4, p. 74) points to their one time intimacy; see especially Ibn Ḥallikān (de Slane), I, p. 362, and comp. Schaefer, p. 55 f.; and Ritter, p. 53 ff. Since 86 is also the year of 'Abdalmalik's death, this year (705 A. D.) is, at any rate, terminus ad quem for the date of our document.

¹⁰ A comparison of the two MSS used by Ritter (see n. 7) makes it quite clear that they are dependent upon texts that had formed some such relationship as assumed above, Kōprülü 1589 descending from (a), and Aya Sofya 3998 from (b). 1. In the text depending on (a) we have both the original beginning (*salām 'alayka yā 'amīra 'l-mu'minīn*) and ending (*wa-hādā jarābu mā sa'altanī 'anhu*); here the author speaks directly to the Calif throughout, using the 1st p., of course, whenever the occasion offers itself; 68, 10: *'aḥḍatnā*; 72, 5: *kalāmi wa-kitābi*; 82, 20: *bayyantuhu wa-aḥḍatuhu*. 2. In the text depending on (b), on the other hand, only about one fourth of the material of the *risāle* is contained; namely, six quotations of varying length, and differing in order from that of the *risāle*. These quotations are appended (p. 80, n. a) by a plea to the Calif on Ḥasan's behalf, paying high tribute both to the author (*lam yabqa . . . aḥaḍun huwa 'a'lamu bi-'llāhi . . . min al-Ḥasan* etc.) and his treatise (*fafi kitābi 'l-Ḥasan ba'da kitābi 'llāhi 'sh-shifā'u*), and urging the Calif to hold him in high honor. The person writing the plea can be none other

Be that as it may, in the letter before us Ḥasan is asked by 'Abdalmalik, whether directly or through the mediation of al-Ḥajjāj, to write his opinion (*qaul*) on qadar in clear terms, and to send the brief to the Calif. A rumor had reached the Commander of the Believers that he, Ḥasan, was holding views on (*fī wasf*) qadar the like of which none of the Companions of the Prophet was ever known to have held. The Calif had been well aware of Ḥasan's great piety and learning, and therefore disbelieved (*'ankara*) that rumor. Now he wanted Ḥasan himself to enlighten him: had Ḥasan derived his unprecedented qadar theory from a duly transmitted utterance of the Prophet, or perhaps from logical reasoning,¹¹ or else from exegesis of the Qoran?

Seen by itself, without the help of Ḥasan's reply, the Calif's request would confront us with many a difficulty. The term qadar, it will be remembered, is used by Muhammed in passages of decisive importance for the theodicy of the Qoran. Yet, had it been for 'Abdalmalik's letter alone, we should have been at a loss to say just what he meant by that term, or what views of qadar he expected Ḥasan to hold, and in which way Ḥasan seemed to differ from such views. Nor would it have been of much use to consult in the matter Qoran commentaries or Arabic dictionaries, whether Oriental or Western. For here we should find that, in the course of its long and complicated semantic history,¹² qadar may assume basic aspects not only very dissimilar but even mutually exclusive. Only this much, then, becomes clear from the Calif's letter: that at the court in Damascus a certain theory of qadar was held to be

than al-Ḥajjāj, not a *konstruierender Anschreiber*. 3. In the course of his plea, the writer remarks that a copy of Ḥasan's treatise—that is, a copy of (a)!—had been sent [by him] to the Calif before (*wa-qad* bu'īta [Ritter justly: ba'attu] *'ilayka yā 'amira 'l-mu'minina* nuṣḥatu [or else: nuṣḥata] *kitābi 'l-Ḥasan* etc.); obviously, then, what he offered at present was his own summary or abstract of the treatise, that is, a copy of (b). [Having failed to recognize the historical nature of the relationship between the two documents, Ritter takes (b) to be "ein ad usum delphini gemachter Auszug" of (a)!]

¹¹ *'am 'an ra'yin ra'aytahu*. It is interesting to find, in a document as old as ours would be, *ra'y* contrasted, on the one hand, with *riwāya* and, on the other, with *'amr yu'rafu taṣḍīquhu fī 'l-qur'ān*; see Goldziher, *Die Zāhiriten*, p. 5 ff.

¹² See the present writer's article "Das Problem der Kausalität bei den Arabern," WZKM 30, p. 37 ff. (*Das Qadarproblem*, p. 43 ff.).

alone becoming of a man of piety and learning; and that not even a Ḥasan might deviate from that theory with impunity.

3. THE QADAR OF ALLAH. What, then, is the precise sense of qadar at the particular date and sphere of our document? Ḥasan does not appear to offer a verbal definition of the basic idea. What qadar meant in the consensus of his time and environment, he naturally takes for granted no less than 'Abdalmalik. It is, therefore, only by inference that we may circumscribe the general, popular concept of qadar, as presupposed both in the Calif's quest and in Ḥasan's response. But the impression thus gained is incalculably more vivid than could have been obtained from a verbal definition, however alert and accurate.

Virtually, the Calif had challenged the Baṣraite not so much to explain as rather to defend his "novel" theory on qadar. And, as would seem inevitable in disputes of this kind, the defensive soon turns into an offensive. This lends Ḥasan's tone a peculiar blend of zest and irritation that may well be detrimental to the proper philosophical tone of his treatise, but adds vastly to its value as a historical and personal document. To meet effectively the subtle reproof of the Calif, Ḥasan sees himself obliged to discuss the idea of qadar in a variety of modes, now quoting the word from the Qoran, now expounding on it in his own name, now again in the name of certain contemporaries whose views differed from his own and with whom, as will be seen, he is vigorously concerned throughout the discussion.

But the basic idea of qadar as a technical term remains the same. It expresses, generally speaking, the share of God in the destiny of man; the share, that is, affected by God's will, His power, His acts, His knowledge, His grace, His displeasure, as the case may be. In so far as man perceives his life and fate, whether in totality or in any given particular, as controlled by God, as depending on God, this control is qadar, this dependency is on qadar. As an attribute it is applicable only to God.¹³ Used in its nominal form, qadar simply means "the qadar of Allah".¹⁴ In its verbal form, *qadara*

¹³ In a non-technical sense, derivatives of *√qdr* (but never the form qadar) are used both of God and men: *qudra*, "power," "capacity," (of God: 76, 6; of men: 70, 10; 73, 12: 77, 10); *qādir*, "able," "capable" (of God: 76, 7; of men: 77, 12); see 75, 6; 76, 13 ff.

¹⁴ Cf. 75, 7; 76, 1.

denotes an action of controlling, of affecting, of providing, with God always as the subject, and with Man, for the most part, as the object.¹⁵

To Ḥasan as well as to those of his contemporaries whom he so forcefully repudiates, qadar denotes, specifically, the principle of pre-determination and pre-destination in Allah's administration of the affairs of man;¹⁶ the difference involves only the practical appliance of the principle. Ḥasan's all important aim is to demonstrate that, so far as man's conduct is concerned, this principle must not be thought to extend beyond the metaphysical realm of that administration.¹⁷ The absolute reality of qadar is to him no less essential than to his opponents, but from the beginning to the end of his treatise he emphatically and ardently denies the incompatibility of the qadar of Allah with the moral and religious freedom of man. Owing to the polemic-apologetic nature of his *risāle* and to the make-up of his own personality, his "demonstration" appears to be lacking in analytical exactitude and objectivity. It is with the vehement eloquence of an outraged preacher, rather than the detachment and finesse of a dialectician, that he proceeds to expose the fallacy of those who take the qadar of Allah to mean ethical determinism, and believe it to hamper, to interfere with, the religious self-destination of the individual. The *risāle* is, in

¹⁵ In the text before us, the idea of qadar is often expressed by *qaḍā'*, the two terms being used interchangeably. Occasionally they are combined into a kind of hendiaduin: *min qaḍā'i 'llāhi wa-qadarihi* (69, 9, and passim). In verbal sentences they are governed by the same syntax; comp. *mā qadartu 'alaykum* (70, 1) with *mā qadaytu 'alaykum* (82, 9), and similarly throughout the text. Whatever different aspects of the qadar-idea might have been originally expressed by the two terms (cf. WZKM 30, p. 51 ff.), to the author of our *risāle* they are obviously exact synonyms.

¹⁶ The idea that man's destiny, whether merely physical or both physical and moral, had been determined *before* it began to unroll its earthly course—an idea attested to already in the Qoran (Sura 57: 22: *fī kitābin min qabli 'an nabra'ahā*)—is variously evidenced in our text. Once the author, speaking from the point of view of his opponents, appears mindful to bring out that idea with special care (74, 1: *wa-yamna'unā 'an natūba 'au qad mana'anā ḍālīka*); cf. also 74, 21; *fī buṭūni 'ummahātihi*. [See Buḥārī (ed. Krehl) 4, p. 251 (*fa-yuktabu kaḍālīka fī baṭni 'ummihi*) and Ibn Shāhīn, *Faraj* (ed. J. Obermann), p. 9, 7; see also below n. 60]. On the Qoran passage just quoted Ḥ. merely remarks: *fa-'innamā* (sic) *hāḍihi 'l-maṣā'ib fī 'l-amwāli wa-'l-anfusi* etc. (74, 7).

¹⁷ That is, the realm of Allah's teachings (*'amr, nahy*), His guidance (*hudā*), His "law" (*ḥukm*); see below passim.

short, an impassioned sermon defending the thesis of Free Will in terms of the Qadar of Allah.

4. THE "Nihilists". Ḥasan admits that he was the first to take up the speculative study (*kalām*) of qadar.¹⁸ But he disclaims that in so doing he was guilty of introducing an innovation. It was true that the "predecessors" (*as-salaf*), by which word he obviously refers to the Companions of the Prophet, have not expressly taught or demonstrated the thesis of free will. But simply because to them it was a matter of course, an article of general agreement.¹⁹ It was only since "certain people" (*an-nās, al-qaum*) began to propagate the opposite attitude that he saw himself obliged to rise in defense of that thesis.²⁰ We suspect that these "people" were the political force behind the letter of 'Abdalmalik, which could hardly have been dictated by sheer academic curiosity.

This suspicion is borne out not only, indirectly, by the tenor and disposition of the *risāle* as a whole but by frequent direct intimations.²¹ Formally addressed to the Calif, the treatise is a bitter refutation of these "people". Doubtless it is they who brought Ḥasan's teachings on qadar to the attention of the Calif, who would see for himself the great social and political dangers involved in these unauthorized teachings. Nothing, indeed, is easier to imagine than the postulate of self-responsibility of the individual being pointed out to the Calif as undermining the authority of State and, especially perhaps, of the Omayyad dynasty.²² To spice it all with the flavor of heresy was a simple enough matter. We recall how

¹⁸ *'aḥḍatnā 'l-kalāma fihi* (68, 10). Taken at its face value, this statement would make Ḥasan the founder of the Qadarite movement by his own testimony. (That the followers of Ḥasan's *kalām* called themselves "Qadarites" would be quite natural, especially if the name was to imply a defensive attitude; a *qadarī* would then be he who, while adhering to the principle of qadar, is given to the speculative study of it in terms of our treatise. For other explanations of the name, see WZKM 30, p. 57.)

¹⁹ See 68, 9 f. [I hold that the reading *yaḍkuru* (so Murtaḍā, who in his already mentioned *Kitāb al-munya*, above n. 6, gives several passages from our treatise, p. 12 bottom to p. 14 top) is superior to the *yankaru* of MS]. See also in the indorsement of al-Ḥajjāj (above n. 10): *wa-qāla* (viz. Ḥasan) *yaḍkuru 'anna 's-salafa 'l-māḍina min ṣaḥābati 'n-nabiyyi 'alayhi 's-salām kānū 'alā kalāmihi* etc. (80, n. a).

²⁰ Cf. 68, 10 f. and 70, 16.

²¹ See 68, 16 f. and, especially, 81, 12 ff.

²² See Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, p. 97 f.; Ritter, p. 59.

ʿAbdalmalik, as if wishing to avert the pressure brought to bear on him, “disbelieved” the rumor of Ḥasan’s unheard-of teachings in view of his great piety and learning—which, in the mouth of the Calif, implied loyalty to the Commander of the Believers as a matter of course.

However that may be, the historical significance of the theory and practice of those “people” as described by Ḥasan can scarcely be overrated. His characterization may well be one-sided in its emphasis, and not free from exaggeration in this or that detail. But, basically, the colors employed in his picture are, without question, as genuine as his indignation. It is very regrettable that he does not name any of these “people” either as individuals or as a party; apparently, they were too well known to the prospective readers of Ḥasan’s treatise, particularly to al-Ḥajjāj and ʿAbdalmalik, to require specific identification. Instead, he refers to them, in true oriental fashion, by epithets appropriate to the occasion, such as *al-juhhāl*, “the ignorant”, *aṣ-ṣālimūn*, “the wrong-doers”, *al-muḥṭibūn*, “the misleaders”. But perhaps the most characteristic epithet applied by Ḥasan to his opponents is *al-muḥṭilūn*, “the nihilists”.²³

From his own point of view, at all events, the qadar theory of these “people” could not possibly have been epitomized more fittingly than as a doctrine of moral and religious nihilism. Yet, to Ḥasan’s boundless vexation, they themselves quote for the sanction of their theory the sacred authority of the Qoran. Here, they argue, in the scripture of divine revelation, qadar is postulated as complete and absolute determinism, not only physical but ethical and spiritual as well.²⁴ It deprives man of any initiative, any choice, any voluntary share in his conduct. Man’s destiny can only be what Allah knew that, by His all-embracing qadar, it would be.²⁵ Any endeavor on man’s own behalf is doomed to fail, his fate having been determined beforehand by God’s knowledge and volition. From the very womb of his mother man has been decreed to be “blessed or afflicted”.²⁶ Without any merit acquired, or any

²³ Cf. 69, 21; 79, 16; 81, 15; 82, 2 ff.

²⁴ *fa-yujādilūna fa-yaqūlūna qad qāla ʾllāhu taʾālā yuḍillu man yashāʾu wa-yahdī* (72, 15). *fa-yufassirūna qālika bi-raʾyihim fī ʾt-tāʾati wa-ʾl-maʾṣiyati wa-yaʿumūna ʾanna ʾl-kufra wa-ʾl-fisqa . . . kulluhā min ʾinda ʾllāhi* (referring to Sura 4: 78) (78, 5 f.). See also 74, 5 f.

²⁵ *ʾiʾanna ʾilma ʾllāhi huwa ʾl-māniʾu* etc. (77, 5 ff.).

²⁶ Referring to Sura 11: 105: *ḥalāqa ʾl-ʾibāda fī buṭūni ʾummahātihim*

iniquity committed, his "breast" is made wide and easy or strait and narrow.²⁷ He is created for hellfire or paradise, just as he is formed tall or short, black or white.²⁸ Accordingly, he is rewarded for deeds he could not help performing, and made to answer for others he had no way of preventing; as when the adulterer is punished for having begotten a child whose birth was, in truth, decreed by the will of God.²⁹ Man triumphs or suffers for works done, not by him, but in him, through him, despite of him.³⁰

5. IN DEFENSE OF ISLAM. The qadar theory just described is not presented by Ḥasan in a connected statement. Neither is, for that matter, his refutation of that theory. He unfolds the argument on both sides gradually, proportionately, accumulating details to the very end of the discussion. A certain order in plan and composition is discernible; but it is the dramatic order of a homily, not the structural one of abstract reasoning. It is, as if Ḥasan imagined himself engaged in a verbal dispute, with the Calif as the judge, with the "nihilists" as his articulate opponents, with

[*ashqiyā'a*] *wa-su'adā'a fa-lā sabīla li-man 'ashqāhu 'ilā 's-sa'adati wa-lā sabīla li-man 'as'adahu 'ilā 'sh-shaqā'i* (74, 20 ff.).

²⁷ Referring to Sura 6: 125: *ḥaṣṣa qauman bi-sharḥi 's-ṣudūri bi-ḡayri 'amalin ṣāliḥin qaddamūhu wa-qauman bi-ḡayqi 's-ṣudūri (ya'nī 'l-qulūb) bi-ḡayri kufrin kāna minhum* etc. (79, 13 ff.).

²⁸ Referring to Sura 7' 179: *fa-ja'ala li-jahannama qauman lā yaqdurūna 'alā 't-tā'ati 'llatī ṭalabahum bihā wa-ja'ala lil-jannati qauman lā yaqdurūna 'alā 'l-ma'ṣiyati 'llatī nahāhum 'anhā kamā 'annahu ḥalaqa 'l-qasira lā yaqduru 'an yakūna faṭīlan* etc. (76, 13 ff.). See also 77, 5 f. (*fa-ṣāra qauluhum* etc.) and 8 ff. (*fa-shabbahū dālika* etc.).

²⁹ As must be inferred from Ḥasan's answer (see below n. 69), the "nihilists" merely point (referring no doubt to Sura 24: 2. which reference may simply have been omitted in our text by some copyist) to the case of adultery as an instance of punishment for a deed (viz. begetting of the child) decreed by Allah. Ritter (p. 57 f.) calls attention to the question of the adultery-child in the Christian-Muslim polemics of John of Damascus (who flourished after Ḥasan's time; see C. H. Becker, *Islamstudien* 1, p. 434 ff.). But there the question is obviously considered from the aspect of the al-'aṣlah theory (introduced into Islamic dogmatics by the Mu'tazilites) and has no bearing on the "Anfaenge der Qadarije" (see also below p. 155 f.). One of the points of indirect evidence for the authenticity of our document is given by the fact that not a trace of foreign (Jewish or Christian, not to say "Greek") influence can be detected in it (excepting, of course, what had been introduced to the Muslim world by the Quran).

³⁰ *l'anna dālika bi-za'mihim laysa minhum wa-lā 'ilayhim wa-lākinnaḥu shay'un 'umila bihim* (70, 13).

the Qoran furnishing an almost unending array of witnesses for the attack and the defense, respectively.

From the outset, Ḥasan is mindful to establish a criterion of validity for the dispute about to take place. The "Predecessors", he says, never predicated of Allah except what Allah predicates of Himself.³¹ To this observaton, we cannot help noticing, Ḥasan attaches the greatest possible importance.³² Plainly, it is to him the inviolable criterion not only in the present dispute but in theological questions of any kind. The religion of Allah is not arbitrary; it is manifested, recorded, revealed. It does not depend on the caprice of human doubt and conjecture. Its code has been unrolled forever by Scripture and Prophets.³³ What men know of God and His qadar, what they may ascribe to God, is only what God reveals of, what He ascribes to, Himself. Accordingly, any statement concerning the nature of qadar, for which there is no evidential proof in the revealed word of Allah, is of necessity arbitrary and therefore erroneous.³⁴ It is the presupposition of all revealed religion which Ḥasan introduces here to defend the integrity of Islam against the qadar theory of the "nihilists".

The one fact which to him overwhelmingly disproves that theory is the fact of man's religious obligations; the fact, that is, of commands and prohibitions, of merit and guilt, revealed by God for the guidance of the race.³⁵ In these obligations, Allah clearly and manifestly reveals what He pleases and desires of man, and what in man is obnoxious and offensive to Him. That man is nevertheless capable of doing what is *wrong in the eyes of God* shows that here, in the sphere of man's moral conduct, God's decree, His will, His knowledge, do not mean the same as in the sphere of man's physical existence. In teaching man to do what is good, in commanding man to refrain from what is evil, Allah reveals that

³¹ *wa-lā yulḥiqūna bi-'r-rabbi 'illā mā 'alḥaqa 'r-rabbu bi-nafsihi* etc. (68, 5 f.).

³² Turning directly to the Calif (71, 15), Ḥ. implores him: *fa-qul yā 'amīra 'l-mu'minīna kamā qāla 'llāhu . . . wa-lā taj'al min allāhi 'illā mā raḍīya li-nafsihi*; see also 69, 19; 81, 3; and most impressive 82, 1 ff.

³³ See 68, 12 (*wa-laysa dinu 'llāhi bi-'l-'amāniyi*); 69, 15 (*la-qad bayyana 'llāhu li-'ibādīhi wa-mā tarakahum fi labsin min dinīhim*); 70, 7 (*fa-mā taraka 'llāhu li-'ibādī ḥujjatan ba'da 'l-kutubi wa-'r-rusuli*).

³⁴ *fa-kullu qawlin laysa 'alayhi burhānun min kitābi 'llāhi fa-huwa ḍalālātun* (68, 13).

³⁵ See 68, 6, in the context of what precedes and follows.

here, in the realm of good and evil, pre-destination consists in the guidance of His teachings, that qadar here is defined by His command, confined to His command.³⁶ Allah does not forbid man to be tall, or punish him for being black. Therefore, the only determinant of his physical existence is, of necessity, the qadar of Allah, man having therein no share of will, no power of change.³⁷ To apply this to man's moral destiny is to maintain that Allah openly, in His revealed teachings, desires of man one thing, but secretly, by His qadar, desires of him the opposite; or that He commands man to see and hear, yet predestines him to be blind and deaf;³⁸ it means, quite apart from the gross blasphemy,³⁹ to ascribe to God the contrary of what He ascribes to Himself.⁴⁰

Ḥasan's position may best be characterized by one of the epigrams so peculiar to his style: *mā nahā 'llāhu 'anhu fa-laysa minhu*. "What God forbids is (if performed by man) not from Him".⁴¹ Ḥasan leaves no doubt that "what God commands" is no less "not of Him"; that, in other words, the righteous is as much the free agent of his fate as the wicked, the "guidance" being merely a didactic, rather than a determinative, factor.⁴² But it is significant for the pragmatic trend of his thoughts that Ḥasan

³⁶ *qaḍā'uhu* (see above n. 15) *'amruhu bi-'l-ma'rūfi wa-'l-'adli wa-'l-iḥsāni* etc. (69, 11); referring to Sura 33: 38 the author says in his masterful epigrammatic style: *wa-'amarahu qadaruhu wa-qadarahu 'amruhu 'annahu lā ya'muru bi-'l-faḥshā'i* (70, 4). On "knowledge" see below n. 43; on "will," n. 66.

³⁷ See 77, 9 ff. (*fi'lu 'llāhi bihim laysa lahum fihi taqdimu 'ḥtiyārīn wa-lā qudratun 'alā taḡyīrihi*).

³⁸ See 69, 20; 74, 16 f.

³⁹ While Ḥasan's argument is first and last from "what God ascribes to himself," i. e. from revelation, he often points out, parenthetically, that the advocates of moral determinism, in addition to belying the expressive declarations of God, ascribe to Him the "ugliest attributes" (76, 15: *bi-'aqbaḥi 's-ṣifāti*). It is in this more or less casual manner that Ḥ. argues from the concept of *'adl* (a concept so fundamental in the school of the Mu'tazila); cf. 68, 8 (*laysa bi-ḡallāmin*); 73, 14; 74, 17; especially interesting is 75, 6, where Ḥ. terms the determinists as *al-muḥālifūna li'amri 'llāhi wa-kitābihi wa-'adlihi*.

⁴⁰ *fa-hal yadrī ḥā'ulā'i 'l-juhhālu 'alā man raddū? 'innamā raddū 'alā 'llāhi ta'ālā'* (81, 15).

⁴¹ See 69, 7.

⁴² See 70, 9 ff. (*qaḍ ja'ala fihim min al-qudrati* etc.); and especially 80, 1 ff. Referring to Sura 76: 3 (*'innā ḥadaynāhu 's-sabīla*), Ḥ. remarks: *yaqūlu 'arrafnāhu 't-ṭarīqa 'immā 'an yashkura* etc. (71, 12).

dwells with special emphasis on removing the absolutism of qadar from "evil" and from "what God forbids".⁴³ There can be but little doubt that the "people" who branded him an "innovator" made the most of their qadar theory by applying it in practice whenever suitable. We will see that Ḥasan does not hesitate to accuse them of using qadar as an excuse for their selfishness and licentiousness, their "sinful appetites and treacherous iniquities".⁴⁴ That at the time of Ḥasan local governors, or government officials, actually were in the habit of justifying their graft and acts of tyranny by pointing to qadar, we are told on good authority, by Ibn Qutaiba.⁴⁵ And it is out of this situation that we may best understand why his *risāle* is partial⁴⁶ to such epigrammatic excla-

⁴³ A particularly instructive instance of this may be seen in the way Ḥ. discusses the problem of God's knowledge. Theoretically, he holds of course that Allah's 'ilm determines neither the fate of the believer nor that of the unbeliever. But since his opponents, for apparent reasons, emphasize the negative effect of the divine 'ilm, Ḥ.'s refutation is directed accordingly: God's knowing that some people will be unbelievers merely means that He knew beforehand that they will choose unbelief of their own free will (*bi-ḥtiyārihim*) and that, consequently, they would be equally able to forsake unbelief if they would choose to "abhor" it (77, 11 ff.). Remarkably enough, Ḥ. finds evidence for this concept of God's conditioned, rather than conditioning, knowledge in the Ḥiḍr story and in the case of the Munāfiqūn (77 f.), both of which seem to have led the "nihilists" to their "disputation" of 'ilm. [Cf. Ibn Shāhin, *Faraj*, p. 10 ff.].

⁴⁴ See 68, 11, and below in this article.

⁴⁵ *Kitāb al-ma'ārif*, p. 225. It is noteworthy that the case is brought to Ḥ.'s attention by the two men who head the List of Qadarites given by Ibn Qutaiba (p. 301). Ma'bad al-Juhānī and 'Aṭā' b. Yasār. As the report reads, one gains the impression of two pupils asking their master's opinion (*fa-yas'alānihi*) in a question of practical theology. At any rate, he answers the question in terms of our treatise: *kaḍaba 'a'dā'u 'llāhi*. (Mark, too, that the third "Qadarite" in Ibn Qutaiba's List, 'Amr b. 'Ubaid, is actually known to have been a pupil of Ḥ.'s). I take it that the *mulūk* of the report are the governors of the Calif and their subordinates.

⁴⁶ An effect of this one-sidedness may be seen in a statement by a contemporary of Ḥasan. Dā'ūd b. 'Abī Hind, according to which Ḥ. had taught that all is determined by qadar except "the works of impiety" (rather than "both the works of piety and impiety," as required by our treatise); Murtaḍā, p. 12, l. 3 bottom: *kullu shay'in bi-qaḍā'i 'llāhi wa-qadarihi 'illā 'l-ma'āṣi*. (The sentence sounds almost like a literal translation of the well known Agadic saying: *hak-kol bidē shamayim hūš miyyir'at shamayim* (*Bab. Ber.* 33b); but the two utterances have hardly more in common than the similarity of the religious-historical situation out of which they were formulated).

mations as "Violence and tyranny are *not* of the decree of Allah"; "He does *not* order abominations". "*Guidance* comes from Allah, but *error* is of man's own doing!"⁴⁷

In Ḥasan's conviction, then, *implicit* evidence of moral freedom is given by each "thou shalt" and "thou shalt not", in every pronouncement of divine retribution, in all instances of revelation calling upon man to serve God. But he goes further. He bids the Calif not to be impatient of the length of his discourse as he is about to introduce *explicit* evidence. He quotes the cases of Adam, Moses, Muhammed, and even of Cain, Pharaoh, Hudhud, as "binding proofs" against those who shift the responsibility of their shortcomings to God. Thus Adam refers to his sin by saying "we have wronged our souls", not by saying "it was Thy qadar and qaḍā". The same is true of all other prophets. None of them ever failed to attribute to themselves, rather than to God, errors they occasionally committed.⁴⁸ But easiest of all Ḥasan finds "evidential proof" by applying the method of *contradictio in adjecto*. Thus, in the words of the Qoran, Allah says: *Do ye what ye wish* (not: "what I predestined [*qadartu*] upon you"); or *He who exercises qadar to guide* (not: "who exercises qadar to lead astray"); or *Let him, who will, believe; and let him, who will, disbelieve* (not: "let him, whom I will, believe; and let him, whom I will, disbelieve"); or *As a reward for what ye have done* (not: "for what was done in you", nor "for what I decreed [*katabtu*] upon you").⁴⁹

Not so easy is it for Ḥasan to disprove the claim of the "nihilists" that *their* theory of qadar, too, is based on the teachings of the Qoran. To his religious conscience, the absurdity of such a claim is a foregone conclusion, to be sure. Could the word of Allah belie itself; the teachings of the "most perfect revelation" contradict one another?⁵⁰ But, as was to be the experience of so many protagonists of Islam after Ḥasan—not to mention that of

⁴⁷ See 69, 8; 71, 18 (*al-hudā min allāh wa-'d-ḡalāl min al-'ibād*); cf. above n. 36.

⁴⁸ See 72, 5-12; 71, 15 f.; 82, 16-19; and above n. 15.

⁴⁹ See 69, 14; 69, 21-70, 3; 70, 14 f. The Qoran passages referred to are (in the order in which they have been quoted above): Sura 41: 40; 87: 3; 18: 29; 32: 17. On *katabtu* = *qadartu*, see Goldziher's review of de Vlieger, *Kitāb al-qadar*, ZDMG 57, p. 396 f.

⁵⁰ Comp 70, 16-71, 2.

his kindred spirits in Judaism and Christianity—theological self-consistency of revelation could only be maintained by means of the dialectic gymnastics of exegesis. And it is quite interesting to note that Ḥasan gives much less space to the many Qoranic passages favoring his thesis than to the interpretation (*ta'wīl*) of the relatively few passages alleged to suggest the antithesis.⁵¹

We meet here Ḥasan as an exegete of astonishing skill and resourcefulness. Perhaps it is the pride and sensitiveness of one who was himself of non-Arab descent,⁵² when he shows that the “arguments” of his opponents are not only in each case based on their misinterpreting the spirit, but in some cases on their insufficient understanding of the language, of the Qoran. Allah revealed the Qoran to people who should understand the proprieties of Arabic! Ḥasan himself is not reluctant to elucidate, when necessary, these proprieties from Arabic poetry or even from popular usage.⁵³ That according to the Qoran many people are created “for hellfire”; that no one can believe except by Allah’s “permission”; that man does not choose what is good “unless Allah wishes”—these and similar utterances prove, when properly understood, the exact opposite of what the determinists claim that they prove. The Arabic preposition “for”, *li*, may be used to indicate not only purpose, intention, but also consequence, result, outcome; the Arabic word for “permission”, *’idn*, is synonymous with *taḥliya*, thus implying the act of giving access, of letting alone, of refraining from interference; Allah’s “will” as a pre-condition of man’s choosing what is good means, in truth, His willingness to teach and reveal to man what good is.⁵⁴ As Ḥasan takes up one after another of the Qoran passages alleged to postulate the moral absolutism of qadar, they turn out, in the light of his exegesis, to lend additional support and force to the theology of free will, which

⁵¹ Of some 90 passages from the Qoran discussed more or less fully in our treatise, only about 10 or 12 are *mimmā yunāzi’ūna* (var. *yujādilūna*) *fihī*; their re-interpretation by Ḥ. occupies the major part of our text, 72, 13 to 81, 12.

⁵² Of Persian extraction, Ḥ. seems even to have retained (or acquired?) the ability to speak and to write Persian (see Ibn Sa’d, p. 123, 12: *fa-qāla bi-’l-fārisiyyati*, and cf. Schaeder, p. 47 and 49).

⁵³ See 76, 20-77, 3; and 79, 8 (*wa-qad taqūlu ’l-’arab*).

⁵⁴ See 76, 16 ff.; 73, 11 f. and 16 f. The Qoran passages referred to are (again in the order quoted above): Sura 7: 179; 10, 100; 81: 29. (Cf. n. 66.)

may well claim him as its founder and originator in Islam. [See below, note 72].

To Ḥasan himself the controversy of Moral Determinism vs. Free Will is not an isolated theoretical question of theology. We have already seen that the sponsors of this controversy must have presented a politically powerful party, and we may assume that it was not without personal risk of liberty, if not of life, to attack them one and all. Sunnite writers relate—with proper contempt, of course,—the names of two pioneers of the Qadarite movement, Ma'bad al-Juhānī and Ġaylān ad-Dimishqī. The former seems to have been an intimate, perhaps a pupil, of Ḥasan; the latter is said to have been a disciple of Ma'bad. Both are reported to have been sentenced to death for their adherence to the thesis of free will.⁵⁵ That Ḥasan, too, was in danger must be inferred not only from the letter of 'Abdalmalik—who is said to have been responsible for Ma'bad's verdict in the year 80 A. H.⁵⁶—but particularly from the warm plea which al-Ḥajjāj enters on Ḥasan's behalf when submitting his brief to the Calif.⁵⁷

Ḥasan, however, exercises no restraint, and leaves nothing unsaid. His personal denunciation of the "nihilists" is as aggressive and ardent as his theological refutation. He compares them with the heathens at the time of Muhammed who, too, claimed that in their abominations they follow the ways of their fathers.⁵⁸ Once, he asks, rhetorically, whether they realize that it is against Allah that their controversy (*radd*) is turned. He implores the Calif to

⁵⁵ Ibn Qutaiba, p. 244; (Shahrastānī, p. 17); Murtaḍā, p. 15 ff. On Ma'bad's relationship to Ḥasan, cf. *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif* 225 (above n. 45) and Ibn 'Asākir (Ritter, p. 60). See the next note.

⁵⁶ Tagribirdī, *Nujūm* (ed. T. G. J. Juynboll and B. F. Matthes) 1, p. 222, (cf. H. Steiner, *Die Mu'taziliten*, p. 29, n. 2); see also Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, p. 98 f.

⁵⁷ Above n. 10. A contemporary admirer tells how he tried to make Ḥ. forego his stand in the qadar problem by actually threatening him with reprisals from the government, Ṭabarī, p. 2492. 16: *haddadtuhu bi-'s-sultān*. (Very instructive is the addition in Ibn Sa'd. p. 122. 3: *fa-qāla lā 'a'ūdu fīhi ba'da 'l-yauma*—a clear instance of "whitewashing" of Ḥasan's reputation in terms of Sunnite piety! See also p. 122, 4 f.). On 'Ayyūb's statement Murtaḍā remarks: *wa-kāna l-Ḥasanu fī zamāni 'uḡmi 'l-ḥaḡari min banī 'Umayyati wa-rubbamā yattaqī* (the last clause is made improbable by the fact of our *risāle*), *Munya*, p. 15.

⁵⁸ See 70, 4 ff. (*wa-la-qad qāla ḡalika qaumun fa-'āba 'lāhu 'alayhim*, referring to Sura 7: 28).

dissociate himself from people who know not what qadar means, merely using it as an excuse for their moral irresponsibility. They seek zestfully after the doubtful passages of the Qoran, out of the rebellion of their heart against their duties and obligations as Muslims.⁵⁹ Unwilling to take upon themselves the burden of the truth, they adhere to the ease and levity of the untruth. Their insincerity is apparent by the way they belie the very principle which they profess to guard. They take good care of themselves, without leaving it to the qadar of Allah. They employ every means of care and precaution to protect their property, to increase their material goods. But when it comes to their spiritual well-being, they leave it to qadar. Confronted with the imperatives of religion, they point to the writing-reed of Fate that had inscribed their foreheads with "blessed" or "afflicted".⁶⁰ To the call of Allah himself, admonishing them to believe, to obey, to return, they reply, brazenly and in ill faith, that their will is overwhelmed, their endeavor interfered with, their intention rendered futile, by the Qadar of Allah.⁶¹

6. AUTHENTICITY. It was inevitable that the powerful voice of his "message" should reverberate in the several branches of Muslim theology as they eventually developed in the generations after Ḥasan. This may seem to render the question of authenticity rather difficult. In reality such a question hardly exists. Apart from the obviously editorial remarks of Shahrastānī, mentioned above, it is hard to detect any reasonable ground for doubting the genuineness of the document. The historical reality lingers from

⁵⁹ See 82, 1 (above n. 40); 68, 16-69, 1; 72, 14 ff.

⁶⁰ See 75, 6-76, 2. The expression *jaffati 'l-'aqlāmu wa-kutiba 'alā 'l-jabīni* makes it especially clear how much the qadar concept of the "nihilists" still bore the earmarks of ancient Arab fatalism. Nevertheless, repercussions of these very words may be found in Sunnite Ḥadīṭ; see, e.g., Buḥārī 4, p. 251, *Bāb jaffa 'l-qalamu*; see also Goldziher, ZDMG, 33, p. 623, n. 1; and 57, p. 398 ff. (Goldziher's remark that *in den älteren Kadar-Sprüchen des Islam finden wir sie*—viz. the concept of the inscribed forehead—*noch nicht* is now invalidated by the occurrence of that concept in the text before us. Its striking parallels both in Indian literature, pointed out by G., and in the Old Testament—Ez. 9: 4; cf. Is. 4: 3—would require, and deserve, a critical investigation in itself.)

⁶¹ See the impressive finale of our text 82, 1 ff. which, at the same time, forms the emotional climax of the *risāle*, and must be read in the original to be fully appreciated.

the first to the last line of our *risāle*. What could possibly have been the motive of some late theologian who, having "forged" both a letter of 'Abdalmalik and a reply by Ḥasan, went to the pains of fabricating also a second recension with an indorsement of the revered Ḥasan by the universally despised Omayyad general al-Ḥajjāj?

But even if we were to go by the test of inner evidence alone, we would be led in the direction of Ḥasan, certainly as to his age, almost certainly as to the type of piety he is known to have represented.⁶² It is all but inconceivable that anyone undertaking to defend the thesis of free will in Ḥasan's name, but after his times, would be as completely void of the rationalism and schematism of the Mu'tazilites, the classical champions of that thesis, as our *risāle* appears to be. It is well to recall the main points of argument common to the Mu'tazilites. To them it is reason, '*aql*', that makes the divine attribute of justice, '*adl*', a sort of axiomatic idea a priori; therefore, God is compelled, *wujiba 'alayhi*, He is bound by reason, not only to grant His creatures freedom of action, but to administrate their affairs to their greatest possible advantage (*al-aṣṣlah*); reason, on the other hand, requires that man discriminate good and evil independent, regardless, of revelation.

All this is entirely foreign to the author of our treatise. We have seen that his sole criterion in defense of free will is that of revelation. The word of God to him is light above darkness, life above death. To believe in moral determinism, he once exclaims, is to render God's teachings to mankind void and meaningless.⁶³ His treatment of qadar is theocentric rather than homocentric; he starts, not from the reason of man, but from the manifested will of God. He does take justice in the divine measures of reward and punishment for granted, but primarily because it is attested to by revelation, and even then it is not the arithmetical '*adl*' of the Mu'tazila.⁶⁴ He would have been horrified at the very thought that there be anything that God "must" or "cannot"—an idea

⁶² See above the notes 5, 45, 46, 57, and below n. 67 and 72; see also Ritter, 61 ff.

⁶³ See 70, 7, and 74, 22-75. 1.

⁶⁴ We have seen (above n. 39) that '*adl*', while used in the author's argumentation against his opponents, has not yet reached the methodic rigidity, nor the terminological force, of later times. This is even more true of the other pillar of the Mu'tazilite system, of '*aql*', which is mentioned only once in our treatise (74, 19), and in a most casual way, at that.

so essential with the Mu'tazilites.⁶⁵ We remember, too, how to him man can only choose good, know what is good, because God has taught and revealed it to him.⁶⁶ Nor does he propose to explain the suffering of the innocent, or rationalize about the prosperity of the wicked. The idea of *al-aṣṣlah* is unknown to him, both in word and spirit.

In later times, Muslim readers of our treatise seem to have been bewildered by its author appearing to advocate determinism no less than free will.⁶⁷ One might as well be surprised to find that Plato is not a consistent enough Stoicist. The very inconsistency of our author betrays his historicity, exposes the logic of Early Islam. His religious genius can perceive man only as free to serve God, to choose between good and evil, righteousness and wickedness. Here the concept of an ethical-didactic will of Allah had broken through the absolutism of His decree; and to this epochal achievement of Islam our author clings, heroically, against the deep-seated, national-Arab trends of his time and environment. But he lived too near the time of *Jāhiliyya* himself to have overcome altogether the concept of *dahr*,⁶⁸ the historical predecessor of *qadar*. Man's physical existence, his material woe and weal, is still in absolute control of *qadar*. In the case of adultery our author plainly agrees with the "nihilists" that the child is the product of predestination; only to him the adulterer is punished for having disobeyed the command of Allah, not for having begotten the child.⁶⁹

Yet, having become restricted to the sphere of material woe and weal, *qadar* lost its sharpest edges, of terror and hopelessness. By

⁶⁵ Referring to Sura 6: 35, the author even says: *lau shā'a 'an yajburahum 'alā 't-tā'ati la-kāna qādiran* (76, 6).

⁶⁶ See 71, 3; 73, 17 (*fa-min mashī'atihi lanā 'l-ḥayra qabla 'an nashā'a 'an* (= 'annahu) *dallanā 'alayhi wa-bayyanahu lanā*); see above n. 42.

⁶⁷ Shahrastānī, p. 32, 3 bottom (*wa-'l-'ajab!*). (Massignon, *Essai*, p. 173: en la mitigeant!) One of Ḥ.'s pupils, accused of disloyalty to his master (apparently after the latter had died), justifies his position by saying that Ḥ. was confusing (*kāna muḥallīṭan*; perhaps: *muḥallaṭan*, "confused"), in that he sometimes taught freedom and sometimes again determinism (Ṭabarsī, *Ihtijāj*, quoted in Massignon, *Recueil*, p. 4, 15).

⁶⁸ See WZKM 30, p. 60 f.

⁶⁹ See 74, 2 (*wa-laysa yu'addību 'llāhu 'z-zāniya 'alā 'l-walad*). Mark the interesting comparison of the adulterer with one who sows in an acre he does not rightfully own, which may nevertheless yield crops by God's will.

the revolutionary deed of Muhammed, qadar had become the qadar of God; and this is what, in effect, our author is holding forth to his opponents all the time. Outside the moral-religious sphere, man's destiny, with its variable of success and failure, of happiness and misery, is still wholly determined by heavenly decree. But it had become the decree of a personal God, who tests man with the joys and sorrows of life, so that he may not despair for what he misses, nor rejoice too much in what he possesses. Man's heart is still made "wide" or "narrow", but only in retribution for what he has accomplished, or failed to accomplish, by his own power and will.⁷⁰ The "writing-reed" of blind Fatum has been replaced by the *sunna* of Allah, by the *ḥukm* of Allah, who guides and tests, punishes and rewards, helps and forgives.⁷¹

It remained for the coming generations of Islam to develop more methodic means of speculation, and to find more systematic answers to the permanent questions of theology faced by the author of our treatise. What he offers are mere rudiments and, again, only such rudiments as were indispensable for the basic institutions of Islam. But just therein lies the strongest test of his authenticity. Elements may be found in our *risāle* that make its author appear as much a forerunner of Ṣūfism, as other elements would establish him a pioneer of the Mu'tazila. Yet it would be altogether unwarranted to stamp him with either label. His treatise is the product of no school, it follows no scheme, it employs no set terminology. It is the spontaneous outcry of a preacher of Islam who sees its foundations at stake, its message of hope and its code of observances annulled by a conservatism that antedated even Muhammed.⁷² In

⁷⁰ See below, ad "P. 80, l. 3-6"; and cf. above n. 27.

⁷¹ Especially interesting is in this respect the author's discussion of *sharḥ aṣ-ṣudūr* (79, 10-81, 12). It shows how easily the seed sown by Ḥ.'s theological speculation of qadar might ripen both into Ṣūfī piety and Mu'tazilite dialectics. Cf. such striking passages as 74, 8 ff. (... 'annahu mubtalinā fi ḥāqīhi 'd-dunyā bi-'sh-shiddati wa-'r-raḥā . . . likaylā na'sū etc.); 79, 2 ff. (fa-ḥāqīhi sunnatu 'llāhi); 80, 7 ff. (wa-lam yaḍkur allāhu lahum ḡālika li-yaḡḡa'a rajā'ahum wa-lā li-yu'yisahum min raḡmatihī wa-faḡlihi etc.); and even more decisive 81, 8 ff. (lam ya'jal al-'umūra ḡatman 'alā 'l-'ibād etc.).

⁷² It is the great irony of Muhammedan history, and of religious history in general, that the thesis by which Islam is here protected against complete disintegration was to become obnoxious to Muslim orthodoxy, so that Abbasid caliphs, with but few shining exceptions, were to find themselves, in this respect, one with their Omayyad predecessors whom they otherwise

the school of the Mu'tazilites, qadar developed into a formidable system by which rationalism, perhaps better, *'aqlism*, defended itself against a dogmatic concept of omnipotence, and a fundamentalist interpretation of the Qoran. In Şūfism, on the other hand, qadar was sublimated into *tawakkul*, and religious practice subordinated to intention and meditation. Neither of these stages had yet been reached at the time of our treatise. Here moral responsibility and pragmatic self-discipline of the believer are still the supreme need, the dire issue, of young Islam consolidating itself against the fatalistic *carpe diem* of recent paganism.

7. TEXTUAL. Professor Ritter has earned our thanks for making this important document available to us. But the text he gives, while admirable as a whole, leaves much to be desired as to detail. Obviously, it was not his intention to undertake an exhaustive textual critique of his manuscript material, or even to mark off the text difficulties as such. In what follows only a cross-section of these difficulties can be offered, with preference given to passages that bear on the understanding of the *risāle*, and to such obvious misreadings as could be easily amended.

P. 71, l. 16: Between **قال الله** and **فرعون** something is evidently missing; presumably it is the conjunction **انه**. Curiously enough, the same omission seems to occur two other times in our text, as will be seen below.

P. 72, l. 2 f.: The incomplete quotation of the Qoran verse

so utterly condemned. If anything becomes established by our document it is the fact that the qadar ideology was the direct and inevitable outgrowth of the deed of Muhammed; and that, accordingly, the theory of its foreign origin, vaguely repeated ever since the times of Alfred von Kremer (cf. his *Kulturgeschichtliche Streifzüge*, p. 2 ff.) should be abandoned once for all. The evidence from our *risāle* becomes especially irrevocable when combined with the reluctant, and therefore all the more trustworthy, testimony which we have been able to adduce from Sunnite writers. We could not very well expect them to say in as many words that their great and revered Ḥasan was the founder of the, to them disreputable, Qadriyya. But, seen critically, their very disavowals (Ṭabarī 2493, 20; *al-Ḥasan zayyāḡahu 'l-Qadariyyatu*; Ibn Sa'd 127, 21: *kāna 'ahlu 'l-qadari yantaḡilūna 'l-Ḥasan . . . wa-kāna qauluhu muḡālifaḡan lahum*) are tale-telling. Until, therefore, and unless evidence to the contrary be established, we must consider the Qadarite movement as having rooted in the kind of piety brought to light by our document, and Ḥasan al-Baṣrī as the spiritual head of that movement.

(Sura 41: 17) cannot have been intended by the author. Restore therefore: *فاستحيوا العمی علی الهدی* [فأخذتهم صاعقة العذاب: *الهیون*] بما كانوا یکسبون. This omission, apparently the error of an early copyist, seems to have led to the textual confusion in l. 4: *وكان بدؤ استحقاقهم العمی النح*, which is extremely awkward. There can be no doubt that in the original the text read *وكان بدؤ* *یقتدی*, while [العذاب] *استحبا بهم العمی النح* not impossible, is in view of the context (*أقدم*) very improbable. Read: *یبتدی*.—L. 15: As must be inferred from the infinitive *مسمعون* in the original, the preceding final verb, no doubt *فیتبعون* (not *فیتبعون*); cf. p. 67, l. 15.

P. 73, l. 1: I assume that the text has scriptio defectiva but is otherwise correct as it stands: *(= إثبات) فمما شاء أثبت*.—L. 8 ff.: The fusion of two different, but very similar, Qoran verses (Sura 10: 33 and 40: 6) may well be original, the author quoting from memory. In l. 15, however, the case is just the reverse, and the passage *منکم ان* should be deleted. Having written correctly the beginning of Sura 81: 28, the copyist continued erroneously with Sura 74: 37 which has the identical beginning (*لمن شاء منکم*); but could hardly have been intended for the present context. The error, by homœoteleuton, was all the more natural as in what precedes (p. 70, l. 9) Sura 74: 37 had actually been quoted.—L. 16 f.: The passage *صدق الله لم یکن لیشاء الخیر الا ان یشاء لنا* sounds like a subtle epigram of Sūfic meditation, and this is perhaps why some copyist wrote it this way. But it is certainly wrong as it stands. Read: *صدق الله [انه] لم نكن لنشاء الخیر الا ان یشاء [ه] لنا*.

P. 74, l. 1: Add probably *عليه* after *نتوب* (cf. *yatūb 'alaynā* in what immediately precedes).—L. 8: I suppose that the original text read: (not *وانه*) *فخبرنا بذلك أنه*.—L. 9: In the phrase *لین لنا لمن صبر* the third word is a correction of the erroneously written second word (a procedure usual with oriental copyists).⁷³

P. 75, l. 8: The extremely improbable reading *لنقل الحق* *عليهم وحقه الباطل* is the result of mispunctuation on the part of some

⁷³ Cf., e. g., Ibn Shāhīn, *Faraj*, p. 31, 9: *وان = وان امرله مدله فینا* *عدلت فینا*, and similarly *passim*.

copyist. The intended punctuation is *اشقل الحق عليهم وخفة الباطل* (as p. 76, l. 2!).—L. 10: *ونكر* is most likely = *wa-takuzzu* (see Lane, VII, p. 2608, col. 1).—L. 12: Read *قَدْرَ لَه* (not *له*), as in l. 16.—L. 18: I believe that *زادها* is simply miswritten for *زانها* (the fem. suffix referring to *الدار*, of course).

P. 76, l. 15: The clause *وعذبهم . . . مؤمنين* seems to be misplaced from l. 14; it should be made to follow the words *نهاهم عنها*.

P. 77, l. 9: Delete the words *علم الله انهم* as a repetition from l. 8 (whereby *انهم* was simply miswritten for *ربهم*). The erroneous addition led some copyist to "correct" the fem. suffix at the end of the clause into a masculine one, thus making it refer to Allah. Unquestionably, the clause read in the original: *التي لا* *الايمان* was intended by the author. The context requires a word synonymous with the immediately following *العدل*; probably, then, *الانصاف*.

P. 78, l. 7: The phrase *بنقصر ما* renders the context pointless. Read, as in the next line, *ببعضر ما*; (the mistake may have been caused by *naqs* in l. 9).

P. 79, l. 4: Again an *الله* seems to have been omitted after *الله*, as twice above.—L. 10: Read *فيه* (in lieu of *في*).—L. 17 f.: The word *وسعهم* is obviously misprinted for *وسعها*; the numeral ١٨٦ for ٢٨٦; and *بهم*, I take it, for *بها*.

P. 80, l. 3-6: The passage is badly confused in the edited text. From a close examination of the context (in what precedes, an explanation is given for the "widening" of heart paralleling very closely the one given here for the "narrowing") it becomes apparent that when the copyist responsible for the present text reached the word *وضلاله*, in l. 4, his eye wandered to *وضلالته* in l. 6, leaving out the matter that stood between these two words. Upon reaching the word *والنوبة*, he noticed his mistake and inserted the omitted passage here, but instead of repeating *fī 'ājil . . . wa-'t-taubati* in its entirety, he repeated only the beginning and the end of it. The situation may be seen from the following juxtaposition:

The Original Text.

ومن ترك ما أمره الله به من الطاعة وتمادى
 في كفره وضلاله جعل الله صدره ضيقا
 حرجا كأنما يصعد في السماء عقوبة
 منه له بكفره وضلالته في عاجل الدنيا [وهو مع ذلك
 مطبق للآبئة] والتوبة مأمور بها مدعو إليها

The Edited Text.

ومن ترك ما أمره الله به من الطاعة وتمادى في كفره
 وضلاله في عاجل الدنيا وهو مع ذلك مطبق للآبئة
 والتوبة جعل الله صدره ضيقا حرجا
 كأنما يصعد في السماء عقوبة منه له بكفره
 وضلالته في عاجل الدنيا والتوبة مأمور بها مدعو إليها

P. 81, l. 12: Read *فيمن* instead of *فمن*, and place the sign for the end of the sentence before, rather than after, the words *فيهذا القول*.—L. 14: The use of fem. sg. in *tad'ūhum* (as referring to *ar-rusul*) is very odd. I assume that *يدعوهم* = *دعوهم* (for *يدعونهم*), not *تدعوهم*.

P. 82, l. 12: After *حرم*, add *الله* (left out by the printer?).—L. 15 f.: The reading *قضى الله على نبيه الان ثم اذن له الخ* is quite impossible. In what precedes, the author cites an instance from the Qoran which, according to the "nihilists", evidences the incompatibility of *qadar* and *'amr*: Muhammed, acting under the compulsion of *qadar*, *prohibits* something against the command of Allah, and is then rebuked for it. Here, the same instance is cited, only with the Prophet *permitting* something against the command of Allah. Read, therefore: *قضى الله على نبيه الاذن ثم اذن لهم الخ*. See above, n. 15.

It will be seen that nearly all of the above difficulties may be reduced to two types of scribal error: (a) cases of addition, omission or misplacement, due to homœoteleuton; and (b) cases of improper punctuation. Obviously, the text left the hand of the author either with very few or no diacritical points. This will have to be borne in mind by anyone who would undertake a more detailed study of the Arabic document than could be offered at the present occasion, and especially a critical translation of the edited text—an undertaking that can not be recommended strongly enough.

IS THE BOOMERANG ORIENTAL? ¹

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OF THE various weapons of aboriginal peoples which have been given a romantic setting in popular fancy, none seems to be so cloaked with misconception as the boomerang of the Australians. The various misunderstandings current in lay opinion, but also found occasionally in scientific circles, apparently are founded upon the inaccurate and ambiguous reports which emanated from Australia during the period of initial contact between Europeans and the aborigines. At that time a reputation based upon only partial truth was given the boomerang outside of Australia and once established, it has been perpetuated by subsequent tradition. These beliefs have not only mitigated against a satisfactory understanding of the position of the boomerang in Australian culture but have confused the identity of weapons in other parts of the world which have been compared with it.

Of the popular fallacies associated with the boomerang perhaps the most widespread and deep-rooted is the belief that all boomerangs are of the returning type. As a matter of fact, returning boomerangs constitute only a very small percentage of Australian boomerangs, a percentage difficult to estimate accurately but which under normal aboriginal conditions may have been exceedingly small. It is important to note this small ratio for the lack of its appreciation is the basis of much of the misunderstanding with which we are concerned. In order to distinguish the two types we will henceforth use the word boomerang to imply the ordinary varieties which do not return to the thrower, the sense in which the word is used in Australia: and the term "returning boomerang" to designate the small percentage which, when thrown properly, perform certain gyrations in the air and finally fall near the point from which they were hurled.

It is also generally believed that the returning boomerang is a weapon and that it is used in war and for hunting. These func-

¹This paper is intended to supplement "Australian Throwing-sticks, Throwing-clubs, and Boomerangs," one of a series of studies made in Australia by the writer under a Fellowship grant by the Social Science Research Council.

tions, however, with few exceptions, are found associated only with ordinary boomerangs. The returning boomerang is regarded by the aborigines as a toy to be thrown for amusement. In only a few instances are there reports that it is used for other purposes, although in emergencies it may be utilized as a weapon in the same manner as any other suitable object.

It is likewise important to understand that the returning boomerang, contrary to popular belief, will not return to the thrower if it strikes any object during its flight. In most cases such a happening would cause it to fall directly to the ground. Occasionally if an obstacle is not struck squarely, the stick may be deflected and started on a different course of flight, but in such an event, the point of landing would be altered. The common belief, therefore, that the boomerang will return to the hand of the thrower after it has struck the enemy or the prey has no basis in fact.

Lastly, neither ordinary nor returning boomerangs are ubiquitous in Australia. Although their distributions are widespread, there are certain rather extensive areas in which both varieties are unknown. Returning boomerangs have not been found among tribes which do not possess the ordinary type but the ordinary varieties are present in some regions where the returners are known to be lacking.

Australian Missile-Sticks

Basically considered, the boomerang should be regarded as a form of missile-stick of which there are three classes in Australia. For convenience these may be spoken of as 1. Throwing-sticks, 2. Boomerangs and 3. Throwing-clubs.

The Australian throwing-stick is a straight or slightly curved peeled stick about two feet in length, round in cross section, with a diameter of slightly more than one inch, and which tapers slightly to roundly or bluntly pointed extremities.

The boomerang, on the other hand, is a curved stick, characterized by a transverse section with two equal or unequal convex surfaces, or one convex and one flat surface and which tapers abruptly or gradually to extremities of various shapes. In length, boomerangs vary from about 18 inches to 3 feet. There are a few larger ones, some 8 feet long, which may be used for striking, or in ceremonies. These are not thrown and should be termed "boomerang-clubs."

The throwing-club is a weapon characterized by knobs, flares, bulges or other features carved in the solid matrix and which is used in one hand for throwing or for striking. These weapons differ only in proportions from larger counterparts, clubs, which require two hands for use and are not thrown.

Throwing-sticks, it seems obvious, are the most simple of the three classes of missile-sticks in that they approach closely a natural form which requires very little alteration in manufacture. They are distributed throughout the western half of Australia and were characteristic of the aboriginal culture of Tasmania. They also appear sporadically in the geographically intermediate area of southeastern Australia where throwing-clubs prevail. It appears, therefore, that throwing-sticks are of relatively great antiquity, by virtue of their appearance in Tasmania, and that they have been superceded in southeastern Australia by throwing-clubs. It may be that throwing-sticks were an original possession of the invading Tasmanians.

Throwing-clubs are lacking in Tasmania and the western half of the continent but are found throughout Eastern Australia from Victoria and South Australia to Torres Straits where their distribution connects with the appearances of similar but not identical forms in New Guinea. Although many varieties appear to be indigenous to the continent, fundamentally it would seem that throwing-clubs in some undetermined basic form or in concept diffused to Australia from New Guinea and have supplanted the use of throwing-sticks in a large part of eastern Australia.

Boomerangs vary so much in their forms, sizes and weights that it is a difficult matter to classify them into types and varieties. Some are symmetrical in form, others have one arm longer than the other. In many specimens the width is fairly constant throughout the greater part of the weapon, in others it is relatively great at the bend and may decrease gradually or abruptly as the ends are approached. The degree of curvature also shows much variation and may range from a right angle or less to almost 180°. For the shape of cross-section, we find some examples thin and wafer-like, whereas others may be almost round, or in those specimens having one flat surface, almost hemispherical. The extremities run the gamut from round to pointed, and in addition there are several varieties of specialized ends with angular or other features which set them off from the more usual forms. Finally there is the ques-

tion of a longitudinal twist, a feature necessary to the returning boomerangs but also one occasionally found to a slighter degree and perhaps accidentally in those not intended for use as playthings.

When all these variable features are taken into consideration it is clear that the number of combinations is infinite and that it is a most difficult matter to describe the differences between the boomerangs of many regions of the continent. There is no one feature sufficiently constant to serve as a standard. Nevertheless in any one area the boomerangs, like other culture traits, generally are found to conform to certain local patterns, and with close observation it is possible to consign fairly accurately many specimens to the sections of the continent from which they came. In some instances, distinguishing features, such as a peculiar feature in shape or in decoration, may permit the identification of a relatively small area as the place of manufacture. In a few cases the form may be of such a general nature that provenience can be indicated only vaguely.

Ordinary boomerangs are common throughout Australia except in the three northern peninsulas, the Kimberley district, northern North Australia and the Cape York peninsula, and possibly in a few small districts in the southern part of the continent. They were also lacking in Tasmania.

Returning Boomerangs

The returning boomerang, obviously a variant of the ordinary boomerang, differs from the latter in certain important respects which in many cases are differences in degree, not in kind. Returning boomerangs are characterized by (1) a curvature which resembles the arc of a hyperbola; (2) a "rounding," by which one of the surfaces in transverse section shows a greater curvature than the other; and (3) a "twisting," by which the arms exhibit a longitudinal twist of from 2° to 3° similar to the blades of a screw propeller. However, since many ordinary boomerangs are characterized by one or more of these traits or may differ only slightly in all three respects, it is often a most difficult matter to determine whether a specimen is a returner, especially in museum collections where warping may have taken place. Without all of the features enumerated a boomerang cannot be made to return to the thrower.

Returning boomerangs are of widespread distribution. Although affirmative reports are not available to show their appearance in

all regions they are specifically denied only for a large part of the Central Australia-southern North Australia area where ordinary boomerangs are in use. It is presumptive to state that they are coexistent with ordinary boomerangs throughout the remainder of the distribution of the latter but we at least know that they are or were present in parts of Queensland, New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia and Western Australia. It is important to note that they are unknown in the northern Kimberley region, northern North Australia and the Cape York Peninsula, the three main northern peninsulas of the continent, in all of which regions ordinary boomerangs are also lacking. Both types were also unknown in Tasmania, a fact which indicates that boomerangs do not have as great an antiquity as throwing-sticks.

Origin of Boomerangs

On the basis of Australian evidence, there seems to be no good reason for believing that boomerangs are not indigenous to Australia. In this instance the geographical distribution of boomerangs as a class appears to be illuminating. As we have already seen, both ordinary and returning boomerangs are lacking in the extensive area comprising the three northern peninsulas. It is presumable that they have never been used in the northern Kimberley district and northern North Australia, for we find the ordinary varieties diffusing into these areas at the present time. The crucial place where boomerangs seem to be unknown, but where we would expect to find some traces of them if they had been brought into Australia from a foreign source, is the Cape York Peninsula. For this region, Roth informs us that they are lacking north of the Palmer and Mitchell rivers.² That boomerangs have diffused northward into the southern part of the peninsula is not known from specific data although such a movement may be indicated by the gradual change from fine weapons to cruder ones as one goes north. A northward diffusion is also suggested by linguistic evidence. The Gunanni tribe, for instance, who inhabit the area between the Mitchell and Statten rivers, possess two kinds of boomerangs, one light in weight, the other heavy, and one very much more curved than the other, to which they apply the same term, their only term for boomerang, *we-angala*.³ Southward from this

² Roth, p. 201.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 203.

area specific names seem to be applied to these two types, whereas the word *we-ngal*, or a cognate, is used as the generic term for boomerang.⁴ These facts also seem to support a theory that there has been a derivation from within the continent.

In a culture where throwing-sticks undoubtedly have been in use for a great period of time, we do not have to look far for a possible and most reasonable ultimate basis from which boomerangs could have been derived. It should not be implied that there was necessarily a direct change from a throwing-stick to a boomerang by the reduction in height of the cross-section and the giving of a greater curvature, although such could have been and may have been the case. It seems much more reasonable to suppose that such a change, if it actually happened, was gradual and that considerable time may have elapsed before what we recognize as a boomerang was produced.

There are many specimens with forms which appear to be transitional between throwing-sticks and boomerangs. These, by themselves, however, should not be considered as conclusive evidence of a historical change from the former to the latter. They might very well represent a movement in the opposite order. However, if it could be determined that these specimens actually represent transitional forms, we could be quite certain that throwing-sticks were the earlier in view of their greater antiquity as indicated by their appearance in Tasmania, and by their simplicity in likeness to natural forms. It is possible that these modern specimens which appear to be transitional may represent combinations of features recently borrowed from each type.

In respect to returning boomerangs, there seems to be no reason for doubting, on the basis of Australian evidence, that they have been derived from ordinary boomerangs somewhere in Australia. They, too, are not only lacking in the same northern peninsulas, toward which boomerangs are now diffusing, but their origin can be explained most logically in the similar non-returning boomerangs with which they are always associated.

In just what locality such a transformation may have been first recognized and accepted as a new culture trait cannot be indicated, nor can we point to any particular variety of boomerang as the one

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 201. For the lower Tully river; compare also *wongala*, the word for boomerang at Mackay, Smyth, I, p. 329.

most likely to have been the forebear. As we have already stated, the differences between the returning and non-returning types are often most difficult to distinguish. Thus any one of a number of the latter could have been the basis from which the former could have developed, probably it would seem, by the accidental realization that certain characteristics in form, the rounding and twisting, were responsible for a peculiar flight.

So-called Boomerangs of Other Areas

If we are correct in postulating an Australian origin for both ordinary and returning boomerangs, it follows as reasonable, in view of the lack of their appearance in the northern peninsulas of the continent, the only regions known to have received direct cultural influences from other areas, and the only areas where Australians could have influenced other peoples,⁵ that they have not diffused from Australia to any other region, but have been isolated in Australia since the time of their inception. If such is the case, no theory of diffusion is necessary to explain those weapons found in other parts of the world which are similar in general form and which have been implied by some to be historically related to Australian boomerangs.

Now sticks for striking or for use as missiles are certainly very simple weapons. It should not be considered as surprising, therefore, to find them in use on the various continents in contemporary times or in different periods of the past. There are many instances of such appearances in each of which, as a rule, the specimens as a group differ in detail from those of other regions. Some are plain, straight or curved sticks, round in cross-section, and correspond in a general way with what we have termed for Australia, throwing-sticks. Others with one flat and one convex surface, or two flat surfaces in some instances, and showing a longitudinal curve, come under the general definition we have given to boomerangs. Still others, with various knobs or swollen features for heads, can be placed, in terms of our grouping, into the category of throwing-clubs. No distinctions, however, have been made by many

⁵ The Australians are poor navigators and could not have carried cultural influences to other peoples. Their watercraft were most advanced in those regions where boomerangs are lacking. See my paper, "The Chronology of Australian Watercraft."

writers, and, as a result, we find cases in which the terms throwing-stick, boomerang, and throwing-club have been used differently or applied without discrimination to various types of missile-sticks. It is not to be supposed that a solution to the problems involved can be reached merely by the adoption of a uniform terminology, for general terms, themselves, are subject to misuse and lead to misunderstanding when applied to classes of variable objects which, although showing resemblances, are not necessarily related to each other.

In respect to Australia we have arbitrarily chosen our definitions for the convenience of classifying in a broad, general way, certain weapons found on that continent. It must not be assumed, therefore, merely because these general definitions are found to be applicable to certain objects in other parts of the world, that a historical relationship between them is indicated. By such a method, it would be possible by a change in definition to infer relationship in the most questionable and unwarranted instances. It is a reasonable assumption, I should say, to expect to find variation and basic similarity among widely spread traits which are historically related. It is also just as reasonable, in my estimation, to find that simple traits, discovered independently and found suited to the same general purposes, show some similarity as well as differences. It is possible, therefore, to confuse matters by interpreting historically different traits as variants of a common generic form, on the one hand, or by implying variants as being historically unrelated, on the other. The first misuse seems to be characteristic of the extreme diffusionists; the second, of the extreme evolutionists. Such misuses, however, are difficult to avoid as the result of the many similarities and the many mutations commonly met with in culture.

The term, throwing-club, as we have defined it, seems to be a satisfactory one for general world use. Off hand, it does not imply any particular minor feature which might restrict its meaning to some peculiar form. The term throwing-stick would also seem to qualify as a general term if we were to amend our definition to include all simple stick forms not classifiable as throwing-clubs, regardless of the shapes of their cross-sections. With such a definition, boomerangs would be classified as a special type of throwing-stick. The term boomerang is the only one which leads to mis-

understanding when used for weapons other than Australian, for it generally implies characteristics which, as we have seen, are fallacious.⁶ It would be desirable to restrict its use only to the Australian weapons, although, as a result of a lack of any other adequate term to designate a curved, flattened throwing-stick, it seems likely that its use will be continued in other areas. There can be no basic objection to such a practice if only it will be realized that these various objects do not become returners merely because they have been termed boomerangs and that they are not necessarily related to other objects given the same appellation in other parts of the world. So deep-rooted is the myth that all boomerangs are returners that it is generally found that most writers who apply the term to weapons of other peoples hasten to add that the weapons they refer to are not returners. With such an ambiguous meaning associated with the word it is not surprising to find great confusion in discussions concerning "boomerangs."

"Boomerangs" have been reported for many regions of the world. In the New Hebrides, for example, Rivers described as a "boomerang" a rather stout object, apparently oval in cross-section and about 16 inches in length, which has a longitudinal curve and two unequal and tapering arms terminating in squared off ends. It is not a weapon for it is used only in sport and is stated not to return. In one method of throwing, it is hurled against the ground, whence it revolves in the air and deflects to one side or the other. It is found only along the northern part of the western coast of Espiritu Santo and is called in the native dialect *tiokhi* or *tioki*. It is said to have some connection with the kava ceremony and was regarded by Rivers as historically related to the Australian boomerang and as having been introduced by his famous "kava people."

That the *tiokhi* is different in form and in function from Australian boomerangs seems clear. However, it is important to note that in the Boulia-Gloucester district of Queensland there is a not dissimilar object called a *kundi-kundi* which is used in a similar

⁶ The word *boomerang*, of course, is Australian. Morris gives the words *burramanga* and *boomori*, wind, from the Hunter River of northeastern New South Wales. Apparently it was only in the dialects of this general region that these words or variants were found. *Boomerang* is now commonly employed in eastern Australia among both whites and aborigines who speak English. In Western Australia the word *kylie* is preferred.

manner. It is a thick, rounded stick, 18 to 20 inches in length, pointed at both ends and strongly bent. It is used for sport by being held in the hand with the convex side forward and with the forefinger pressed along the concave side, in contrast to the Australian method of throwing boomerangs by holding them with their concave side forward, and hurled against a log or branch lying on the ground. It strikes the obstacle and flies into the air revolving as it goes on a more or less horizontal plane. Roth regards the *kundi-kundi* as a stage in the evolution of the boomerang from a *nulla-nulla* or a straight throwing-stick, a conclusion which may or may not be the case. Indeed this object of sport may have no historical relationship with boomerangs which it resembles only in a most general way. It is possible that the *kundi-kundi* and the *kiokhi* are related, although such a relationship is by no means either obvious nor certain in view of their simple form and function, as well as the fact that they seem to be separated by a distance of over 2,000 miles. However, if it were possible to establish a historical relationship between these two objects of sport, it would not follow that either one of them is necessarily an Australian boomerang. Nor would the proof that the *kiokhi* was derived from Australia alter the conclusion, based on Australian evidence, that the boomerang, itself, has not diffused from Australia.

For the Celebes, there is a report of "knieförmig gekrümmte bumerangähnliche Wurfhölzter zur Vogeljagd" ⁷ which functionally is similar to both Australian ordinary boomerangs and throwing-sticks. There seems to be no reason for supposing that there may be any direct historical relationship between this weapon and any of the weapons found in Australia.

The well known flat, curved weapon in the American Southwest, usually spoken of as a rabbit-stick, is also occasionally referred to as a "boomerang" or is spoken of as being "boomerang-shaped." These terms may be misleading to some, although it seems to be realized generally that these sticks will not return and have only the most superficial resemblances with the Australian weapons. Incidentally rabbit-sticks have a considerable antiquity in this general region for they have been excavated from the Val Verde County cave deposits in Texas.⁸ In more recent times, they

⁷ Buschan, p. 861.

⁸ Pearce and Jackson, p. 44.

have diffused westward to California where their northernmost appearance is among the Gabrielmo.⁹

The most confusing use of the term boomerang in the writer's opinion is that of the German scholars, Graebner, Schmidt and Koppers, who apply it in its usual Australian sense, by which the ordinary and not the returning boomerang is implied, to certain missile weapons of the Sudan and Upper Nile, including throwing-knives of iron.¹⁰ Indeed, the word is employed by them as the distinguishing term for a Kulturkreis, their Boomerang or Negritish Kulturkreis, regardless of the differences between the missile-sticks of the various regions. Although the professors of the Kulturkreis theory postulate a historical relationship between these various weapons and thus consider their use of the term justified, such a connection is neither obvious nor, in the writer's estimation, reasonably demonstrated. The so-called "boomerangs" of the Upper Nile and the Sudan¹¹ show only the most generalized and superficial resemblances with Australian boomerangs. They are often sharply bent 45° to 90° at the fore-end and seem to be characterized by swollen foreparts. In certain respects, therefore, these African weapons are nearer what we have called throwing-clubs, or even throwing-sticks, than what we have termed boomerangs. However, there seems to be no advantage in equivocating over the use of terminology, for just the application of the same term to these various differing weapons will not demonstrate their historical unity, although it is easy for one to become susceptible to such a belief if the term is used in such a loose fashion, nor will the use of different terms prove the appearances to be the results of independent development.

These examples of the wide and varied application of the word "boomerang" to non-returning weapons or objects used in sport are sufficient to demonstrate how innocently or purposefully mis-

⁹ Kroeber, pp. 467, 632.

¹⁰ See Graebner, Schmidt and Koppers. For the throwing-knives, see Thomas.

¹¹ Until comparative studies commenced, all writers seem to have spoken of these weapons as throwing-sticks. See Schurtz, p. 316, for ancient Egypt and the Sudan; Baker, Sir Samuel, Nile Tributaries of Abyssinia, p. 511 (cited by Lane Fox, 1869, p. 430); Knight, pp. 13-14, for Abyssinia as far as Lake Chad. also the Upper Nile; Brough Smyth, I, pp. 321 et seq., for the Es-sellem of the desert, similar to the ancient Egyptian curved sticks.

leading such remarks may be. It is not difficult to understand, therefore, that in other cases where it has been assumed or claimed that the returning propensity is associated with certain weapons, the confusion is still greater for, as we have already said, the boomerang myth is so deep-rooted that there is a natural tendency to assume that any weapon called "boomerang" will return, and vice versa, that any weapon believed to be a returner must be a "boomerang."

India

The question of the ability of weapons other than Australian to return, however, is a moot one. Many claims have been made, but none seems to have been proved, and most have been discredited. There appears to be only one recent statement that returning weapons are found elsewhere. In this instance, in the article on Boomerangs in the 14th Edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica, the statement is made that in India there is a "boomerang-shaped instrument which can be made to return." This information tells us very little, for we are not informed whether these instruments were made intentionally to return or were found by the experimentation of Europeans to have such properties of flight. The statement is of interest, however, as a continuum of one of the early claims of Lane Fox, on which, judging from the references listed, it is based.

Since the middle of the nineteenth century Europeans seem to have been trying to make certain Indian weapons return. As early as 1869, Lane Fox illustrated certain curved, pointed weapons, elliptical in cross-section, which in general respects are comparable with some of the Australian ordinary boomerangs. Aside from the fact that they are heavier and thicker than the latter, have surfaces equally convex, and apices at the extremities of the convex sides, they are stated definitely not to return.¹² The crudest are said to come from Goojerat and an "improved form" from Madras. The latter is a short, curved weapon with a knob handle. Subsequently in 1872 the same writer, in attempting to show a historical relationship between the Australian and Indian weapons, remarked: "The Dravidian boomerang does not return like the Australian weapon. The return flight is not a matter of such primary importance as to constitute a generic difference, if I may

¹² Lane Fox, 1869, p. 430 and Pl. 20.

use the expression; the utility of the return flight has been greatly exaggerated; it is owing simply to the comparative thinness and lightness of the Australian weapon (sic)."¹³ In 1877, however, Lane Fox after considerable experimentation announced: "An improved form of this weapon is used by the Marawars of Madura, and some of these are much thinner than the boomerangs of the Kolis, and in practice I find them to fly with a return flight like the Australian boomerang."¹⁴ This is the statement that seems to be the basis for the recent claims, referred to above, that a "boomerang-shaped instrument" in India can be made to return. It seems quite certain that Lane Fox was not making the implication that returning "boomerangs" were in use but merely stating that by experimentation with certain specimens he was able to obtain what he regarded as a flight comparable with the flights made by Australian returning boomerangs. However, he does not define what he means by the term "return flight." At last, in 1883, he seems to have accepted as a fact that these weapons as a class and in their aboriginal use were neither intended to return nor capable of being made to return.¹⁵

The most recent detailed attention to these Indian weapons is a study by Hornell.¹⁶ He finds them to be in use among Maravans and Kallans, Vellelas, Valliyans, Nadars (Shanars) and Muhammadans in Madura, Ramnad and parts of Tanjore, Tinnevely and Pudukkottai. In some cases, they were used for hunting hares, deer or partridges; in others, they were considered as weapons of war. At the present time many have ceremonial value and are made of ivory or steel. In no case did Hornell find any evidence of return flight.

It would seem, therefore, that there is no good evidence for believing that returning "boomerangs" were ever used by the native peoples of India, although it is possible that some of their weapons, taken individually, can be made to exhibit some semblance of a return flight, using the term in its broadest possible sense. Such a possibility in itself is not remarkable, however, for as

¹³ Lane Fox, 1872, p. 323.

¹⁴ Lane Fox, 1877, p. 30, quoted by H. Balfour in a footnote in Hornell, p. 338.

¹⁵ Lane Fox, 1883, p. 461. See also Buschan, p. 538.

¹⁶ Hornell, pp. 336-340.

Brough Smyth has commented, it is quite possible "to get some sort of return flight, if a crooked stick be thrown in the air."¹⁷

Egypt

Claims have also been made that the hunting stick of the ancient Egyptians, apparently a property from pre-dynastic times to at least the 18th Dynasty, was a returning "boomerang." Again it is Lane Fox who is responsible for the confusion in respect to these objects. He practised with a fac simile of a weapon in the British Museum and stated in 1872 that he "succeeded in at last obtaining a slight return of flight," and added: "In fact it flies better than many Australian boomerangs for they vary considerably in size, weight and form, and many of them will not return when thrown (sic)."¹⁸ Here again we are left in doubt as to what in his estimation constitutes a "return flight." A few years later, in 1883, he appears to have become convinced that the Egyptian sticks were not returners. At this time he postulated the theory that the returning type is found only in Australia but that it represents an evolution from the ordinary boomerang which had diffused from an unknown point of origin to Egypt, India and Australia. The ordinary boomerang is regarded as a development from the throwing-stick, which in turn is supposed by him to have had its beginning in the throwing-club. Both of the latter in his opinion, for which he gives no substantiating evidence, diffused successively from their respective points of origin to their present distributions.¹⁹

The belief that Egyptian hunting missile-sticks had the returning character of the Australian returning boomerang, has also been held by no less an Egyptologist than Erman who in 1894 wrote: "The throwing stick is a simple but powerful weapon—a small thin piece of wood, bent in a peculiar way; when thrown, it hits the mark with great strength, then returns (sic) in a graceful curve and falls at the feet of the marksman."²⁰ That Erman's

¹⁷ Brough Smyth, I. p. 322.

¹⁸ Lane Fox, 1872, p. 323.

¹⁹ Lane Fox, 1883. pp. 461 et seq. Whatever may have been the historical development in other regions, we have already stated that throwing-sticks appear to be older than throwing-clubs in Australia and that both seem to have a non-Australian origin. Whether the one was developed from the other we have no way of telling at present.

²⁰ Erman, 1894, p. 236.

statements are based entirely upon fancy seems clear, for aside from the facts, in so far as I have been able to ascertain, that there are no references in the Egyptian writings to a returning propensity of this weapon, and that no one has ever succeeded in "at last obtaining" more than a "slight" return with a fac simile, it is well known that a returning boomerang will not return if it strikes anything in its course. It is interesting and important to note that Erman deleted the above passage in his revised edition in 1923.²¹

The supposition that the ancient Egyptian stick was a returner has been carried further by Nies who goes so far as to postulate a unitary origin for it and the returning boomerang found in modern Australia.²² He illustrates a specimen from Gurneh (XVIII Dynasty or earlier) but admits: "It does not seem to have the elevation of 2° to 3°, which Thomas states are necessary to give the weapon its peculiar flight, but then one will find that these characteristics are also wanting in some of the boomerangs from Australia in the American Museum of Natural History in New York (sic)."²³ Here again we find the confused idea that all Australian boomerangs are of the returning type. Nies quotes a Mr. Van Shrum, described as an expert maker and thrower of "boomerangs," who had an engagement at the New York Hippodrome at the time, as saying that the Egyptian specimen in question was particularly suited for throwing at birds, and that it would return, if thrown high, even though it lacked the skew!

Two interesting examples of Egyptian throw-sticks from the tomb of Tut-ankh-Amen were recently figured by Hornell. It is quite apparent that they have only superficial resemblances with either the Indian or the Australian weapons. It also seems quite plain, in view of their peculiar form, that they could not be returners. Hornell believes that there may be some historical connection between them and the weapons of India.

Had it not been for the intense interest of Lane Fox in comparing primitive weapons and especially in attempting to find returning boomerangs in various parts of the world, it seems doubtful whether the claim that Egyptian throw-sticks could return would

²² Nies, p. 26.

²¹ Erman, 1923, p. 264.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29. The reference to Thomas is taken from the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th edition, article on *Boomerangs*.

ever have been seriously made. These weapons had been described in detail by such earlier writers as Wilkinson who stated quite definitely that they did not have the peculiarity of return flight characteristic of the Australian returning boomerang.²⁴

The present attitude of all modern Egyptologists, at least I know of no views to the contrary, is that there is no evidence for believing that the Egyptian hunting stick returned in flight.²⁵ That the use of the term "boomerang," however, is still confusing to some is well illustrated by Hall (1930) who explicitly describes the Egyptian weapon as a throw-stick and says it was "not a boomerang, since it did not return in its flight."²⁶

Babylonia

Attempts to ascribe a "returning boomerang" to ancient Babylonia have been made by Nies who would trace the Assyrian sign *gešpu* to what in Proto-Elamite he regards as a modified pictograph of a "boomerang."

Barton, however, as he admits, regards this sign as having its origin in a bow.²⁷ Nies goes still further, and, without archaeological data or other evidence, adduces here "the object in the hand of Eannatum, the sickle-like weapons on the shoulders of Ishtar that appear on seals, and the weapon of Ramman on the boundary stones."²⁸

Three Syrian throw-sticks have been figured by Petrie. There appear to be some differences between them and those of Egypt, although so many varieties have been unearthed in the latter region that it is impossible to compare them as a group.²⁹ None gives the impression that it could have the properties of a returning weapon.

²⁴ Wilkinson, p. 325, f. n. 3. This is a revised edition of his earlier work.

²⁵ An opinion kindly given by Mr. Battiscombe Gunn, formerly Curator of the Egyptian Section of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania.

²⁶ Hall, p. 116.

²⁷ Barton, p. 34.

²⁸ Nies, p. 32. *gešpu* is said to mean throw, cast, strike, be in violent motion, down, destroy, finish, end, also turn, return, turn aside, separate, decide, portion, a bow, prostrate, overthrow, fall, especially *naparshudu*, to flee, deviate, i. e. to bend in running.

²⁹ Petrie, Pl. 43, 3 Syrian, 1 Libyan and 3 Egyptian; Pl. 69, 6 various Egyptian.

Europe

It has also been suggested, indeed as early as 1838,³⁰ that a returning weapon was known in early Europe. Isidor, bishop of Seville, who wrote at the end of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh centuries is reported to have said that the *cateia* would return if thrown by a skillful hand.³¹ This weapon, therefore, has been regarded by some as a "returning boomerang."³² However, what is known of the weapons of this period from specimens and literature offers no support to such a contention.³³ A mythological background for the concept of a returning weapon may be found in Thor's hammer.

Conclusions

On the basis of the foregoing discussion, it thus appears that there are no satisfactory indications that returning weapons were known outside of Australia. Certainly good evidence of their presence in other regions has not been presented and, as we have seen, most claims have been withdrawn by the ones who made them. However, even though it could be shown that returning weapons of boomerang-shape were known in other areas, it would not follow necessarily that they were historically related to Australian boomerangs. The facts of distribution and the directions of diffusion within Australia must be accounted for in any attempt to link the Australian returning toy boomerangs with the weapons of other peoples.

The conclusions that returning boomerangs are indigenous to Australia must not be considered as prime facie evidence that ordinary boomerangs must also be an Australian development, although, as we have seen, the facts from Australia indicate that such is equally the case. It is quite true that there are weapons which resemble them vaguely in many other parts of the world but this does not seem remarkable when it is realized that we are concerned with very simple objects used to satisfy the most fundamental wants

³⁰ See Brough Smyth, I. pp. 325 et seq., for a discussion of a paper by Samuel Ferguson. "On the Antiquity of the Kiliee or Boomerang," read before the Royal Irish Academy in 1838.

³¹ Lane Fox, 1869, p. 430.

³² See Walker, 1901, p. 338, citing Schiaparelli.

³³ Brough Smyth, *op. cit.*

of man. Certainly it does not seem reasonable to deny that many peoples might observe that curved sticks are satisfactory weapons, nor does it seem logical to suppose that different peoples, independent of one another, may not have changed the natural round cross-section of a stick to other shapes which vary according to the locality from oval or biconvex to rectangular. These remarks should not be construed to mean that all the appearances of these weapons represent independent developments in the regions where they are now found. There may be some direct relationship between some of the Asiatic and African forms but more data than just the observation that these weapons have generalized similarities in form and function should be presented before such a claim can be considered valid.

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THE EARLY SIGNIFICANCE OF CHINESE MIRRORS

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WHEN MIRRORS were first used in China we do not know, nor from whence came the Chinese type of mirror of polished metal with a knob in the center of the back pierced for a ribbon or cord, although there are those who have proposed an origin outside of China which is by no means conclusive. In the 21st year of Duke Chuang of Lu, the traditional date of which is 673 B. C., "a queen's large girdle with a mirror in it," is mentioned in the *Tso Chuan*.¹ The seventh century is probably two or three centuries before the period of any mirror which has yet been found. The earliest mirror bearing a dated inscription is of the year A. D. 6. Within recent years many mirrors have come to light which are undoubtedly earlier than the inscribed mirrors and date from the late Chou and Ch'in dynasties. About a year ago Sueji Umehara, one of the greatest authorities on ancient bronzes, has described five square mirrors which he attributes to the Ch'in dynasty.² The more usual type is round and many early examples are already well-known.³ Lighter and thinner than later mirrors, they have a delicate fluted knob and flat mirroring surface. They bear highly formalized and decorative designs and display a mastery of technique taken over from the casting of bronze vessels. Such mirrors as these, among the earliest now known, can not be the first products of the craft.

Going still farther back, to a time before the Chou dynasty, when reflection was known only by means of the natural mirror of a quiet pool, reflection was already used in a splendid figure, of how the character of a ruler was imaged in the people of his state, just

¹ *Tso Chuan*: Legge, *Chinese Classics*, vol. V, p. 101.

² Sueji Umehara, "On some recently discovered square mirrors with open-work design of birds and beasts," *Kokka*, No. 505, Dec., 1932.

³ K. Tomita, "Chinese bronze mirrors of the second century B. C.," Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, *Bulletin*, June, 1931, pp. 36-39. Oscar Karlbeck, "Notes on some early Chinese bronze mirrors," *China Journal of Science and Arts*, Jan., 1926, pp. 3-9; "The provenience of some early mirrors," *Bulletin*, The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm, No. 2, 1930, pp. 204-207. Otto Kummel, "Neun chinesische spiegel," *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, N. F. 6, 1930, pp. 170-176.

as his face was reflected in quiet water. This comparison is found in an ancient proverb,⁴ "The men of old have a saying, 'Let not men in water look for their reflection; let them to the people look for their reflection.'" To this simple admonition was added the further connotation that when the tyranny of a sovereign is reflected in the injuries and hardships which he visits upon his subjects, Heaven will revoke the divine appointment by which he reigns, following the belief that there existed a reciprocal influence between Heaven and the people.

By observing the mirror of the people one might thus learn of the disposition of Heaven. For in the ethical code of the Confucian canon, one's fate was irrevocably dependent upon one's character and acts. The fall of the Yin dynasty, or any other dynasty for that matter, was believed to be the just retribution for evil, the fate a tyrant brought upon himself. The collapse of the Yin was a mirror for the rulers and princes of the Chou dynasty, in which they might read their own destiny if they did not take warning, as is said in the *Shu Ching*,⁵ "Now the Yin have lost the appointment of Heaven. Now should we look to their reflection, seriously, for the regulation of our affairs." And again in the *Shih Ching*,⁶ it is repeated,

"When the Yin had not lost the multitudes,
They were equal (on Earth) to Shang Ti (in Heaven);
Look now as in a mirror at Yin,
For the great appointment (of Heaven) is not easy to retain."

The metaphor of the people who reflect the character and conduct of their sovereign, is thus extended to include the reflection of the will and sanction of Heaven, and the revelation of his destiny to a prince. As is said in the *Shih Chi*,⁷ "I have heard that in the mirror of water one looks at one's face; in the mirror of men one knows whether one is fortunate or unfortunate." For others the mirror of a former reign is a warning, foreshadowing the future. And in a final step all history becomes a mirror, and was commonly used in the titles of historical works like the *T'ung chien*.⁸

⁴ *Shu Ching*: Legge, *Chinese Classics*, vol. III. part II. pp. 408-410.

⁵ *Shu Ching*, loc. cit.

⁶ *Shih Ching*: Legge, loc. cit., vol. IV, p. 431.

⁷ Ssü-ma Ch'ien, *Shih Chi*. 79 (Ts'ai Chai).

⁸ 司馬光 Ssü-ma Kuang, 資治通鑑. *Tzū chih tung chien* is popularly known as 通鑑 *Tung chien*, "Universal history" or "Mirror of History."

The reflection of the sky as the reflection of Heaven is a basic analogy for another famous comparison: that of the mind and the mirror which we find in the well-known phrase of Chuang Tzŭ's.⁹ "The mind of the sage perfectly calm (like untroubled water) is like a mirror which reflects Heaven and earth and all beings." The comparison between tranquillity and reflection as spiritual vision, is carried over to a similar association between brilliance and reflection. The bright surface of polished bronze bore a semblance to the sun, moon, and stars, which by their shining manifested the intelligence of Heaven. In the words of the Odes,

"O sun, O moon, which enlighten this lower earth,"¹⁰

and,

"O bright and high Heaven,
Who enlightenest and rulest this lower world"¹¹

or again,

"Great Heaven is intelligent,
And is with you in all your sayings;
Great Heaven is intelligent,
And is with you in your wanderings and indulgences."¹²

The Duke Huan, in 711 B. C., is described as having, "The sun, and moon, and stars represented on his banners;—these to illustrate the brightness of his intelligence."¹³ So the mirror in turn became a symbol of the intelligence of Heaven and the sages.

The analogy between the purity of water, unclouded by any silt, and the purity of mind free from worldliness, equally essential to the clear image in the water and the clear vision of a sage,¹⁴ is likewise carried over to reflection in bronze, in a parallel figure of the brilliance of the mirror undimmed by dust.¹⁵ On several Han mirrors there is a long inscription, "Purity of mind is reflected in the mirror; the bright light is patterned after the brightness

⁹ *Chuang Tzŭ*, bk. XIII, Legge, *The texts of Taoism*, S. B. E., vol. 39, pp. 331; cf. also pp. 225 and 266.

¹⁰ *Shih Ching*, Legge, *Chinese Classics*, vol. IV, p. 44.

¹¹ *Shih Ching*, Legge, *loc. cit.*, vol. IV, p. 363.

¹² *Shih Ching*, Legge, *loc. cit.*, vol. IV, p. 503 ff.

¹³ *Tso Chuan*, Legge, *loc. cit.*, vol. V, p. 40.

¹⁴ *Chuang Tzŭ*, Legge, *The texts of Taoism*, S. B. E., vol. 39, pp. 310 and 330.

¹⁵ *Chuang Tzŭ*, *loc. cit.*, vol. 39, pp. 226, 227.

of the sun and moon.”¹⁶ Again and again an inscription will end, “As brilliant as the sun and moon,” as an invocation to the all-encompassing intelligence of Heaven.

Together with this figurative association of the mirror with the sun and moon, there was what must have seemed like a practical demonstration, an actual proof of some connection between them, in that with a mirror one might draw “bright fire” from the sun, and “bright water” from the moon.¹⁷ At present no one questions the use of the mirror as a means by which fire might be drawn from the sun, but as a means to obtain water, this has long been doubted. The *Shuo Wên* refers to a basin for this purpose. Granet¹⁸ speaking of *chien* would make a distinction between a mirror and a utensil to obtain water, “Le terme *kien* désigne le miroir métallique que la Reine portait à la ceinture. On nomme du même mot l’instrument qui servait à tirer l’eau de la Lune.” Whereas a bronze mirror would serve as well as any other metal object upon which the dew might collect, particularly, when in the Ch’in and early Han one finds mirrors having a back with a high edge. The obverse side could not have been used, for it was either flat or convex, and the moisture would have run off. Another obvious difference between a mirror for fire and a mirror for dew would necessarily be one of size. Even the smallest mirrors, some only two inches across would serve to light a fire, but a greater surface would be needed for the collection of dew. There is in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, a beautiful mirror with appropriate decoration of clouds and dragons which is nine and a half inches in diameter, and the back with a high edge is almost a half inch deep.¹⁹ It is not impossible that an early mirror such as this one might have been used to gather dew.

These uses, while suggestive of some mysterious connection between mirrors and the sun and moon, undoubtedly appeared as natural phenomena without magic or wizardry, for the moon was believed to be made of water as the sun is made of fire. This was

¹⁶ 泉屋清賞 *Sen-oku Sei-shō*, Collection of ancient bronzes of Baron Sumitomo (1921), pl. 2-7. English text, part II (by 原田淑人, Harada Yoshito), pp. 6, 7.

¹⁷ *Chou li*; Biot, *Le Tcheou li*, vol. II, pp. 194-381. *Li Chi*; Legge, *Li Ki*, S. B. E., vol. 27, p. 435.

¹⁸ Granet, *Danses et Légendes de la Chine ancienne*, p. 514.

¹⁹ M. F. A. 31. 2, D. .238, Th. .008.

an obvious truth to Wang Ch'ung,²⁰ when in disproving mythical beliefs, he says, that if there were a crow in the sun it would burn in the fire, and if the hare were in the moon it would drown in the water. Nor can this usage be described as exclusively sacrificial, for any blaze was kindled in this way. A mirror to get fire, and a borer as well, were customarily worn attached to the girdle by the "sons" and "sons' wives," who rose and dressed at cock-crow.²¹ The dew was valued for its purity, an aid to that inner purity by which the Taoist achieved longevity and immortality. This celestial commodity was so ardently sought after in the Han dynasty, that the moisture collecting on any metal object would have proven insufficient, especially, when those who rose at dawn found all the vegetation hanging heavy with dew. The mirror was then probably displaced in practical use. The late Han mirrors, unlike those of the Ch'in and early Han, do not lend themselves to this purpose.

Han mirrors had other merits, along with their obvious use as a hand-mirror and the very efficient way in which they mirrored the face, for by this time most mirrors were convex, reducing the size of the reflection so that within a smaller circumference one's face is seen in excellent proportion. They were then worn for more than convenience, by men and women alike. They had assumed an ulterior purpose and new designs. In wearing a mirror, it was believed one might thus ensure numerous benefits.

The mirror, a symbol which revealed the sanctions of Heaven, as displayed in its roundness; as a symbol of the intelligence of Heaven, as displayed in its shining; as the medium by which fire was drawn from the sun and water from the moon; all these associations lent to the mirror a mystical validity, and in the Han dynasty it became a talisman, a supernatural agent of the sun, moon, and stars, which were believed to control the destiny of man.

The decoration of the Han mirror represents those celestial influences which were invoked. Linked with current Taoist beliefs, and especially with the cosmogony of that dynasty, the mirrors bear astrological symbols, such as the symbolic animals: the tiger, the dragon, the red bird, and the Sombre Warrior, representing the heavenly regions of the Quadrant; the deities of longevity and immortality, and immortalized men; the stellar divinities, such as

²⁰ 王充 Wang Ch'ung, 論衡 *Lün Hêng*, chap. XX, A. Forke, *Lün-hêng, Philosophical essays of Wang Ch'ung*, pp. 268, 269.

²¹ *Li Chi*: Legge, *Li Ki*, S. B. E., vol. 27, pp. 449, 450.

the Five Emperors who resided in the constellations; the genii, the winged chariots, other celestial animals and birds, accompanying them. The nipples or round protuberances, the Chinese interpret as constellations. In these mirrors one has a true talisman. By these signs and figures the cosmic forces were propitiated, and through their benevolent influence it was believed that one might acquire wealth, prosperity, and peace, advancement to high state position, many descendants, protection for one's parents and children, a long life, continued happiness, the avoidance of all ills, general good fortune, and the immortality of Hsi Wang Mu and Tung Wang Fu.

Only after the Han dynasty was the mirror itself invested with magical power and freighted with weird uses. They hinge on the belief that the mirror has in itself an occult power. On a Han dynasty mirror, the figure of Huang Ti, the Yellow Emperor, is represented on the back of a mirror, and the inscription around the edge states that "Huang Ti wards away evil." But later, the mirror itself was believed to have the power to ward off all evil influences, to reflect what is invisible to the naked eye, and also to reveal the unknown.

In a consideration of the early significance of Chinese mirrors, these superstitions may be ignored. I have only mentioned them here because they have so befogged the understanding of the use and purpose of mirrors. Richard Wilhelm has stated erroneously²² that mirrors from the Ch'in and Han dynasty were chiefly employed for purposes of magic, and that behind their practical use, which (he wrongly believes) dates as far back as the T'ang and Sung times, there persisted for a long time the semi-magical background of the wizard's mirror. It seems hard to believe that any mirror should be regarded as all magic and no vanity, yet again de Tizac says,²³ "Le miroir, ou le disque métallique que nous appelons improprement miroir, est, à l'origine, l'un des objets dont l'usage rituel est le plus accusé."

Soulié de Mourant²⁴ who, while uninformed when he says that no mirror is authentically dated and that in dating mirrors in the Han dynasty we are attributing fine peices to a still barbaric age(!) expresses the general bewilderment, when he writes, "Whether

²² Richard Wilhelm, *A short history of Chinese civilization*, p. 42.

²³ H. d'Ardenne de Tizac, *L'art chinoise classique*, p. 210.

²⁴ George Soulié de Mourant, *A history of Chinese art*, pp. 113, 114.

these objects were used simply for mirrors is a question still under discussion. M. d'Ardenne de Tizac quotes the opinion of those who gave them a ritual use. But what use? The fact is brought forward in our day that they were magic utensils." Instead of calling a mirror a magic utensil, it would be more illuminating to call it a protector against evil, such as demons and sickness, a disc for divination like a crystal gazer's globe, a thought and crime detector, a precursor of X-ray or a light-emitting object, after one story or another of wonder-working which has appeared as a dramatization in the popular mind of the earlier concepts when they were half-forgotten.

Yetts,²⁵ as well as Sirén,²⁶ have given credence to the burial of mirrors in great numbers, for the purpose of lighting the grave. This is a late superstition, based on de Groot's²⁷ description of a custom in Amoy, and an account he quotes from a book²⁸ written in the early fourteenth century.

In the Han tombs excavated at the Chinese settlement at Lo-lang²⁹ in Korea, many mirrors have been found similar to those in China at the time. Only a few were found in each grave. They were placed there along with the pottery, the toilet boxes, the weapons, and other personal belongings. One, for example, was found by the Tokyo Imperial University expedition,³⁰ with a long silk sash still attached to the knob by a narrow ribbon. It was lying in its own tray in a round covered toilet-box of lacquer, above a lower compartment fitted with smaller boxes for the comb, hair ornaments, jewelry, the powder and cosmetics, of the dead woman.

²⁵ P. Yetts, *Catalogue of the George Eumorfopoulos Collection*, vol. II, p. 30.

²⁶ Osvald Sirén, *Histoire des arts anciens de la Chine*, vol. II, Addenda, p. 100.

²⁷ J. J. M. de Groot, *The religious system of China*, vol. I, p. 93; vol. II, p. 399.

²⁸ 周密. Chou Mi, 癸辛雜識. Kuei hsin tsa shih, *Miscellaneous accounts about various subjects*.

²⁹ Cf. the reports of the Government General of Chōsen, particularly 關野 貞. Sekino Tadashi, 古蹟調査特別報告. *Koseki chōsa tokubutsu hōkoku. Report of investigations and excavations of historic interest and ruins in Korea and its vicinity*, 1919. Supplement No. 1, p. 30 (diagram); 梅原末治 Umehara Sueji. 鑑鏡之研究. *Kankyō no kenkyū, Chinese and Japanese mirrors*, pp. 226-7.

³⁰ Yoshito Harada, *Lo-lang, a report on the excavation of Wang Hsü's tomb in the "Lo-lang" province, an ancient Chinese colony in Korea*, plates LXXXV-XCVI, XXXII, pp. 32-34.

This toilet-box was placed in the grave with the same natural and human motivation that the belongings of the Empress Yin were treasured in her tomb, as it is recounted in the *T'ung chien*,³¹ "In A. D. 74, the Emperor Ming saw his mother, the Empress Yin in a dream. He awoke so saddened that he was not able to sleep again. The new day being a fast day, he went directly with his retinue to visit her tomb. The trees about the tomb were covered with the dew of good augury. The Emperor had the officers gather the dew. The offerings having been completed while he rested, he had brought out before him all the possessions of his mother treasured in her tomb; *the mirrors in which she had mirrored her face* and her toilet articles among other things. He was moved to tears and all the courtiers wept."

The burial of personal possessions along with food and drink was essentially the fulfilment of the desire to provide, for the long future, those things which had been needed and prized in life, especially objects such as a mirror, and food such as peaches and jujubes, which were believed to ensure immortality.

There need be no question that the Chinese mirror was always used as a toilet mirror, and as a talisman it was worn even in the hope that it might be so used in the hereafter. The utility of the early mirror is not to be denied. Upon its function its original significance depends. The mirror had entrapped reflection, that before had only been seen moving capriciously across the surface of water. As the sky and passing clouds, and all the firmament is reflected on a quiet sea, so the Earth bears the image of Heaven. And in the Weltanschauung of the Chou dynasty the earthly order was believed to reflect the heavenly order. The political metaphors of the people reflecting the sanctions of Heaven, reflecting the character and destiny of their ruler, are but extensions of the world concept. This symbolism of reflection was embodied in the mirror. Wisdom attained through reflection or contemplation was regarded as perfect and universal receptivity. The shining bronze typified the supreme intelligence of Heaven — manifested in the shining of the sun, moon, and stars. Its validity as a cosmic symbol was proven by drawing the fire from the sun and water from the moon. With Taoist astromancy, it was a celestial agent of supernatural potency. The mirror was in turn an emblem and a talisman of Heaven. It became synonymous with history, and a symbol of wisdom and purity.

³¹ *T'ung chien*, chap. 45, pp. 15 a, b. Weiger, *Textes historiques*, p. 702.

THE CONDITIONAL SALE INTO SLAVERY OF FREE-BORN DAUGHTERS IN NUZI AND THE LAW OF EX. 21: 7-11¹

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THE RECENTLY published Nuzi documents have brought to light new material on slavery as it existed in the Euphrates Valley in the middle of the second millenium B. C. The Nuzian slave institution merits a special study inasmuch as its methods of adoption, sale, and treatment of slaves differ from the methods employed in the neighboring Babylonian, Assyrian, and Hittite lands. A comparative study of the Nuzian slave practice with those of the last named countries should prove highly interesting. This paper is limited to a single phase of the Nuzian slave institution, namely, the sale into slavery of young girls by their parents with the explicit condition that they be married off by their purchaser, a practice of which, curiously enough, there is no trace in Babylonia and Assyria, but which has its exact parallel in an archaic law of the earliest Hebrew slave legislation.

¹ The following abbreviations have been used in this paper:

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|---------------|--|
| AASOR, | <i>The Annual of the American School of Oriental Research.</i> |
| BE, | <i>The Babylonian Exped. of the University of Pennsylvania.</i>
Ser. A: Cuneiform texts. |
| HSS V, | Chiera, <i>Excavations at Nuzi</i> , v. I = <i>Harvard Semitic Series</i> ,
v. V. |
| HSS IX, | Pfeiffer, <i>Excavations at Nuzi</i> , v. II = <i>Harvard Semitic Series</i> ,
v. IX. |
| JAOS, | <i>Journal of the American Oriental Society.</i> |
| KB, | <i>Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek.</i> |
| N I, II, III, | Chiera, <i>Joint Exped. with the Iraq Museum at Nuzi</i> , <i>American School of Oriental Research. Publications of the Baghdad School</i> , vols. I, II, III. |
| RA, | <i>Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale.</i> |

² For a discussion of the very interesting methods of sale and adoption in Nuzi see: Gadd, *Tablets from Kirkuk*, RA xxiii (1926); Koschaker, *Neue Keilschriftliche Rechtsurkunden aus der el-Amarna-Zeit. Abh. der Philol.-Hist. Klasse der Saechs. Akad. der Wissenschaften*, Band xxxix, no. 5 (1928); Speiser, *New Kirkuk Documents Relating to Family Laws*, AASOR, x (1928-29) and Saarisalo, *New Kirkuk Documents Relating to Slavery*, *Studia Orientalia*, v. 3 (1934).

We have known so far (with the exception of the archaic and the half understood law of Ex. 21: 7-11) of two methods by which a parent could dispose of his daughter in case of economic pressure: (1) he could have her adopted and receive in return a "gift" from the adopter,³ or (2) he could sell her outright into unconditional slavery. In addition to these two methods the Nuzians employed a third scheme by which certain sales into slavery of young free-born girls assumed a semblance of legitimate marriage, i. e., conditional sales whereby the giving into marriage of the slave girl was made obligatory upon her purchaser.

Examples of clauses containing the marriage conditions in the Nuzian sale documents:

1. Preamble: statement of the character of the sale.

1. *Tup-pí mārūtūti(pl. ti) ù kál-la-tu₄-ti...a-[na mār]tūtūti(pl. ti) ù kál-la-tu₄-ti(ti)...i-din.*⁴ "Tablet of daughtership and brideship...into daughtership and brideship (his daughter)...he sold".

2. Conditions of sale: (a) to be married to her master, (b) to be married to her master's son, (c) to be sold as a wife to a free-

³ The scarcity of slaves in early Babylonia which gave rise on the one hand to a traffic in foreign slaves (see Ungnad, *Babylonische Briefe aus der Zeit der Hammurapi-Dynastie*, nos. 123 and 162; Schorr, *Urkunden des altbabylonischen Zivil- und Prozessechts*, no. 105; Peiser, KB iv, p. 44, no. 3 and also N II, nos. 179 and 195), and on the other hand to the promulgation of drastic laws against kidnaping of minors and adults (Code of Hammurabi, § 14), and against the export of native-born slaves (*ibid.*, § 280), gave rise also to an extensive and profitable trade in free-born children, commonly called adoption. Although in rare late cases the cause for adoption was a desire on the part of the adoptive parent to leave someone to care for his soul after his death (see Clay, BE xiv, no. 40 and Gadd, *op. cit.*, no. 9), the underlying motive for adoption was purely economic. It was a business transaction made and agreed upon by the parties concerned for their mutual economic advantage. The father or mother received a compensation in the form of a gift and the adoptive parent acquired a reliable, trustworthy, and cheap laborer who could be "disinherited" at the slightest pretext and often even sold into slavery. In course of time adoption outlived its economic usefulness and its practice was discontinued.

⁴ N I. no. 50; see also *ibid.*, no. 26; HSS IX. no. 145; Chiera-Speiser, JAOS 47 (1927), no. 5. Some of the documents have only *mārūtūtu* in the preamble while others have only *kallatūtūtu*. For the former see HSS IX. no. 119; Speiser, AASOR X. nos. 26, 27 and Gadd, *op. cit.*, no. 35; for the latter see Chiera-Speiser, *op. cit.*, no. 4 and Speiser, *op. cit.*, no. 31.

born man outside of the family, (d) not to be given as a wife to a slave, and (e) to be given as a wife to the owner's slave.

- (a) *Û šum-ma ha-áš-ḥu T a-na áš-šú-ta i-ta-ḥa-az-zu.* "Or, if he so desires, T (the purchaser of the girl) may take her as a wife".⁵
- (b) [*Ha*]-*ši-iḥ šu-ú a-na [áš-š]u-ti a-na māri-šú i-na-an-din.*⁶ "If she wishes, she may give (the bought girl) as a wife to her son".
- (c) *Ha-ši-iḥ šu-ú ù [a]-na áš-šú-ti i-na bá-bi [i-na]-an-din-na-ši-[ma].*⁷ "If she wishes, she may sell her (the bought girl) as a wife 'in the gate'".
- (d) *A-na aššūti(pl. ti) a-na 1 ardi la inaddin.* "As a wife to a slave she shall not be given".⁸
- (e) *Û T a-na áš-šú-ti a-na A a-na ardi-šu iddin ù šum-ma A im-tu ù T Sh a-na ša-ni-im-ma ardi-šu na-din.*⁹ "And T (the purchaser) as a wife to A, his slave, he has given (her); and if A dies then T shall give Sh (the bought girl) to another one of his slaves".

3. Penalty for breach of contract.

3. *Ma-nu-um-e ša i-na bēri-šu-nu ibalkatu(tu) I ma-na kaspu I, ma-na ḥurāšu ú-ma-al la.*¹⁰ "Whoever among them withdraws, shall supply one mina of silver and one mina of gold".

The principle underlying such a sale was to insure the sold girl with a marital status and thereby prevent her master from exploiting her as a prostitute, the inevitable fate of the female slave

⁵ Chiera-Speiser, *op. cit.*, no. 5. The conditions of the sale are: A sells his daughter W into daughtership and brideship to T who may either take her as a wife for himself or give her in marriage to one of his slaves.

⁶ HSS IX, no. 145. The conditions of the sale are: The woman G sells her daughter H into daughtership and brideship to the female slave Hi, who may sell her as a wife (1) to whomever she wishes, (2) to one of her sons, (3) in 'the gate', but (4) cannot give her in marriage to a slave.

⁷ HSS IX, no. 145; see also Gadd, *op. cit.*, no. 35; Speiser, *op. cit.*, nos. 26, 30, 31; Contenau, *Contrats et Lettres d'Assyrie et de Babylonie*, no. 7.

⁸ Speiser, *op. cit.*, no. 26. The conditions of the sale are: The purchaser may sell the girl as a wife to whomever he wishes, but cannot give her in marriage to a slave; see note 6.

⁹ N I, no. 26.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, no. 78, etc.

at all times and in all countries where slavery existed.¹¹ The condition that the slave girl be married was fundamental. Thus a father takes the precaution to safeguard for his daughter this marital status by inserting in the sale document a special clause to the effect that should her slave-husband die that her master immediately give her as a wife to another one of his slaves.¹² The status of the respective husband was of secondary importance. This depended primarily on the bargaining power of the seller. If the sum needed was small and not urgent, a father might succeed in having his sold daughter married off to a free man, otherwise he had to be satisfied with a slave as son-in-law.

The contracts fail to give the status of the girl when sold to a free man. On the other hand when the agreement calls for a union with a slave, the status of the girl and that of her future children are stated: they remain slaves, the property of their owner. The status of the girl is given in the following clause: *ù a-ti-i Sh bal-ṭa-at ù i-na bīti ša T la ú-us-si*,¹³ "so long as Sh (the girl) lives, she shall not leave the house of T (the master who gave her in

¹¹ Prostitution as a means of earning a livelihood by unmarried and divorced women was a recognized and established institution in the early Semitic world. Though not a very honorable profession, no disgrace attached to the person practicing it. The professional prostitute was a free-born independent woman and the law protected her economic position and regulated her social status in the class pyramid of early Babylonia. In an adoption document, dated in the reign of Rim-Sin, the adopted free-born girl was to be made a prostitute (KAR-LIL) and maintain by her earning her foster father (Poebel, BE IV, part ii, no. 4); in another document, dated in the reign of Kurigalzu, in the Kassite period, the adopted girl was either to be given in marriage or made a prostitute, but could not be reduced to slavery (Clay, BE XIV, no. 40: 6-10). The prostitute could marry a free man and assume the right of the first or legal wife (cf. Barton, *An Important Social Law of Ancient Babylonia*, *AJSL* 37, p. 65). In course of time the social and legal status of the prostitute underwent a radical change. The Assyrian Code treated her socially on a par with the slave and legally as half free. Like the unmarried temple prostitute (*qadištu*) she had to appear in public with her face unveiled and her head uncovered as a sign that she belonged to an inferior and despised social class. The degradation of the prostitute to the level of the slave in Assyria and neo-Babylonia was due to the fact that the majority of the prostitutes at that time were slaves hired out by their masters to individuals and public houses.

¹² See note 9.

¹³ N I, no. 26; see also Chiera-Speiser, *op. cit.*, no. 4.

marriage to one of his slaves)". The status of her children is given in the following clause: *ša uš-tu lib-bi ša W ú-uz-zu-ú a-na T lu-ú amtūtu(pl. tu) ù lu-ú wardūtu(pl. tu)*, "all the offspring that come out of W (the girl) become T's (the owner's) female or male slaves."¹⁴

The earliest Hebrew slave legislation does not deal with slavery proper although the terms עבד and אמה are employed to designate the persons spoken of in those laws. The first part of the legislation (Ex. 21: 2-6) concerns the defaulting debtor (or thief) who was sold in order to work off his debts. The second part (*ibid.*, vv. 7-11) deals with the free-born young girl who was sold into slavery by her father under the explicit condition that she be taken as a concubine by her master. These are two distinct phases of semi-slavery, the first of which (vv. 2-6) has its parallel, in principle, in the Code of Hammurabi (§ 117), and the second (vv. 7-11) can now be traced back to the earlier slave institution of the non-Semitic Nuzians.

The Hebrew law regarding conditional sales of free-born young girls is a fragment of an original series of enactments dealing with all cases of conditional sales. The law of Ex. 21: 7-11 reads as follows:

Preamble: "If a man sells his daughter to be an אמה, she shall not go out as the עבדים (the defaulting debtors) do".

Condition of sale: "If her master dislikes her, although he has appointed her for himself, then shall he let her be redeemed; to sell her to a *stranger*¹⁵ he shall have no power for he has dealt deceitfully with her. And if he has appointed her for his son, he shall treat her in the manner of daughters. If he takes to himself another (wife), he shall not diminish her food, clothing and conjugal rights".

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, no. 5; see also N II, no. 120. [The technical terms in question are properly abstracts—collections, as may be seen from the supplement -*tu*, in spite of the plural sign. E. A. S.]

¹⁵ The injunction לֹא יֵצֵא בְּעַד אֲחֵרִים which, translated literally, means "to an alien people he shall have no power to sell her," makes no sense. Targum Onkolos renders עַד אֲחֵרִים by עַד אֲחֵרִין "to another man", and Rashi renders it by אֲחֵר "to another". These renderings fit the context admirably. According to the Nuzian practice the purchaser could sell the girl to a stranger ('in the gate') if the marriage clause explicitly allowed him to do so, otherwise it constituted a breach of contract.

Penalty for breach of contract: "If he does not do these three (things) to her, then she shall go out free without compensation".

The preamble is utterly perplexing. V. 7b is not the sequel to v. 7a. It would be absurd to expect a master to marry every female in his household. The later Deuteronomic law (15:12) knows no such compulsion: both male and female defaulting debtors are to be released in the seventh year. The integrity of the preamble can be maintained, however, if we take the term *אִסָּה* to convey here the same meaning as the Nuzian *kallatu* "bride", i. e., the law contemplates a brideship sale. The girl was sold by her father on the condition that she be married to her master and hence "she shall not go out like the *עֲבָדִים* do". The body of the law (vv. 8-11) deals with a single case of a brideship transaction: the sale of a free-born young girl on the condition that her master, not an outsider, marry her. In case he refuses to do so, after she had reached puberty, on the ground that she does not find favor in his eyes, he may take recourse to one of the following: (1) he may let her be redeemed, (2) he may give her as wife to one of his sons, or (3) he may retain her as a concubine. In the latter case he must supply her with the necessities of life. Should he refuse, however, to comply with these conditions, then, as a penalty for breach of contract, "she goes out free without compensation".

Like the Nuzian documents, the law of Ex. gives only the status of those girls who were to be married to slaves. Their status and that of their children is given in v. 4 of the same chapter: "If his master gives him (the defaulting debtor) a wife and she bears him sons or daughters, the woman¹⁶ and her children remain the property of her master and he goes out alone".

¹⁶ The interpretation of Rashi (see also Benziger, *Archaeol.*, p. 160. note) that by *אִסָּה* was meant a Canaanitish woman is not convincing for in that case *אִסָּה* or *אִסָּה* would have been employed. The law refers to a free-born woman who was sold on the condition that she be given as a wife to a slave, in which case both she and her children remain in perpetual slavery. See above, note 14.

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

Palladas and Jewish Reflection upon the Beginnings of Man

Meditation upon the pit whence we were digged has moved many men to bitter utterances about the generation of human kind and the miserable beginnings of physical life; but for harsh sarcasm it would not be easy to match a certain epigram¹ of Palladas of Alexandria (*fl.* 400 A. D.). Because of its stark brutality scholars are readier to refer to it than to quote it;² but since a bit of history appears to be involved in its language, the words must be set before us.

Ἄν μνήμην, ἄνθρωπε, λάβῃς, ὁ πατήρ σε τί ποιῶν
ἔσπειρεν, πᾶνσῃ τῆς μεγαλοφροσύνης.
ἀλλ' ὁ Πλάτων σοι τῦφον ὄνειρώσσων ἐνέφυσεν,
ἀθάνατόν σε λέγων, καὶ φυτὸν οὐράνιον.
ἐκ πηλοῦ γέγονας· τί φρονεῖς μέγα; τοῦτο μὲν οὕτως
εἶπ' ἄν τις, κοσμῶν πλάσματι σεμνοτέρῳ.
εἰ δὲ λόγον ζητεῖς τὸν ἀληθινόν, ἐξ ἀκολάστου
λαγνείας γέγονας, καὶ μαρᾶς ῥανίδος.

A fairly close rendering is as follows:

Bethink thee, man, what way thy father wrought
In getting thee, and set thy pride at naught.
Perchance by Plato's dreamings thou'rt beguiled,
Who called thee deathless, and high heaven's child.
Thou'rt made from clay? Vain boast! That tale was told
To set thy spawning in a daintier mould.
Wouldst know thy source, and idle prating stop?
From lust unbridled and a filthy drop.

As far as I know, it has not been observed that the last words are closely paralleled by a passage in *Pirke Aboth* (*Sayings of the Fathers*) 3.1: 'Aqabiah ben Mahalaleel said, "Consider three

¹ Anthol. Pal. x. 45.

² E. g., J. W. Mackail, *Select Epigrams of the Greek Anthology*, p. 330; T. R. Glover, *Life and Letters in the Fourth Century*, p. 319, n. 1.

things, and thou wilt not come into the hands of transgression. Know whence thou camest; and whither thou art going; and before whom thou art about to give account and reckoning. Know whence thou camest: from a fetid drop; and whither thou art going: to worm and maggot; and before whom thou art about to give account and reckoning: before the King of the Kings of Kings, the Holy One, blessed is He!"³ 'Aqabiah, who is thought to have lived in the first century of our era, speaks here in sad seriousness, with none of the acrid raillery that pervades the epigram of Palladas; yet the coincidence in one point of language is none the less striking. One can trace the idea further back in Jewish thought; thus Job, x. 9-11,

Remember, I beseech thee, that thou hast fashioned me as clay;
And will thou bring me to dust again?
Hast thou not poured me out as milk
And curdled me like cheese?
Thou hast clothed me with skin and flesh
And knit me together with bones and sinews.

The language of Job in v. 10, though veiled by comparisons, is scarcely less frank than that of Palladas,⁴ but there is no bitter abasement conveyed by it. As Gray remarks,⁵ "The poet has no thought of the sinfulness of the flesh; the human body is the noble workmanship of God; behind the human functions of procreation and gestation lies the activity of God."

A striking passage in the *Wisdom of Solomon* next deserves attention (vii. 1-2).

Εἰμὶ μὲν καὶ γὰρ θνητὸς ἴσος ᾧ πᾶσιν,
καὶ γηγενοῦς ἀπόγονος πρωτοπλάστον·
καὶ ἐν κοιλίᾳ μητρὸς ἐγλύφην σὰρξ
δεκαμηνιαίῳ χρόνῳ, παγεῖς ἐν αἵματι
ἐκ σπέρματος ἀνδρὸς καὶ ἡδονῆς ὕπνου συνελθοῦσης.

The resemblance of v. 2, *παγεῖς ἐν αἵματι ἐκ σπέρματος ἀνδρὸς καὶ ἡδονῆς ὕπνου συνελθοῦσης*, to the last distich of Palladas' verses is very close, particularly when it is remembered that *ὑπνος* is an

³ Sayings of the Jewish Fathers, translated by C. Taylor.

⁴ Cf. the note on v. 10 in Jastrow, *The Book of Job*.

⁵ Note on the passage in Driver and Gray, *Job* (International Critical Commentary).

euphemism for *συνουσία*; but here also, as in Job, the spirit of the passage is widely different. In these and the following verses (3-8) the wise King is represented as looking back to the humble beginnings from which, like all other mortals, he is sprung, and meditating upon the power of wisdom to lift the soul above the clay. The words of the first two verses are spoken in humility, not in bitterness.

There is still another passage which may be compared with those already cited, a prayer to Helios in the great Paris magical papyrus (P. IV, 640-651 Preisendanz): κύριε, χαῖρε, μεγαλοδύναμε, με<γα>-λοκράτωρ, βασιλεῦ, μέγιστε θεῶν, Ἥλιε, ὁ κύριος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς, θεὸς θεῶν, ἰσχύει σου ἡ πνοή, ἰσχύει σου ἡ δύναμις, κύριε· εἰάν σοι δόξη, ἀγγεῖλόν με τῷ μεγίστῳ θεῷ, τῷ σε γεννήσαντι καὶ ποιήσαντι, ὅτι ἄνθρωπος, ἐγὼ ὁ δεῖνα τῆς δεῖνα, γενόμενος ἐκ θνητῆς ὑστέρας τῆς δεῖνα καὶ ἰχώρος σπερματικοῦ καὶ, σήμερον τούτου ὑπὸ σου με<τα>γεννηθέντος, ἐκ τοσούτων μυριάδων ἀπαθανατισθεὶς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ κατὰ δόκησιν θεοῦ, ὑπερβαλλόντως ἀγαθοῦ, προσκυνῆσαί σε ἀξιοῖ καὶ δέεται κατὰ δύναμιν ἀνθρωπίνην. The passage has been discussed by Dieterich (*Mithrasliturgie*, pp. 67-8), who sees in it a prayer to the Sun to be the petitioner's messenger to Mithra, whom he wishes to adore; he has been purified and now seeks to be made immortal. Although Dieterich does not mention this point, it seems possible that the words ἄνθρωπος κτλ. are a confession of earthy origin, a formula of self-abasement necessary to be uttered before rebirth.⁶ Somewhat similar is the idea in the same papyrus 517-523, ἐπεὶ μέλλω κατοπτεῦειν σήμερον τοῖς ἀθανάτοις ὄμμασι, θνητὸς γεννηθεὶς ἐκ θνητῆς ὑστέρας, βεβελτωμένος ὑπο κράτους μεγαλοδυνάμου καὶ δεξιᾶς χειρὸς ἀφθάρτου, ἀθανάτῳ πνεύματι τὸν ἀθάνατον Αἰῶνα καὶ δεσπότην τῶν πυρινῶν διαδημάτων, ἀγίοις ἀγιασθεὶς ἀγιάσασιν ἅγιος, κτλ.

In view of Solomon's reputation as a master of magic, it may be suggested that the above cited passage from the *Wisdom*, where he describes his progress from earthy beginnings to divine knowledge, has had some influence upon the formulas used by adepts in the art.

As for Palladas, it would be going too far to hold that the language of his famous poem must have been derived from Jewish lore. Such gloomy reflections have doubtless occurred independently to thousands of men, and the tongues of the ribald have never been

⁶ It may be noted that in later use, particularly in medical writers, *ἰχώρ* tends to denote a foul or diseased humour of the body.

withheld from the theme. Still, Alexandria was the melting-pot of religions as it was the melting-pot of races; and it is not impossible that Palladas knew something of Hebrew wisdom literature. He may at least have turned to his own purposes a phrase learned through Jewish channels and derived either from *The Wisdom of Solomon* or from *Pirke Aboth*, which was read in the synagogues at certain seasons of the year from early times.⁷

It can hardly be said that the character of the Jewish sources fully accounts for the quasi-liturgical use of the similar words in the magical papyrus. There it could be more easily explained if such language had occurred in some early penitential office. Yet this is on the whole not very likely, because as a friendly critic⁸ remarks, "in liturgical texts the tendency is to think of man not in terms of his individual physical origin, but rather in terms of the original divinely created perfection which was his and which he lost." I must leave the question to those who are expert in liturgiology. As far as I know, modern Jewish ritual has nothing so plain-spoken. The formula of self-abasement in the evening service of the Day of Atonement is much milder: "Before I was formed I was nothing worth, and now that I have been formed I am as though I had not been formed. Dust am I in my life: how much more so in my death," etc.

It is not the purpose of this note to pursue at length the theme of harshly-phrased contempt of the body and its origin. There are examples of it in Marcus Aurelius (ii. 2, iii. 3, ix. 36), and certain church writers use language reminiscent of *Wisdom*, as Theophilus of Antioch (*ad Autolyicum* i. 8, Migne, P. G. VI, 1037A), Zacharias of Mitylene (*Ammonius*, P. G. LXXXV, 1044A), and doubtless many more. Indic religious philosophy sometimes recommended meditation upon man's low origin in words as rude as those of Palladas; e. g. *Institutes of Vishnu*, Sacred Books of the East, VII, p. 282.

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⁷ Just how early is uncertain. The fact was attested by R. Amram b. Sheshna in the ninth century; v. *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, s. v. *Abot*, col. 368.

⁸ A. D. Nock, in a letter

Vitae prophetarum

It is the purpose of this paper to draw attention to a Jewish book of the late Hellenistic age known as the *Vitae prophetarum* which, though thoroughly studied from the point of view of textual criticism,¹ has not yet been investigated as a source of information on the history of religion, especially Jewish religion at the time of Christ. The book, though plainly of Jewish origin, has come down to us enriched by several Christian interpolations, and has in most versions been connected with the names of St. Epiphanius of Salamis (4. cent. A. D.) and Dorotheus, Bishop of Tyre (end of 3. cent. A. D.). The book has been preserved in Greek, Armenian, Syrian and Ethiopic as well as in Latin, where the most remarkable, though not complete quotation is to be found in the *Historia scolastica* of Petrus Comestor (12. cent.).² From here it found its way into the vernaculars of the West as well as into the illustrations of the *Speculum humanae salvationis*³ (14. cent.). From many points of view Comestor's edition is better than even the best Greek versions.

The book has undergone so many alterations, that it proves to be difficult to ascertain the age of its several component parts. Tentatively, the first Christian interpolations may date to the 3rd-4th centuries A. D. The Jewish nucleus must be considerably earlier, as the martyrdom of Isaiah described in the *Vitae prophetarum* is referred to in the *Epistle to the Hebrews* II: 37, and is alluded to in the *Gospel of St. John* 6: 37. Some of the most important practices presupposed in the *Vitae prophetarum*, such as the worshipping of prophets' graves, excited the wrath of Jesus, as is shown in Matth. 23: 29 and 37.

From the point of view of history of art, it is one of the Christian interpolations, preserved in its integrity only by Comestor, that first arouses our interest. Here it is told how Jeremiah educated the Egyptians to worship the image of a virgin with child indicating,

¹ Edited by Th. Schermann, *Prophetarum vitae fabulosae indices apostolorumque domini*, Leipzig: Teubner, 1907, and *Propheten- und Apostellegenden nebst Jüngerkatalogen des Dorotheus in Texte und Untersuchungen*, Leipzig: 1907.

² Edited by H. Vollmer, *Eine deutsche Schulbibel des 15. Jahrhunderts: Historia scolastica des Petrus Comestor in deutschem Auszug mit lateinischem Paralleltext*, Berlin: 1925.

³ Lutz u. Perdrizet, *Speculum humanae salvationis*, Mühlhausen: 1907.

that a saviour born from a virgin would cause the fall of the Egyptian gods. This may reflect the belief that the pictures of Isis were the prototype of those of the Virgin Mary, a contention that is supported by the similarity of the Coptic "Maria lactans" types with the Isis of Hellenistic Egyptian art. The story is partly taken from one of the sources of the *Pseudo-Matthew*, but has itself been imitated in later literature. It reappears enlarged and fantastically adorned in the so-called *Religious controversy at the Sasanian court*,⁴ a work of probably Syrian origin, in which another mother goddess stands for the Egyptian Isis. In post-medieval Europe the Jeremiah story served as a justification for the worship of "black madonnas" which were regarded as pre-Christian.⁵

As to the Jewish element of the book in question, it consists of brief descriptions of birth and burial places of the prophets followed by the stories of their peaceful or violent deaths, and by other legends. Since the topographical indications seem to be always exact, it follows that the main purpose of the book was topological: it was a pilgrims' guide, and as such it inaugurates the long chain of pilgrim literature on Palestine. Prophet's graves are still worshipped in Palestine, Syria, and Mesopotamia, and occupy, by reason of the functions ascribed to them, a place comparable to that of the ancient Baalim.⁶ They often constitute places of pilgrimage and are described as such by modern travelers as well as by visitors of the Middle Ages, who tell us also about the sacred trees and wells connected with their cult. But such practices were already in vogue in New Testament times. The *Vitae prophetarum* refer to two cases of graves adorned with sacred trees (Obadiah and Jeremiah). In another case they tell about the miracles expected by the pilgrims at the site of the sanctuary (Jeremiah).

What is still more important, even the dying and resurrected gods tend to hide behind the names of prophets. At the Siloam canal the grave of Isiah was shown and the story told that the prophet, when sawed to pieces under an oak tree, became the eponym of the place. It was also believed that the prophet possessed the

⁴ E. Bratke, *Das sogenannte Religionsgespräch am Hofe der Sasaniden*. Leipzig: 1889.

⁵ Cf. the black madonna of Le Puy. J. Langlade. *Le Puy et le Velay*, Paris: 1925. E. Mâle, *L'art religieux du 12. siècle*, p. 287.

⁶ The most detailed description in S. J. Curtiss, *Ursemitische Religion*, Leipzig: 1903.

power of alternately opening and closing the spring. The *Talmud* likewise contains this legend, but here no statement of locality is made and the modification introduced that the prophet is sawed inside a tree.⁷ Thus the prophet comes to resemble a spirit of vegetation. It may be noted that in two Talmudic versions Isaiah is enshrined in a cedar tree, the same tree, in which according to the Egyptian *Tale of two brothers*⁸ (2. Mill. B. C.) Bytis-Adonis met his fate. Since both Bytis and Isaiah die when their tree is sawed down, it may be safely inferred that Pseudo-Isaiah is merely an aspect of Adonis. Reanimation or even resurrection have probably been assumed, traces of which may be distinguished in the so-called *Ascension of Isaiah*.⁹ St. John compares Jesus with the prophet who feeds the waters of Siloam (6:37).

But according to the *Vitae prophetarum* most of the ancient prophets had to suffer a violent death, and this interpretation, in a way characteristic for the Jewish Haggadah, is based upon assumed indications in the canonical books. To cite an instance, Comestor's version of the life of Jeremiah contains a few supplementary words, according to which the prophet suffered martyrdom by his own free will. They can be authenticated by a comparison with the *Additional Words of Baruch*.¹⁰ Now this passage was based on a misunderstanding of Jeremiah 43, 8, where the prophet is said to have deposited stones before the Pharaoh's palace. Thus Jeremiah is seen providing the material for his stoning, thereby setting an example of voluntary martyrdom.

All this bears, of course, largely on the questions of the life of Jesus, his view of his own calling and of the growth of the tradition about him. Two of the miracles related in the *Vitae prophetarum* bear an unmistakable resemblance to corresponding passages in the New Testament (the temptation of Christ and the feeding of the 5000). Jesus himself refers in his speeches to the worshipping of the prophet's grave (Matth. 23:29-37), to the martyrdom of his prophetic forerunners (Matth. 23:29-37 and Luke 20:9-15) and

⁷ *Talmud Yebamoth* 49 b, *Sanhedrin* 10: 28 ca 37, *Younger Persikta*, Vienna: 1880.

⁸ A. Ermann, *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians*. New York: 1927. P. 150. Montet, *Byblos et l'Egypte*. Paris: 1926. Pp. 65 and 288.

⁹ R. H. Charles, *The Ascension of Isaiah*, New York: 1919.

¹⁰ I. R. Harris, *The Text of the Words of Baruch*, London: 1889.

to his inevitable martyrdom as a result of being a prophet (Luke 13:33). These sayings are among the most authentic in the Gospels and must not be confounded with certain of the later predictions of suffering. Closer investigation is desirable as to whether dogmatic ideas regarding the death and assumption of prophets could possibly have contributed to Jesus' resolution of seeking his death at Jerusalem.¹¹

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¹¹ A book, in which I attempt to discuss these problems, is in the course of preparation.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Publications of the Joint Expedition of the British Museum and of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania to Mesopotamia. Ur Excavations. Vol. II. The Royal Cemetery. A Report on the Predynastic and Sargonic Graves excavated between 1926 and 1931. By C. L. WOOLLEY, with chapters by E. R. BURROWS, Sir ARTHUR KEITH, L. LEGRAIN, D. H. PENDERLEITH. Text, pp. xx + 604, col. front., map, with 81 ill. in text. Plates 274, col. front. Published for the Trustees of the two Museums by the aid of a grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York. 1934. \$20.00.

An outstanding excavation has been crowned by an equally outstanding publication. Mr. Woolley shows by this work that he deserved the good luck of digging up so important a site. It was no easy task to excavate an area honeycombed by nearly 2,000 tombs of most erratic stratification. When the first objects appeared nobody could know the real character of the site. Woolley is frank in admitting that some mistakes may have been made at the beginning. But to read his account is to be convinced that nobody could have done the work better. It is thrilling and instructive to follow his tale of how he excavated the shafts leading down to the tombs, how he obtained entrance to them and extricated the buried objects in a most punctilious and ingenious way. His method of observation cannot be surpassed. From slight imprints in the soil he was able to reconstruct completely destroyed objects such as wooden wheels or carvings. Not even the faint traces of a very fine muslin escaped his trained eye. The reconstructed objects themselves are the best proof of his competence. One must appreciate the condition in which the lyres, the goats, and the 'standard,' were found to realize what work he has done. There are nearly two hundred pages of lists, and the catalogue of objects numbers 18212 entries! The careful drawings which show the objects in situ should also be mentioned.

Although Woolley's preliminary reports were very detailed, much new knowledge can be gathered from the publication. After an introduction and a general survey of the cemetery we have a

description of the tombs with a full account of the excavation and of the finds in each individual burial. A chapter on the dates closes this descriptive part which comprises about a third of the whole work. Next comes a systematic discussion of the results. The chapters are: architectural materials and methods, dress and personal ornaments, musical instruments, shell inlay and engravings, metals, inscribed materials, cylinder seals, beads, stone, woodwork, pottery. A chapter on 'general results' is added, depicting the glory of Sumerian civilization in an enthusiastic, perhaps a little too enthusiastic, manner. The last third contains lists and catalogues.

It would be impossible to give a summary of even the most important items; only a few can be mentioned. Woolley holds that all earlier burials were made in regular graveyards located outside the towns and that the custom to bury the dead under the floor of the house, practiced from the time of the third dynasty of Ur onward, was based on religious and not on economic grounds (cf. Yeivin in the *Second Preliminary Report upon the Excavations at Tel Umar*, pp. 33 f.). Timber centering and caissons were used in building the vaults. A few tombs point to a rite in which a fire was lighted in the tomb, partially burning the body. The stones used must have been carried from a distance of some thirty miles. Woolley claims that all architectural features are indigenous to Mesopotamia, e. g., the vaults are to be derived from reed buildings, the columns originated in the use of palms for supports, and so on. I would rather believe with Jordan and others that the herringbone pattern made with plano-convex bricks, and the use of stone came from elsewhere. Although reduced to fine powder, three kinds of weaving could be observed in a tomb. The normal position of pins was against the upper arm or shoulder so that they must have been used to fasten cloaks. From the peculiar arrangement of beads Woolley concludes that they were sewn on jackets with sleeves. I am not certain that this conclusion is inescapable. If it is, it would be very noteworthy because the monuments do not show such a garment. Only the bodice characteristic of Ishtar figures from Hammurabi's time would furnish a parallel (cf. W. Reimpell, *Geschichte der Babylonischen und Assyrischen Kleidung*, Berlin 1921, p. 60). Sistra and pipes used as musical instruments have been found. Woolley identifies the animals of

the rein-ring and on the 'standard' not as mules, as some scholars have done, but as onagers, the wild asses, an identification which may fit the historical requirements best. A fragment of iron is of meteoric origin. In regard to foreign relations, some axe types point to Anatolia and a kind of bleached beads to India. Woolley believes in connections between Sumer and Egypt and holds that Egypt was on the borrowing end in most cases, an assumption in which he is certainly right. Of very great importance are the anthropological results presented by Sir Arthur Keith. All the remains, those of Queen Shubad and Meskalamdug included, belong to a 'Proto-Arabic' race, which is identical with that of the present Arabs in Iraq. Since, however, the total number of skeletons suitable for study was only nine, no conclusion can be drawn as to the actual racial composition of the Sumerians of that time; nevertheless, the early appearance of the Semites in Mesopotamia and the great part which they had in the origin of Mesopotamian civilization is now supported by the anthropological material.

Two major problems have not been mentioned as yet. As the title of the book shows, Woolley clings to his former opinion that the tombs belong to royal persons, not to priests or priestesses sacrificed in fertility rites, as many scholars have assumed, lately Frankfort and Speiser (*Iraq* I, p. 12, *Antiquity*, 1934, p. 451). The strongest argument by which Woolley tries to refute his opponents seems to me to be based on the sex of the persons buried. In sacrifices we would expect either a male and a female body buried together, or else bodies of the same sex, either male or female. Actually, however, the tombs betray no such order.

The second problem concerns the dating. Woolley once more defends his opinion that the 'Royal Cemetery' is earlier than the First Dynasty of Ur and belongs to about 3500 to 3200 B. C. His arguments are historical, stylistic, and stratigraphical. Let us see whether they are absolutely conclusive. The historical reason is that the means from the 'Royal Cemetery' do not occur in the preserved lists of the kings and must, therefore, be earlier. This argument would be valid only if the lists were absolutely complete. Since such is not the case as regards the Kish list (p. 321) the possibility exists that the few names from the cemetery may not have been included in our Ur list. Woolley finds the style of

the monuments from the R. C. earlier than that of the First Dynasty. But his simple statement that the styles of the First Dynasty and of Urnanshe show degeneration, is far from being a thorough analysis of the development of the Sumerian art, which would be necessary to support an opinion not shared by other scholars and differing from current ideas of normal developments. His other argument that the tomb and house furnishings betray the First Dynasty is not borne out by the finds from the R. C. Nor is the evidence from seals in favor of the author's views. To be sure, Woolley denies that seals could be used in this way because the arguments are based on purely subjective criteria of style. But, I ask, is a sequence of pottery types not based on stylistic grounds and, vice versa, is there no historical and stratigraphical evidence for the dating of seals? (Cf. H. Frankfort, *Tell Asmar, Khafaje, and Khorsabad*, p. 40)? Now, a seal like Nr. 11107, Pl. 198, dated by Woolley within the earlier part of the R. C., is in style and contents absolutely identical with seals from the Sargonic period (Pls. 214 ff.). Furthermore, it has an inscription in cuneiform which, according to Burrows (pp. 314 ff.), must be later than Lugalanda. There are many other seals ascribed by Woolley to the later part of the R. C. which everyone who has worked with seals would assign to the Accadian period. Seals Nrs. 13516 on Pl. 201 and 13574 on Pl. 204, which Woolley also assigns to the R. C., show the style of Lugalanda. Some Indian seals and beads were found, according to Woolley, in the R. C., whereas the date ascertained by stratigraphical evidence is Sargonic (H. Frankfort, *loc cit.*, pp. 47 ff., *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology for 1932*, pp. 3 ff.). Are we to assume that the Indian civilisation was stationary for nearly a millenium? Woolley's dating goes against all our ideas and long-tried methods. We could adopt it only if his stratigraphical evidence were absolutely conclusive. Now Woolley found a barren layer above the R. C. which provides a terminus ante quem for it. A couple of Sargonic tombs were dug through this layer, but all predynastic ones were below it. In the same layer jar sealings of the first dynasty were found. Woolley, therefore, places the tombs below this layer before the first dynasty. I accept all his stratigraphical facts, although his plans and sections showing the stratification are too few to allow a check-up of his assertions. But is his conclusion as to the date

unassailable? Were both the barren layer and its contents deposited at the same time, or were the seals found between the floors of houses? The layer consists of rubbish brought from elsewhere. There is no proof that this rubbish does not date from earlier times. Since there were in it broken bricks it may have come from a building long in ruins, and disturbed when the foundations for a new building were laid deep in the ground. Strong arguments compel us to accept this solution for which numerous analogies can be found in the history of excavation. My opinion, therefore, is that the R. C. extends over a very long time beginning in the Early Dynastic Period and reaching into the Accadian one, the barren layer originating in the latter period. For absolute dates I refer to Albright's elucidating remarks in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, vol. 38, pp. 608 ff. It goes without saying that a lowering of the dating does not diminish in the least the value of Woolley's work and finds.

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Die althebräische Literatur und ihr hellenistisches Nachleben
(Ergänzungsband zum *Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft*).

By JOHANN HEMPEL. Potsdam: AKADEMISCHE VERLAGS-
GESELLSCHAFT ATHENAION, 1930[-34]. Pp. 203, 6 plates (1
in color), 71 cuts. RM 15.30, bound RM 19.60.

This volume, bearing copyright date of 1930, but with a postscript on p. 197 indicating its completion in December 1934, has just come to hand. So much is to be said lest it appear that any neglect of delay has been shown to this notable work in the columns of the JOURNAL. Technically it is a very handsome volume, of about 12 x 19 inches format, printed on a superior heavy paper, and adorned with a large number of illustrations, topographical and archaeological, carefully placed, which give a welcome atmosphere of historical reality to the literary subject. The reviewer greets the work with unstinted praise, both for the richness of its contents and its method of arrangement, in which respects it stands above many volumes of similar character. It is not an "Introduction to the Literature" after the character of many well known authorities, in which book after book, or category after category

(Pentateuch to Wisdom) is handled; it is not a history of the books, themselves mostly artificial units, but a description of the currents of the literature in their rise, development and varied transformations. The first main part, pp. 24-101, treats of the "Forms" of the Hebrew literature, to wit, (1) of Poesy; (2) of the Saying (*Spruch*), extending from the popular saw to the sententious proverb with its development as in the Wisdom literature; and the "word" of the seer, the prophet, the priest, the lawgiver; finally (3) of Prose, which ranges from saga and myth through legend and tradition to historical writing. This arrangement is original and suggestive. We have here a finely done analysis of the several literary species as illustrated throughout the Hebrew Bible. The second part (pp. 102-194) presents the "Course of the History"; it gives under the several epochs marked out by the political history the various developments of the literary forms as listed in the preceding part. The development of the subject is closely knit, but excellently articulated; there may be noted the integration into that history of the Yahwist, the Elohist and the Deuteronomist, pp. 112 ff., 126 ff., 138 ff. Running comparison is made with the similar forms in Egyptian and Babylonian-Assyrian literature, with a useful apparatus of citation and bibliographical reference; the likenesses are generously allowed, along with the possibilities of dependence upon the literary forms of the Empires, but Israel's peculiar genius is fully honored. Throughout there is a wealth of fine literary judgment, much of it packed away in long stretches of finer type. One literary criticism might be made, that the author, doubtless owing to the need to compress his extensive material, has indulged too much in the long and involved period, familiar to the German, often difficult to the outside Barbarian. Very admirable are the brief surveys of the several historical periods, preceding each section. In citation of verse the metrical forms are always presented, by accent-count, and all cases of text correction are scrupulously indicated. More than most students of Hebrew letters Hempel recognizes the worth of the prose, and the reviewer heartily agrees with him in his pronouncement (p. 94) that in the writing of history Israelite literature has produced its truly unique contribution ("ihre eigenartigste Leistung"). And the writer lays his finger, perhaps indirectly, upon the secret of this blossoming of Israel's interest in

history (p. 99): "Religiöses und geschichtliches Denken sind ja in Israel nicht von einander zu trennen; geschichtlich denken aber heisst für seine rationale Eigenart: Geschichte erklären und verstehen." All of which is summed up in Schiller's statement, which was Israel's basic judgment of history: "Weltgeschichte ist Weltgericht." Under each section throughout the book is given a well-selected bibliography, along with a copious apparatus of references to authorities. The latter part of the work, in particular the sections on Jeremiah, Ezekiel Second Isaiah (Torrey's *Pseudo-Ezekiel* is ignored), appears rather cramped in comparison with the preceding sections; and the concluding section on the Hellenistic literature is very brief, although capitally summarized. There is a table of Addenda, pp. 195-7, necessitated by the long process of publication, and also an excellent Index. The book deserves addition to every Biblical library, public and private.

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The Excavations at Dura-Europos. Preliminary Report of Fifth Season of Work, October 1931-March 1932. Ed. by M. I. ROSTOVITZEFF. New Haven: YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1934. Pp. xviii + 322, with 52 plates of which four in colors.

The results of the 1931-2 season at Dura are recorded in the fifth Preliminary Report which lies before me. The most striking discoveries of this campaign were in architecture. The first seven chapters, by Dr. Clark Hopkins, take up in turn the fortifications, several important blocks of private houses, the market-place, the temples of Aphlad and of Azzanathkona, the praetorium of the Roman garrison, and above all the Christian chapel. In general the finds are discussed room by room, immediately following the architectural description, with the special exceptions of the papyri and the hoard of coins.

Dr. Hopkins commences by reviewing briefly the chronology of the fortifications. The citadel, certain details of whose construction he compares to Hellenistic examples at Ephesos, Priene, Heraclea and Assos, he ascribes to a western school of military architecture, but with some borrowings from the east. The outer

fortification or enceinte is another matter. Cumont and Pillet thought both citadel and enceinte the consecutive work of Seleucid engineers. In later Reports, however, the completion of the enceinte has been referred to the beginning of the Christian era.

Dr. Hopkins now links it with the earliest date recorded epigraphically in a temple of the city—32 B. C., in the Temple of Artemis. To the succeeding ninety years belong the earliest date recorded from the enceinte—17/16 B. C., on the monumental Palmyrene Gate—and the earliest dedications in three temples—12/13 A. D. in the Temple of Azzanathkona, 53 A. D. in the Temple of Aphlad, and 55 A. D. in the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods. He reasons (pp. 132-3) that these temples were probably built not long before their earliest preserved dated inscriptions, that this ninety-year period was no doubt one of great prosperity, that various new ethnic elements were attracted by this prosperity and introduced their particular cults at that time, that a larger city scheme was adopted giving new room for sacred precincts, *i. e.*, that not long before this period the great outer wall had been built around the growing city. I could not draw an unconfused conclusion from this sequence of events, but with little reluctance Dr. Hopkins assigns the enceinte to the close of the pagan era.

Dr. Hopkins' and my divergent views on the walls have been debated verbally, at Dura and elsewhere. I think we are agreed that the principal problem is the date at which the eventual maximum area of Dura *intra moenia* was established. None the less we have often found ourselves arguing on subsidiary problems: whether this enceinte was constructed at once of stone, or initially of *libn* which would later be replaced unit by unit in stone, or in some other manner. The lack of bonding between the masonry of certain towers and that of their adjacent walls may or may not indicate that the original enceinte enjoyed stone towers connected by mud brick walls. All this does not matter. While interesting for a study of military architecture, it is apart from the real issue: on the day when Dura's government undertook to guard a specified wall line the city within that line began to take shape.

I prefer to assign the whole eventual plan to the moment of foundation; the natural possibilities for enceinte fortification provided by the north and south wadis, to be united by the comparatively short west wall, taken in conjunction with the interior

ravines which determined the extent of the citadel, would not have been overlooked by the builders of the latter. This falls naturally in the early third century B. C., immediately following the colonization of Europos. For a variety of reasons I would ascribe the enceinte to a date not later than the close of this same third century. The position of Dura as a provincial center with its record-office implies some capacity for defense. I am impressed by the discovery of a parchment of the early second century B. C. beside the Tower of the Archers and of numismatic evidence of a Seleucid foundation in the Temple of Artemis, by Dr. Hopkins' own demonstration (pp. 76 ff.) that the agora was laid out in the early Parthian or the Seleucid period, and by his hitherto overlooked parallels (p. 4) between the citadel and the enceinte which narrow the gap between them. I cannot visualize the Parthian governor so wealthy and at once so foolhardy as to fortify at fabulous expense a frontier post on the far bank of the Euphrates, at the mercy of any western or southern enemy who could prevent reinforcements from crossing; there were many points in the Jezireh strategically more important to the Parthians.

I am not moved by the fact that dated epigraphical evidence only begins in 32 B. C., for early colonists are not self-conscious and generations may lapse, as at Minturnae, before a large body of texts appears. Any rebuilding or restoration might have been attended by the complete cleaning out of archaic or superseded inscriptions. The inscription of 32 B. C. might have been, though it probably wasn't, inscribed on a column already two centuries old. The argument from silence is weak here, as ever.

But the best evidence ought to be the architectural details of the citadel and the enceinte itself. To me the towers, gates, arches, doorways, windows, etc., resemble details of fortifications of the third and second centuries B. C. in Asia Minor and the Greek mainland. These same criteria Dr. Hopkins accepts as pointing to the end of the first century. His theory of eastern influence is largely based on parallels at Hatra: what happens to this theory if Hatra is shown to be the work of Parthian-hired Greek engineers?

The simple fact is that neither Dr. Hopkins nor myself, nor anyone else, has made or had time to make the study of the walls that the walls deserve. A competent architect with archaeological training ought to spend one of the remaining campaigns on a concentrated study of the walls and their parallels.

I feel strongly on this subject not principally for the sake of the walls themselves, for they will eventually find their own way to their correct date, but from concern for the buildings within them. Hopkins' view defers their foundation to the period following 32 B. C.—for we may all agree that such valued buildings as temples would not have been erected in the unfortified desert. Buildings which do not at first fit the pattern stipulated by this date are sawed off or stretched, like the unhappy victims of Procrustes, to make them fit. If on the other hand this clamp were removed and the walls and temples, objects deserving of the most assiduous study, were allowed to fluctuate until they came to rest at their own levels, our historical study of Dura's architecture would be greatly benefited. In the meantime Dr. Hopkins' insistence on this date vitiates every phase of his and his colleagues' architectural researches.

I do not wish to dwell any further on the table of contents *per se*, but I cannot go on without calling special attention to the market-place of Dura and the parallels which Dr. Hopkins has drawn between it and the *sûq* of modern Arab towns, and to the Christian chapel whose architecture has been described ably by Dr. Hopkins and whose inept but fascinating mural decorations are the subject of a capable study by Professor P. V. C. Baur, who ascribes them to a purely eastern school at the very beginning of the third century.

Also to be numbered among the most valuable discoveries of a singularly successful season is the large number of papyri found in rooms W 13 and W 18 of the Temple of Azzanathkona. All or most are from the archives of the nearby praetorium, and reflect a wide range of activities of the cohorts detailed to Dura. Several are extensive, one for instance being a roll 2.25 m. in length. It was clearly out of the question to prepare a formal publication of these in time to be included in the present volume; instead, a brief list of the least rotten specimens, with typical excerpts, is presented with the promise that these documents will be published in full elsewhere.

The volume is edited by Rostovtzeff without the assistance of Professors Baur or Bellinger. Rostovtzeff also, with the aid of Kenneth Boyce, read the proofs. I note a number of misprints and errors such as, on p. 130, 0.001 for 0.01; p. 132 *salle* for

salles, p. 197 under inscr. no. 548 1929-30 for 1928-9 and $\eta\pi$ for $\eta\pi\tau'$; Plate XXVIII Pechimnaios for R(h)echimnaios. The orthography of the expedition architects leaves something to be desired; Pearson's Romen for Roman (Plate III) and Deigert's graphiti for graffiti (Plate XXXIV) escaped editorial correction and give the volume an illiterate appearance it does not deserve. Dr. Hopkins' statement, on p. 115 under no. 418, that the name $\text{'}\rho\alpha\chi\iota\mu\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$ is not found elsewhere, is strictly true, though in this same report $\text{'}\rho\epsilon\chi\iota\mu\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$ appears (no. 504) as well as a feminine form $\text{'}\rho\epsilon\chi\iota\mu\alpha\nu\alpha\iota\alpha$ (no. 517). There is some disagreement as to accent; $\text{'}\rho\alpha\chi\iota\mu\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$ ($\rho\epsilon$ -) appears beside $\text{'}\rho\alpha\chi\acute{\iota}\mu\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$ ($\rho\epsilon$ -). A Latin transliteration Rahiminanaeus appears at Minturnae. The cross-references under no. 517 are apparently numbered by a provisional catalogue; for no. 480 read no. 504 and for no. 455 read no. 418. On p. 188 under no. 526 $\text{'}\Lambda\mu\alpha\theta\iota\alpha\rho\alpha$, a name already known at Dura, might have been cited as a suitable parallel to $\text{'}\Lambda\mu\alpha\theta\kappa\omicron\nu\alpha$.

As usual in Dura reports, this volume with 312 pages of subject matter has no index except of inscriptions. Opening it at random, I observe for instance that there is no way to find the description of the silver crown illustrated on Plate XIX 3 except to read the whole volume. It seems to me the sheerest folly to frustrate so much accumulated research for such petty economies.

Space in the JOURNAL leaves no room for the compliments one could pay this volume. With or without flaws, the results of this fifth season make this volume a stimulating contribution to Hellenistic history and archaeology and the most remarkable publication yet issued by the competent and brilliantly successful school of Dura archaeology, built up by Rostovtzeff within Yale's classical department and admirably led in the field by Dr. Hopkins.

University Museum.
Philadelphia.

JOTHAM JOHNSON.

Catalogue of the Sanskrit and Prākrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office. Volume II. Brahmanical and Jaina Manuscripts. By Arthur Berriedale Keith. With a Supplement: Buddhist Manuscripts. By F. W. Thomas. Clarendon Press: Oxford. 1935. Price \$84.00.

This presentation of the Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the India Office in published form compensates for its long-delayed

appearance by its admirable arrangement and completeness. The compilers are to be congratulated for the exact and detailed classification of the material. The list of contents together with the Index of authors and titles guides one unerringly to that which he seeks.

The description of each item with a statement of the number of folios, the material (paper, etc.), the form of gathering, the size of leaf, the script, the exact or approximate date, the number of lines to a leaf, the title, the author (if any), a brief but skillful description of the contents, indicating the degree of correctness, together with mention of the presence of decorations and illuminations, the quotation of the beginning and end of each manuscript, and pertinent bibliographical notes, is thoroughly adequate and enables one to judge quickly the condition and value of any particular manuscript.

In view of the tremendous value of this excellent and accurate piece of work one hesitates to offer any adverse criticism. My only personal suggestion is that an index by script and a list of the illustrated manuscripts might have been added.

The Kāṭha Upaniṣad. An Introductory Study in the Hindu Doctrine of God and of Human Destiny. By JOSEPH NADIN RAWSON. OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS. London: Humphrey Milford, Calcutta: Association Press, 1934. Pp. xviii + 242. Price 5.00.

It is to be regretted that what is obviously intended only as a text-book for the students of the author has received the accolade of such perfection of typography and general format.

The author's analysis of the Kāṭha Upanishad lies too much on the side of propaganda. Mr. Rawson, in tacit agreement with Mr. Kumarappa, the author of *The Hindu Conception of The Deity*, is carried away by his doctrinal enthusiasm in claiming for the Upanishads in general a preponderance of belief in a personal deity of grace. His text is: There is no message that the modern world needs more than the great Upanishad doctrine of Unity.

The text itself is based upon previous editions. The author's arrangement of commentary, translation and text is inexplicably

haphazard and careless. Occasionally in the commentary there is no numeral to indicate which verse is being treated. This defect, however, will present little difficulty to the astute student of the *Kātha Upanishad*, who can use the commentary of the author as a spring-board to his own deductions.

HORACE I. POLEMAN.

University of Pennsylvania.

The Manyōsū, translated and annotated. Book III. By J. L. PIERSON, JR. Leyden, Late E. J. BRILL LTD., 1933. Pp. xix + 379, 2 p.

In 1929 Dr. Pierson published the first volume of the present series on the *Manyōsū* and stated in the Preface that his study is to be strictly from the point of view of a linguist. The *Manyō* anthology is the oldest Japanese collection of poems compiled in the 8th century, and the poems are written by means of Chinese characters used phonetically, known as *Manyō kana*, the parents of the modern Japanese syllabary. The primary purpose of the present translation is not to make this treasure house of the ancient Japanese culture available to Western students, for already Dickens, Waley, and Chamberlain as well as Aston and Florenz have contributed much on the side of its artistic interpretation. Dr. Pierson rather considers the present task as a necessary preparation to determine the Japanese language of the 7th and the first half of the 8th centuries. Therefore, each word and each form of that word is noted down with its place in the sentence, its translation, the number of the poem and the Book, and the different characters in which it is written. When the last poem of the twenty books is translated, then the author hopes to commence his real task of compiling a reliable etymological dictionary of the Japanese language. Furthermore, with this basic study, he hopes to venture to compare it with the languages of the surrounding countries.

The present volume completes 243 poems of the total 4496. Each poem is given in both the *Manyō kana* and transliteration in roman letters, followed by translation, general remarks, grammar, script, and different readings. For the author's purpose, the transliteration plays an important rôle; hence he makes a careful dis-

tion in transcribing such sounds as *ha* (*va*) and *wa*; *e*, *ye*, and *we*; *i*, *yi*, and *wi*, etc. For the English speaking readers who have been accustomed to the Hepburn style of romanization, in spite of an essay "On the transliteration and transcription of the Japanese *kana*, archaic, ancient and modern," in the preface to Volume 1, Dr. Pierson's system is a bit confusing. Perhaps when the work is completed and characters indexed, then, we can better understand the logic of his system.

In translating poetry, one's claim to absolute literalness often raises some doubts as well as complicated problems. Moreover, the criterion of literalness is difficult to establish, and even if we take for granted that it is applied with strict grammatical accuracy, good poetry seldom conforms to grammatical formulas. In its unconventional use of words one finds full utterance of artistic impulse which creates an over-tone. Especially when the original is as compact and suggestive as Japanese poetry, I doubt whether one can be certain that "the real 'flavour' of the language is far better preserved in a literal translation" or not. A literal translation to be good should take all these matters into serious consideration and still be faithful to the original.

In this respect, I disagree with Dr. Pierson. To give a concrete example, on p. 158 Tabito's poem,

Kono yo ni si tanusiku araba,
Kom yo ni va, musi ni tori ni mo
Are va narinamu.

is translated as:

If I only live happily now, then I do not care if I become an insect or a bird in the next world.

The very literal translation I wish to give will be:

If, in this world, I can be happy. I am willing to be an insect or a bird in the world to come.

In the original there is only one 'if'; *kono yo* is not 'now,' but 'in this world'; *kom yo* is not 'the next world,' but 'the world to come.'

Another example is a humorous poem by Okura on p. 147, which is translated as:

I, Okura can now at last return home. The children will perhaps cry and that mother of them too will (surely) be waiting me.

I would translate it:

Okura now will take his leave. The children may be crying and their mother too may be waiting for me.

The use of such words as 'can,' 'I, Okura,' and 'at last' spoils genial mood and light touch of this poem. As an excuse for leaving the banquet scene early, Okura mentions his wife and children in third person.

Tama 珠 (v. 1, p. 12) are 'pearls' as Dr. Pierson translates, but *tama no wo no* 玉 (v. 3, p. 241) refers to *maga-tama*, a string of beads made of jade. The names of the months such as *fumitsu* and *kisaragi* translated as 'July' and 'March' are misleading to the Western readers. Personally I prefer 'the seventh month' and 'the third month.'

The intrinsic value of Dr. Pierson's task, however, is not at all marred by such minor objections I have raised, and we shall look forward to his thorough study of the *Manyô kana*.

Shiragi ko-ga no kenkyû. Study on the ancient tiles of the Silla dynasty with a corpus of ancient tiles of the Silla. By KOSAKU HAMADA and SUEJI UMEHARA. Report upon archaeological research in the Dept. of Literature, KYOTO IMPERIAL UNIVERSITY. Vol. XIII. Tokyo, TOKÔ SHONIN, 1934. Pp. 118 + 76 plates.

In 1903 Dr. T. Sekino first noticed fragments of roof-tiles and bricks scattered over fields and road-side of Silla, and collected some 600 items which he compiled into a volume included in the *Atlas of Korean Antiquities*, v. V. Unfortunately, the specimens came from peasants' or dealers' hands, and one cannot be certain of their authenticity. In recent years, however, H. Moroga and K. Mitsunari made regional searches for these tiles, and the present study is based on them.

The invention of roof-tiles and bricks in burnt clay seems earlier in China than in Western countries, appearing long before the Christian era. South Manchuria and northern Korea yielded Han tiles, but Kudara and Silla, two of the ancient southern kingdoms, yielded tiles of different patterns, far more artistic and versatile.

They are confined to the sites of the palaces and Buddhistic temples which date back to the 6th century. The majority is the common roof-tile, convex or half cylindrical, with or without decorated face, besides some unusually shaped tiles used for roof-corners and rafter ends. They were manufactured with moulds, sometimes of wood, when precise patterns were needed, but mostly of clay.

Generally speaking, the Silla tiles fall into two main groups: convex tiles with ornamental disks and concave tiles with ornamental faces. The chief designs in the first group are of the lotus flower which came into vogue with the introduction of Buddhism. At first the petals were single, but gradually more complicated chrysanthemum-like flowers or broad double petal patterns appeared. A graceful design of the honey suckle and acanthus leaves and other naturalistic flower patterns as well as various animal designs are superably executed. As to the concave tiles, they appeared later, and the decorative treatment is freer and more graceful than the others, and the motives fall into *karakusa* or vine designs, and angels and animals.

As to the tile patterns and the sites where they were found, the authors note the following points: first in Silla a single temple site often yields many different patterns. For example Mr. Mitsunari collected 67 different pieces of tiles in a day at the site of the Korin Temple. In a Japanese temple site a very moderate number of tiles with different patterns are ever found. Secondly, samples of one and the same pattern are found at various sites.

The first point is explained by the authors as artists' desire to satisfy their own artistic impulse, quite unconcerned about the unity of the tile patterns. Furthermore, temples were often either restored or rebuilt in the course of centuries, employing different tiles of period and pattern. Secondly, unlike Japan, where each temple had its own kilns to make tiles, there were at Keishu, the capital of Silla, only a few tile factories, and tiles were distributed from them on demand to various temples.

The volume is beautifully illustrated and the text carefully documented.

SHIO SAKANISHI.

Library of Congress.

Das chinesische Schattentheater. By GEORG JACOB and HANS JENSEN. Stuttgart: 1933. Pp. xv + 130.

In the third volume of the Oriental Shadow-theater Series, edited by Jacob and Kahle, Professors Georg Jacob and Hans Jensen show what scholars, although themselves not Sinologues, can do when they deal with Chinese material. *Das chinesische Schattentheater* is an account of material relevant to the Chinese shadow-theater available in Germany. With the exception of a few errors and debatable points, the book is a well-rounded handbook on the Chinese shadow-theater. Since a table of contents is not to be found, a summary of the topics in the monograph will not be out of place.

The main part of the book consists of eight chapters (pp. 1-86) for which Professor Jacob is responsible, and two appendices (pp. 89-122) by Professor Jensen. In addition there is a Foreword (vii-xv) by Professor Jacob, an Addenda to the periodical bibliography of the Oriental Shadow-theater in the First and Second Volumes of the Series (pp. 87-88), an Index of Chinese words (pp. 123-130) and a Postscript.

The Foreword enumerates the material on which this study is based. There is the Köln Collection of 1,200 small and 900 large figures, most of which are from the time of Ch'ien-Lung (1736-1796), now in the Kölner Institut für Theater-wissenschaft. There is another collection of 2,919 figures, also from the time of Ch'ien-Lung, but a little older than the Köln collection. This collection is now housed in the Deutsche Ledermuseum zu Offenbach. Another collection has 1,300 figures, some of which may belong to the time of Yung Cheng (1723-1735), has been brought to Hamburg. The fourth collection, of 6 figures only, is interesting because of its esthetic quality. It was brought from the province of Szechuan and presented to the Kieler Theatermuseum by Dr. Chuan Chen, then a student at Kiel. The introduction includes a brief bibliography. It is sobering to note that even in Germany, the land of scholars, the facilities for this kind of study are by no means perfect (see pp. xiii-xiv).

The first chapter deals with the origin and ancient history of the shadow-theater in China. It is meagre, but by this time one should learn not to expect much from studies about origins. The

second chapter, also very short, deals with the material which German scholarship has made accessible to students.

The third chapter, on the plot, demonstrates the wealth and importance of this material. It is regrettable, however, that in discussing the religious plot, the author should have unhesitatingly connected the White and Black Snakes with Totemism and the Kitchen God with Fetishism. Time was when every cock and bull story was endowed with totemistic significance. Nowadays people are more wary. Various scholars have used Fetishism in various senses,¹ but where can we find assurance for the belief that the god of the Kitchen is identical with the kitchen? The whole matter needs of course special treatment: here I simply register a mild protest. Professor Jacob's treatment of Taoism and Buddhism is sound. From religious plots he proceeds to historical plots, a social play and bourgeois scenes and farces. The wide range of the material shows that further studies of this one aspect alone will be fruitful as well as formidable. It is also to be hoped that such studies will lead to a complete motive-index of Chinese folklore, but of that elsewhere.

In the fourth chapter Professor Jacob enters into a detailed study of the figures. This study consists of four parts: deities, racial types, animals and accessories. The illustrations in this section are particularly helpful to readers who have no access to the collections themselves.

The fifth chapter, about the performance itself, suffers from an inevitable lack of illustrations. A play must be seen to be understood. The author has seen amateur performances in Kiel. The reader must have at least a similar opportunity in order to have substantial impressions from the performance.

In the sixth chapter Professor Jacob observes that in the Chinese shadow-theater didacticism is placed above esthetics. His discussion of the function of the Chinese theater is adequate. The stage in China has always had, at least in principle, a high moral mission. This is not strange when one thinks of the illiteracy of the Chinese masses and the consequent need of a means of education that will appeal less through the written, than through the spoken, word.

In the seventh chapter, on the tasks of the future, Professor

¹ See article in the *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*.

Jacob shows a thorough understanding of the demands of this particular branch of study. He touches upon every important phase of the study of the Chinese shadow-theater. The eighth chapter, the shadow-theater as a source of Chinese folklore, is by far the most interesting and the richest section of the book. Under the heading of religion, the author dwells on deities, heaven and hell, belief about the soul, fate, demonology and festivals. Other topics are the Emperor, family life, poverty and greed, shops, official and scholarly careers, soldiers, robbers and civilians, justice and the chase. From this chapter one derives a far more realistic picture of Chinese life than from any other discussion. If it were only for this contribution, the shadow-theater deserves to be studied. The relation between the shadow-theater and other branches of folklore, for example, Märchen, legends and popular romances, is very strongly marked.

The contributions of Professor Jensen are well integrated. Appendix I, on the "pun in Chinese Shadow-plays," must seem forbidding to people who are not Sinologists. Its vast importance becomes clear, however, when one undertakes to read an actual Chinese play, or even a translated one, if faithfully done.² Of such Professor Jensen has supplied a very happy example in *Die Spinnennetzhöhle* (The Cave of Silk-nets). While I have to refrain from criticizing the translation, because the original is not at hand, I must say that the adding of Professor Jensen's study and translation to Professor Jacob's work effects an excellent combination.

The numerous illustrations in white and black and the one-page imitation reproduction of the text are highly satisfactory, although colored illustrations obviously would be more so.

Throughout the reading of the book I am impressed by the clear and straightforward prose of Professor Jacob. The experience of reading other German scholars has not always been so happy. The system of transcription of Chinese sounds employed by the author is hardly an advance over the makeshift of Anglo-American scholars.

I venture to append a list of errata and doubtful points:

P. 54, Note 26. K'ung Ming invented face-painting in order to frighten

² The pun in literature and magic is a very important subject needing fuller treatment, especially in Sinology.

his enemies. (?) An unpublished dissertation of Mr. Chang Ts'un Hsiang on "Theatrical Masks in China" may throw further light on the question.

P. 56, L. 1. For *Li Ts'un-Hsü* read *Li Ts'un-Hsiao*.

P. 65, from bottom LL. 10-11. For *Ming T'ai-Tsung* (1628-1644) read *Ming Ssü-Tsung*.

P. 69, L. 9. For *Tsch'ng-tu Fng* read *Fng-tu Tsch'ng*.

P. 69, L. 15. For *Yueh-King-T'ai* read *Nieh-King-T'ai*.

Ibid. For *Mond* read *Schuld*.

P. 80, L. 9. "Bärentatzen" belongs at least to the popular list of the Eight Precious Foods (Delikatessen!). The world is still awaiting a special article on the true history of the Eight Precious Foods.

P. 82, Note 110. Is irrelevant, the story is legendary.

P. 82, LL. 17-18 監生 "bezeichnet eigentlich nur einen Student der Reichsuniversität (Kuo-tsé-tschien in Peking)." (?)

P. 84, L. 4. For "paper-horses" see Doré, *Recherches sur les Superstitions en Chine*, Part I, Tome II, Chap. III, p. 296 and plate.

T. T. SHUI.

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Tsingtao, China.

The Chinese Renaissance. By HU SHIH. Chicago: UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS, 1934. Pp. 110.

This little book contains six Haskell lectures delivered at the University of Chicago in 1933. The treatment is popular, there is no index, and Dr. Hu seldom cites authorities outside his own published works in English. Nevertheless it is a valuable historical treatise on the cultural changes taking place in China, written by the man who is regarded as more responsible for some of those changes than any other. The analyses are always interesting and frequently show great penetration.

One or two criticisms may be made. Dr. Hu does not seem to appreciate the conservative force of the classical education combined with the government examinations and the appointments to the civil service. Men with a classical education always oppose change, in both west and east. But the situation in China resembled what the situation in the west would have been had the teachers of Latin and Greek been also the government officials. Dr. Hu appears to underestimate the merits of an ideographic language, and the scientific achievements of his nation, and ignores

the fact that the advance in western science is largely the result of the development of the artificial experiment and "Arabic" notation, rather than of a greater interest in science. In his chapter on religion, he naively maintains that the ancient Chinese religion was the result of climatic conditions. But the book is stimulating, and should be read by all those interested in the history of cultural dynamics.

Modern Trends in World-Religions. Edited by A. EUSTACE HAYDON. Chicago: UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS, 1934. Pp. xiv + 255.

This book contains printed lectures delivered at the University of Chicago under the Haskell Foundation. Six religions—Islam, Judaism, Christianity, Buddhism, Confucianism, and Hinduism—are considered in relation to modern scientific thinking, modern social-economic problems, inter-cultural contacts, and the task of modern religion. Each religion is studied separately by a different scholar, sometimes by several scholars. The men are well-known and properly qualified, including such names as Sprengling, Pratt, Allen, Joshi, Kaplan, Natarajan, Hodous, and Hu Shih.

The book assumes that all living religions change continually, and that the present offers unusual problems to which religions must be adjusted. It makes little or no attempt to estimate those factors in human nature which do not change, or those features of religion which are permanent. Perhaps the authors do not consider that there are any such. The treatment in general is liberal, and the reviewer gathered the impression from the book that a man can hardly be conservative and scholarly at the same time. One of the authors admits frankly that he is an agnostic. In such a collection it is inevitable that the work should sometimes be uneven, and that different writers should have somewhat different ideas of what religion is, and how it should be approached. It is impossible to make detailed criticism, but the reviewer would like to know the authority for the statement of Professor Hodous on page 171, that Confucius was regarded as a god in the 1st Cen. B. C. In general, the book is stimulating, and its scholarly standard is high.

The Buddhism of Tibet. By L. AUSTINE WADDELL. Second Edition. Cambridge: HEFFER, 1934. Pp. xlviii + 598; profusely illustrated.

The first edition of this book was issued in 1895. The present edition is a reprint issued by the photographic process, with a thirty-five page preface added. It is unnecessary to say anything about a photographed text on its fortieth anniversary, except that it ought to have been brought up to date, especially in the notes. Beal is still the chief authority on Chinese Buddhism for Waddell, and the great amount of work done since 1895 is ignored. On Tibet itself, Waddell ignores Desideri before him, and Sir Charles Bell after him, as well as the work of scholars like Levi, Laufer, Stael-Holstein, Vallée-Poussin and Wolfenden. It is absurd to print a badly-drawn sketch of the Potala, when excellent photographs are easily available. This edition should be popular in Germany, for Waddell is wedded to the theory that all good things, including the Buddha, are Aryan. The work cannot, at this date, be regarded as critical. This is too bad. The book has an important place in the history of western knowledge of Tibet. It ought to have been rewritten, and a new and adequate set of notes added. The bibliography is hopelessly out-of-date, listing Klaproth, Monier-Williams, Huc, and Terrien de Lacouperie, but omitting all modern names.

J. K. SHRYOCK.

Philadelphia.

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS

OF THE

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY

[We present here, in parallel columns, the present Constitution and By-Laws of the Society, and the new form proposed by the Committee on Policy, which will be presented for formal action at the 1936 meeting. The parts common to both run across the page; the parts which are in the present Constitution and By-Laws only stand to the left of the black line in the center of the page, and the proposed changes and additions stand to the right of the black line. Suggestions for further changes or additions should be sent at once to Prof. E. H. Sturtevant, Yale Graduate School, New Haven, Conn.]

OLD

CONSTITUTION

NEW

|

NAME

ARTICLE I. This Society shall be called the AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

|

OBJECTS

ARTICLE II. The objects contemplated by this society shall be:—

1. The cultivation of learning in the Asiatic, African, and Polynesian languages, as well as the encouragement of researches of any sort by which the knowledge of the East may be promoted.
2. The cultivation of a taste for Oriental studies in this country.
3. The publication of memoirs, translations, vocabularies, and other communications, presented to the Society, which may be valuable with reference to the before-mentioned objects.
4. The collection of a library and cabinet.

|

MEMBERSHIP AND ELECTION

ARTICLE III. The membership of the Society shall consist of corporate members, honorary members, and honorary associates.

ARTICLE IV. SECTION 1. Honorary members

and honorary associates shall be proposed for membership by the Directors, at some stated meeting of the Society, and no person shall be elected a member of either class without receiving the votes of as many as three-fourths of all the members present at the meeting.

may be elected only upon recommendation of the Executive Committee and the vote of not less than three-fourths of the members present at an annual meeting. No further honorary associates shall be elected.

OLD

SECTION 2. Candidates for corporate membership may be proposed and elected in the same way as honorary members and honorary associates. They may also be proposed at any time by any member in regular standing. Such proposals shall be in writing and shall be addressed to the Corresponding Secretary, who shall thereupon submit them to the Executive Committee for its action. A unanimous vote of the Executive Committee shall be necessary in order to elect.

ARTICLE V. SECTION 1. The government of the Society shall consist of a President, three Vice-Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, a Treasurer, a Librarian, three Editors of the Journal, the President and the Secretary of any duly authorized branch of the Society, and nine Directors. The officers of the Society shall be elected at the annual meeting, by ballot, for a term of one year. The Directors shall consist of three groups of three members each, one group to be elected each year at the annual meeting for a term of three years. No Director shall be eligible for immediate reelection as Director, tho he may be chosen as an officer of the Society

SECTION 2. An Executive Committee, consisting of the President, Corresponding Secretary, and Treasurer, and two other Directors each elected for a term of two years, shall be constituted by the Board of Directors. The Executive Committee shall have power to take action provisionally in the name of the Society on

NEW

SECTION 2. Corporate members shall be elected by the Executive Committee. Each corporate member shall pay into the treasury of the Society an annual assessment of five dollars, but shall be exempt from obligation to make this annual payment in case he shall have made to the Society at any one time a donation of one hundred dollars less one half the amount he has paid in annual assessments. The Executive Committee may, for due cause, release members from the payment of annual assessments.

OFFICERS AND GOVERNMENT

ARTICLE V. SECTION 1. The officers of the Society shall be a President, a Vice-President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, a Librarian, an Editor, and two Associate Editors. The officers shall be elected at the annual meeting for a term of one year.

SECTION 2. There shall be an Executive Committee consisting of the President, the Vice-President, the Secretary, the Treasurer, the Editor, the Presidents of Branches of the Society, and three other members of the Society, one of whom shall be elected at each annual meeting for a term of three years, and shall not

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matters of importance which may arise between meetings of the Society or of the Board of Directors, and on which, in the Committee's opinion, action cannot be postponed without injury to the interests of the Society. Notice of all actions taken by the Executive Committee shall be printed as soon as possible in the JOURNAL, and shall be reported to the Directors and the Society at the succeeding annual meeting. Unless such actions, after being thus duly advertised and reported, are disapproved by a majority vote of the members present at any session of the succeeding annual meeting, they shall be construed to have been ratified and shall stand as actions of the Society.

ARTICLE VI. The President and Vice-Presidents shall perform the customary duties of such officers, and shall be *ex officio* members of the Board of Directors.

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be eligible for immediate re-election. Between meetings of the Society the Executive Committee shall have power to take any action that the Society itself could take; but all its acts must be reported to the Society at the next annual meeting. The Executive Committee may recommend action by the Society at the annual meeting, and it shall adopt a budget annually. The Secretary may on his own initiative, and shall at the request of any other member of the Committee, ask the Executive Committee to vote upon specific questions by mail, and if a majority of the Committee shall vote by mail for or against any measure thus submitted that vote shall be decisive; provided that any member of the Committee may demand that a proposal shall be discussed at a meeting of the Committee before final decision; in which case a mail vote shall be invalid.

ARTICLE VI. All Ex-Presidents of the Society and the Associate Editors shall be entitled to attend meetings of the Executive Committee, but they shall not vote except as hereinafter provided. If any member of the Executive Committee is unable to attend a meeting of the Committee he may appoint an Ex-President to vote in his stead, and the Editor may in like case appoint one of the Associate Editors. If at any meeting of the Executive Committee a member is absent and is not represented by a proxy of his own choice, the presiding officer of the Executive Committee may appoint an Ex-President to vote in his stead.

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ARTICLE VII. The Secretaries, the Treasurer, the Librarian, and the three Editors of the JOURNAL shall be *ex officio* members of the Board of Directors, and shall perform their respective duties under the superintendence of said Board.

ARTICLE VIII. It shall be the duty of the Board of Directors to regulate the financial concerns of the Society, to superintend its publications, to carry into effect the resolutions and orders of the Society, and to exercise a general supervision over its affairs. Five Directors at any regular meeting shall be a quorum for doing business.

ARTICLE IX. An annual meeting of the Society shall be held during Easter week, the days and place of the meeting to be determined by the Directors. One or more other meetings, at the discretion of the Directors, may be held each year at such time and place as the Directors shall determine.

NEW

ARTICLE VII. The investment of the Society's permanent funds, including all donations made in accordance with Article IV, Section 2, shall be managed by a Committee on Investments, consisting of the Treasurer and two other members of the Society, to be appointed by the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE VIII. SECTION 1. The Editor shall have charge of the JOURNAL and of all other scientific publications of the Society, and shall supervise their publication within the limitation of the funds certified by the Treasurer as available for that purpose.

SECTION 2. The Associate Editors should represent provinces of the Oriental field in which the Editor is not a specialist. The Editor should consult with them in regard to matters falling within their respective competencies; but, in case of disagreement, the final decision shall rest with the Editor.

SECTION 3. The Treasurer shall act as business manager of the JOURNAL and all other publications of the Society.

MEETINGS

ARTICLE IX. The in proximity to Easter, the precise time and place to be determined by the Executive Committee. Executive Committee, Executive Committee shall determine.

OLD**NEW****BRANCHES OF THE SOCIETY**

ARTICLE X. To provide for scientific meetings of groups of members living at too great a distance to attend the annual sessions of the Society, branches

may be organized with the approval of the | Branches

Directors. | Society.

The details of organization are to be left to those forming a branch

thus authorized, subject to formal ratification by the | Branch
Directors. | Society.

AMENDMENTS

ARTICLE XI. This Constitution may be amended, on a recommendation of the Directors, | of the Executive Committee,

by a vote of three-fourths of the members present at an annual meeting, | provided that notice of any proposed amendment shall have been sent to the members of the Society at least three weeks before the meeting at which it is to be considered.

BY-LAWS**FINANCE**

I. The Corresponding Secretary shall conduct the correspondence of the Society; and he shall notify the meetings in such manner as the President or the Board of Directors shall direct.

II. The Recording Secretary shall keep a record of the proceedings of the Society in a book provided for the purpose.

III. a. The Treasurer shall have charge of the funds of the Society; and his investments, deposits, and payments shall be made under the

I. The offices of Secretary and of Treasurer shall be combined and held by one person to be entitled the Secretary-Treasurer. He shall have general oversight of the welfare and business of the Society. He shall prepare and present annually to the Executive Committee a budget for the ensuing year. He shall have authority to make contracts and to pay out money in accordance with the directions of the Executive Committee. He shall receive a stipend to be fixed by the Executive Committee, which stipend is to cover his expenses, including clerical assistance.

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superintendence of the Board of Directors. At each annual meeting he shall report the state of the finances, with a brief summary of the receipts and payments of the previous year.

III. *b.* After December 31, 1896, the fiscal year of the Society shall correspond with the calendar year.

III. *c.* At each annual business meeting in Easter week, the President shall appoint an auditing committee of two men—preferably men residing in or near the town where the Treasurer lives—to examine the Treasurer's accounts and vouchers, and to inspect the evidences of the Society's property, and to see that the funds called for by his balances are in his hands. The Committee shall perform this duty as soon as possible after the New Year's day succeeding their appointment, and shall report their findings to the Society at the next annual business meeting thereafter. If these findings are satisfactory, the Treasurer shall receive his acquittance by a certificate to that effect, which shall be recorded in the Treasurer's book, and published in the Proceedings.

II. The fiscal year of the Society shall correspond with the calendar year.

III. At each annual meeting the President shall appoint two auditors to examine the accounts of the Secretary-Treasurer and of the Committee on Investments. The Auditors shall perform their duty as soon as possible after January 1, and shall report to the Executive Committee before the next annual meeting of the Society.

PAPERS AND MANUSCRIPTS

IV. The Librarian shall keep a catalogue of all books belonging to the Society, with the name of the donors, if they are presented, | donors, and shall at each annual meeting make a report of the accessions to the Library during the previous year, and shall be farther | further guided in the discharge of his duties by such rules as the Directors shall prescribe. | Executive Committee shall prescribe.

V. All papers read before the Society, and all manuscripts deposited by authors for publication, or for other purposes, shall be at the disposal of the Board of Directors, | Editor, unless notice to the contrary is given to the

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Editors at the time of presentation.

VI. Each corporate member shall pay into the treasury of the Society an annual assessment of five dollars; but shall be exempted from obligation to make this payment (a) in case he or she shall have made at any one time a donation of one hundred dollars during the first decade of membership, or (b) of seventy-five dollars during the second decade, or (c) of fifty dollars during the third decade, or (d) of twenty-five dollars during the fourth decade, or (e) when he or she shall have completed forty years of membership, or on application, if he or she, having been a member for twenty years and having attained the age of seventy, shall have retired from the active exercise of the teaching profession or of the ministry.

VII. Every member

shall be entitled to one copy of current

numbers of the JOURNAL issued during his membership, provided that he has paid his annual assessment for the previous year.

Back volumes of the JOURNAL,

shall be furnished to members in regular standing at twenty per cent reduction from the list price.

All other publications of the Society may be furnished to members at such reductions in price as the Directors may determine.

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Editor at the time of presentation.

VI. Every member shall have the right to present papers to the Society. The papers actually to be read at any meeting shall be selected by a Program Committee consisting of the Secretary-Treasurer and two other members of the Society appointed by the President. This committee shall have power to plan and arrange the program in all details, including allotment of time to each paper.

THE JOURNAL

VII. Every member in regular standing

of all

| so far as they are available,

MEMBERSHIP

VIII. Candidates for corporate membership who have been elected shall qualify as members by payment of the first annual assessment within one month from the time when notice of such election is mailed to them, or, in the case of persons not residing in the United States, within a reasonable time. A failure so to qualify, unless explained to the satisfaction of the Executive Committee, shall annul the election. If any corporate member

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shall for two years fail to pay his assessments,

his name may, after formal notification, be dropped from the list of members of the Society at the discretion of the Executive Committee.

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shall for one year fail to pay his assessment, his name shall be removed from the mailing list of the JOURNAL; and if he shall fail to pay for two years, his name shall, from the list of members of the Society, unless the Executive Committee shall otherwise direct.

STANDING COMMITTEES

IX. *a.* There shall be a Nominating Committee of six members, three of whom shall be elected by the Society at each annual meeting to serve for two years. The members of this committee shall be ineligible for immediate re-election. The chairman of the committee shall be elected by the Society from among those members of the committee who have already served for one year of the term. This committee shall make nominations for all elective offices of the Society as provided in the Constitution and By-Laws, but nominations from the floor shall have equal standing.

IX. *b.* There shall be a standing Committee for the Promotion of Oriental Research, to consist of three members, each to hold office for a period of three years; one of whom shall be chosen annually by the Executive Committee. It shall plan and support meritorious projects in Oriental fields.

IX. *c.* There shall be a Committee on Co-operation, to be appointed by the Executive Committee, which shall further co-operation with the work of organizations whose activities overlap or border upon the Oriental fields, and shall suggest the correlation of Oriental and mar-

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ginal studies in institutions which are devoted to teaching and research.

IX. *d.* There shall be a Committee on Membership, to be appointed by the Executive Committee, which shall systematically endeavor to secure new members. The Secretary-Treasurer shall be ex-officio a member of this committee.

IX. *e.* There shall be a Committee on the Enlargement of Resources, to be appointed by the Executive Committee, which shall seek additional financial support for the endowment funds and the current activities of the Society. The Secretary-Treasurer shall be ex-officio a member of this committee.

SUPPLEMENTARY BY-LAWS

I. FOR THE LIBRARY

1. The Library shall be accessible

for consultation to all members of the Society, at such times as the Library of Yale College, with which it is deposited, shall be open for a similar purpose; further, to such persons as shall receive the permission of the Librarian, or of the Librarian or Assistant Librarian of Yale College.

2. Any member shall be allowed to

draw books from the Library upon the following conditions: he shall give his receipt for them to the Librarian, pledging himself to make good any detriment the Library may suffer from their loss or injury, the amount of said detriment to be determined by the Librarian, with the assistance of the President, or of a Vice-President; and he shall return them within a time not exceeding three months from that of their reception, unless by special agreement with the Librarian this term shall be extended.

3. Persons not members may also, on special grounds, and at the discretion of the Librarian,

be allowed to take and use the Society's books, upon depositing with the Librarian a sufficient security that they shall

THE LIBRARY

- X. *a.* The Library shall be accessible

- X. *b.* Any member shall be allowed to

Secretary-Treasurer;

- X. *c.* Persons not members may also

under the conditions of the inter-library loan system.

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be duly returned in good condition, or their loss or damage fully compensated.

II. ON THE ORGANIZATION OF BRANCHES

1. Upon the formation of a branch,

as provided in the Constitution, the officers chosen shall have the right to propose for corporate membership in the Society such persons as may seem eligible to them, and, pending ratification according to Article IV of the Constitution, these candidates shall receive the JOURNAL and all notices issued by the Society.

2. The annual fee of the members of a branch shall be collected by the Treasurer of the Society, in the usual manner, and in order to defray the current expenses of a branch the Directors shall authorize the Treasurer of the Society to forward from time to time to the duly authorized officer of the branch such sums as may seem proper to the Treasurer. The accounts of the Treasurer of the branch shall be audited annually and a statement of the audit shall be sent to the Treasurer of the Society to be included in his annual report.

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BRANCHES OF THE SOCIETY

XI. a. Upon the formation of a Branch,

XI. b. Within the provisions of the budget the Secretary-Treasurer of the Society shall forward to the Treasurer of each Branch funds sufficient to defray the expenses of the Branch.

The accounts of the Treasurer of each Branch shall be audited annually, and a statement of the audit shall be included in the annual report of the Secretary-Treasurer of the Society.

AMENDMENTS

XII. These By-Laws may be amended by vote of a majority of the members present at any annual meeting.

NOTES OF THE SOCIETY

The following persons were elected corporate members of the Society subsequent to the last published list: Miss Adelaide A. Adams, Mr. Francis O. Allen, Rev. Frederick Aston, Prof. S. Basare, Miss Joyce Black, Dr. Meribeth Cameron, Mr. Douglas D. Crary, Miss Dorothy Cross, Dr. S. D. Davidson, Prof. D. H. Davis, Mr. R. M. Engberg, Mr. Nabih A. Faris, Rabbi J. D. Folkman, Prof. A. Götze, Miss Helen Hall, Prof. Felix Howland, Miss Isabel Hubbard, Mr. Wilson M. Hume, Prof. Isaac Husik, Mr. Harald William Jacobson, Hon. Nelson T. Johnson, Rev. W. P. Lemon, Prof. Julius Lewy, Rev. Herbert G. May, Mr. William S. McCullough, Dr. Isaac Mendelsohn, Mr. Robert Treat Paine, Jr., Mr. Pierre M. Purves, Mrs. Diana J. Reisman, Mr. H. V. Rohrer, Prof. H. N. Rowley, Mr. Joseph A. Russell, Rev. E. W. Seraphin, Mr. Carol E. Simecox, Rev. Victor H. Sword, Mr. Gordon R. Taylor, Prof. S. S. Van Valkenberg, Mrs. Richard H. Webber, and Mr. Frederick V. Winnett.

Prof. Price of Chicago, has sent in a correction to the effect that the death of Prof. Edward Chiera occurred on June 20, 1933, and not on June 21, as stated in the report of the Corresponding Secretary.

PERSONALIA

Miss Bapsy Pavry and Dr. Jal Pavry, the daughter and son of the distinguished Parsee High Priest of Bombay, during a recent journey were received in audience by the Shah of Persia in Teheran, by the King of Afghanistan in Kabul, and by Signor Mussolini in Rome. Receptions were tendered in their honor in Moscow, Teheran, and Kabul.

ARABIC MAGIC MEDICINAL BOWLS

H. HENRY SPOER

NEW YORK CITY

THE SIGNS and symbols,¹ as well as the designs, found upon magic bowls, although we may not be able to interpret all of them, and although some of them may appear to us as devoid of sense or as mere playful fancies of the engraver,² were, I cannot but feel, of deepest significance to the medico-sorcerer, and had a definite, inherent meaning, forming an essential part of the mechanism needed for the production of the magic healing spell.

The accompanying plates represent some sections of the engravings found on *ṭāsa* I, described below, and on *ṭāsa* III (Pl. V). The mystic devices referred to above, occur, in larger or smaller number of various sizes and forms, on all kinds of *ṭāsāt*. The principle underlying their employment is always the same, namely, to produce a certain psychological effect upon the person who has come for healing.

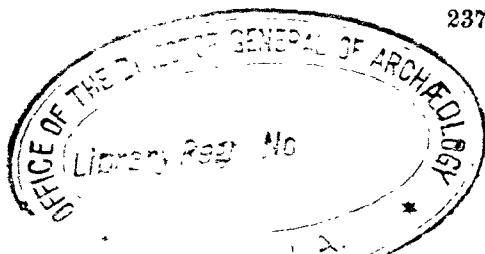
The most frequent designs are inscribed circles, single or concentric, or a whole chain of them, as on *ṭāsa* I, or sections of circles, or circles which cut one another.³ Then there are magic squares, differing as to the number of cells; triangles, the sides of which are formed by parts of the peripheries of three circles; cartouches, egg-shaped or otherwise. A boss may be found in the centre of the bottom of the bowl, either with a magic square or the Seal of Solomon on the top. This seal may also be found in other places on the same bowl. Instead of a boss with a flat top a hemisphere, divided into inscribed sections,³ may take its place. There is finally the "Most Exalted Name of Seven Symbols." These are

¹ Called indiscriminately *aḥrāf* and *ḥawātim*.

² H. A. Winkler, *Siegel und Charaktere in der Muhammedanischen Zauberei*, p. 96.

³ J. T. Reinaud, in his description of a *ṭāsa* similar to one of Rehatsek's (cf. note 25) and mine (No. V) poses the question: "Are the two discs the sun and moon in conjunction?"—*Description des monumens musulmans du cabinet de M. le duc de Blacas*, vol. II, p. 355.

³ My *ṭāsa* IV, astronomical, has 4 divisions, while *ṭāsa* VI, of very elaborate workmanship, has 10 divisions.



sometimes distributed in the four corners of a talisman,⁴ or are used to form a *wafq* of 7×7 cells.⁵

The Seal of Solomon is sometimes a plain pentagram or a hexagram. On one of my *tāsāt* (III) there appears a very elaborate and somewhat unusual hexagram on the top of the boss (Fig. I). Three sides of the seal are formed by the prolongation of the final

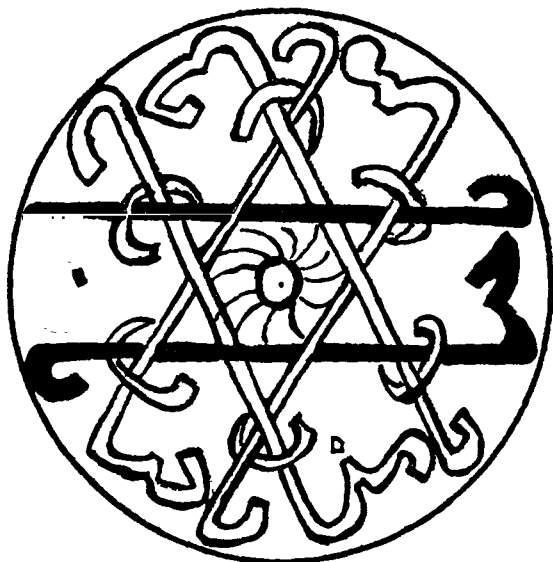


FIG. I.

alif of *ما* and the other three by that of *حا*, all ending in an upward curve or hook. The corners of the hexagram are held together, as with clamps, by the conventionalized letters *ن* and *و*. Underneath this seal, on the underside of the *tāsa*, is a plain hexagram. The whole design forms the phrases *يا مَنَّان* "O Most Bountiful One!" and *يا جَبَّار* "O Most Powerful One!" The *ي* is formed by the hook. Solomon's seal is astrologically the symbol

⁴ Al-Būnī, *Šams al-ma'ārif al-kubrā*, lith. ed. Cairo 1322 A. H.-1324 A. H. (1904-1906 A. D.), 4 vols. bound in one, vol. III, 58 (This is the edition always referred to in this article unless otherwise stated). Winkler, *op. cit.*, p. 95, has reproduced a heptagram from Tilimsānī in which the seven seals are distributed in the seven corners, each with the addition of a letter.

⁵ Al-Būnī, *ibid.*, p. 71.

of the sun, which explains the sun in the middle of the hexagram.⁶ The twelve rays of the sun may be symbolical of the twelve letters of the Creed, *lā ilāh ilā allāh*, in Arabic, which Al-Būnī connects with the number of the signs of the zodiac.⁷

The importance of the circle in later Muhammedan magic may be due, in a large measure, to Al-Būnī's⁸ description of a vision which he had of two concentric circles of double lines, which contained the Highest Name of Allāh. He says: "I was in solitude. There appeared to me an image in a circle, and in it was the Image of Majesty, and this is the Mightiest Name of Allāh. And from it is derived every name. And in it is the source of the Exalted Name. As this image was implanted in my memory and heart, after the state (in which I had been) had ceased to be, and the luminous image had disappeared, I drew its likeness upon paper. And the power of thought returned to me, and I said, 'Perhaps the Ninety Nine Names are derived from this Name.'" In this drawing there appear in the inner circle the following "Beautiful Names of Allāh," arranged in the form of a square: 'Alīm; 'Adl; Ḥalīm; Ṣarī; 'Azīz; 'Adl; Ġāmi'; Mu'īd; Bā'it; Muṣawwir; Ghafūr. To the right of this square is the name Fa'āl and to the left 'Alī. Within the square, written below one another, are the names Allāh Muta'āl; Aṣ-Ṣabūr, and to the right of these names, written perpendicularly, occurs again the name Ghafūr.⁹ The importance of the circle as a magical device is also brought out by the amulet called *dā'irat al-ihāṭa* "circle of enclosure."¹⁰

The Most High Name of Seven Symbols, *sab'a ḥawātim* or *ḥawātim ḡalḡalūtiya*.

Although the order of the seven symbols has varied at different

⁶ I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Prof. D. B. Macdonald for the explanation of this hexagram which is similar in construction to that published by him in the *ZA*. 1911, p. 267.

⁷ Vol. I, p. 12.

⁸ Vol. I, pp. 41-42. Winkler, *op. cit.*, reproduces this seal on p. 45. For magic circles cf. I. Goldzieher, *Zauberkreise*, in *Anfänge zur Kultur und Sprachgeschichte*, also *ZDMG*. 70. A. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, index under "circle in magic."

⁹ In Winkler's text and in the lith. ed. by Muṣṭapha Eff. Faḥmi, Cairo 1874, there occurs to the left of these names the name Nāfi'.

¹⁰ Al-Būnī, vol. III, 58. E. Doutté, *Magie et Religion dans L'Afrique du Nord*, p. 169 f.

times, the first symbol has always been the so-called Seal of Solomon or an original sign which it has replaced.¹¹ Al-Būnī, in the *Šams al-ma'ārif al-kubrā*, seems to use indiscriminately—at least the copyist—the pentagram and the hexagram,¹² while Dērabī¹³ uses consistently the pentagram. In the poem describing this symbol Al-Būnī¹⁴ calls it خاتم خماسی ارکان, the accompanying drawing is however a hexagram. The corresponding sign in the *Dīwān* 'Alī¹⁵ is a small circle, which, as Winkler has shown,¹⁶ is the original form of the first symbol, or at least its earliest known form, a round *hā'*. This seems to be borne out by a reference in the opening words of the invocation in which Al-Būnī (vol. I, p. 71), mentioning the signs of the Exalted Name in their order, says: "I invoke Thee by the *hā'* *al-mauqūfat min al-a'sam*. The first sign is therefore obviously neither a pentagram nor a hexagram, but a *hā'*."

The order of the signs in the so-called poem of 'Alī differs from that found in Al-Būnī. It is as follows: 1) small circle. 2) three sticks with a bar over the top. 3) *mīm*. 4) something "like a ladder." 5) small circle. 6) *hā'*, connecting to the left, its tail being bent over it like that of the *wāw* in *ḥāsāt*, or in Al-Būnī's Name of Seven Symbols, etc. 7) the "four fingers" with a bar across the top. The first circle is called simply *ḥātam* but the other *ḥātam ḥērin*, "seal of goodness." May not these two circles have been in Al-Būnī's mind when he had the psychic experience of seeing the "Picture of Majesty" in two concentric circles? Another figure representing the *ḥātam* is composed of two *hā'*, ذ, placed one above the other, upside down, so that the shanks cross. As such it occurs in the *ḥātam* which Šēḥ Muḥammed Qanbaris saw in a Šūfī mosque.¹⁷ The letters *hā'* and *wāw* do not occur in it. A symbol closely resembling this "doubled" *hā'*, appears twice on

¹¹ Winkler, *op. cit.*, p. 67, and the list on pp. 114 ff. On Hebrew talismans the hexa-pentagram "is found also reduced to a simple square," cf. M. Schwab, *Vocabulaire de l'angélologie*, p. 21. The process is therefore the reverse of that observed in connection with the Arabic *ḥātam*.

¹² *E. g.* vol. I, pp. 69, 71.

¹³ Printed ed. by Muḥ 'Alī Malḥī, Cairo, n. d.

¹⁴ Vol. I, p. 69. Winkler's ed. has a pentagram, p. 80.

¹⁵ Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, vol. I, pp. 43 f.; Huart, *Littérature arabe*, 3d ed., p. 253.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 56, 135, and p. 114, No. 2 of the list.

¹⁷ Al-Būnī, vol. I, p. 68.

the inside and once on the outside of *tāsa* I, described below, at the beginning of Arabic inscriptions.

On *tāsa* III, referred to above, occurs frequently a sign which appears to me to be a developed or conventionalized form of the "doubled" *hā'*. It is composed of two hollow bars, crossing, so as to form a cross with arms of equal length and five squares. It rests on two arms in the fashion of the St. Andrew's cross. This sign is easily formed by the prolongation of the shanks of the "doubled" *hā'*. This symbol occurs frequently after the *basmala* or before the word *'a'ūdū*, but also in other connections, *e. g.* Symbol, *'a'ūdū billāhi min eš-šaitān ar-raǧīm*; *basmala*, symbol; Sur. 112; symbol; *basmala*; symbol; Sur. 113, after *'allaḏi* in v. 5 follows the symbol and also at the end of the verse. I have not found this symbol on any of my other *tāsāt*, nor does it occur on those published by Reinaud and Rehatsek.

In a printed edition of Al-Būnī¹⁸ the *ḥātām* is represented by the *lām-alif* ل, which, as Winkler has pointed out,¹⁹ was originally the letter ه *hā'*. In the خاتم الشر "seal of evil," the opposite of the *sab'a ḥawālim*, ل ١١٩٩٩٩ ل, the first and last signs are actually *lām-alif*.²⁰ Al-Tilimsānī²¹ employs an octogram in place of the sixth symbol, which should be *hā'*, while for the first one he uses in one instance a pentagram and in another a hexagram. Winkler²² suggests that it takes the place of *hā'*. It is however to be noted that the *hā'* is also missing in the lithographed text of Al-Būnī used by Winkler,²³ and also in the Cairo text of the Ḥusainīya Press. As there is no substitute for the omitted symbol, the Name, in this instance, has therefore only six signs. The Name, as it appears in Cod. Berol. 4125 f. 76a,²⁴ agrees in the first six symbols with that found in these two editions of Al-Būnī, but there are added, after the second *ḥātām* the letters *hā'* and

¹⁸ Cairo, n. d. (1905), Ḥusainīya Press, Winkler, *op. cit.*, p. 67, n. 5; p. 116, No. 21.

¹⁹ P. 118, Nos. 21; 19.

²⁰ Al-Būnī, vol. I. p. 68.

²¹ Ibn al-Ḥāǧǧ at-Tilimsānī, *ṣumūs al-'anwār wakunūz al-'asrār al-kubrā* Cairo, *Maṭba'at at-Taḡaddum al-'ilmīya*, 1932; cf. in regard to this author Winkler, p. 86, n. 4, and for the drawings of the *ḥātām*, p. 116, Nos. 17 and 18.

²² Pp. 56, 144.

²³ Pp. 116 and 118, Nos. 20. 21.

²⁴ Winkler, *op. cit.*, p. 116, No. 19.

wāw. The writer of the Cod. Berol. was evidently conscious of a serious omission in the writing of the Name, as he found it. Considering the importance of these two letters in Muslim theology, he added them, and thereby produced a Name of eight symbols in which the hexagram does not take the place of *hā'*. On a *ṭāsa*, described by Rehatsek,²⁵ there appears a hexagram between the *hā'* and the *wāw*, also in this case the hexagram does not take the place of *hā'*. On a bronze *ṭāsa* (V) in my possession, resembling Rehatsek's on Pl. I, p. 150, the Name of the Seven Symbols appears with a hexagram as the seventh symbol instead of a *hā'*. This would seem to bear out Winkler's suggestion that the second *ḥātam* stands for *hā'*. Yet I am more inclined to think that the maker of the *ṭāsa* was conscious of the fact that the Name should be written with seven symbols^{25a} and not eight, which, in view of the importance attached to the number seven in the Qur'ān, (e. g. 7 verses of the *fātiḥā* Sur. 15 v. 87; Allāh created seven heavens, Sur. 78 v. 12; and seven earths, Sur. 65 v. 12; etc., etc.) might be expected. He perhaps retained the Seal of Solomon because of its great magic power, the *basmala* was originally written upon it, and dropped the *hā'*, as the *wāw* would anyway remind him of هو HE. In Al-Būnī's second explanation of the Name of Seven *ḥawātim*,²⁶ Allāh is invoked by, among other sacred letters, الواو المعظم "the glorious *wāw*," while the *hā'* is merely called الهاء المشقوقة "the split *hā'*." The greater importance of the *wāw* seems to be impiled in the fact that in Al-Būnī's *waqf* of 7 × 7 cells, formed of the Name of Seven Symbols, *wāw* always precedes the pentagram in the six lines derived from the first.²⁷ The difficulty, experienced by the maker of this *ṭāsa*, was probably also felt by the writer of Cod. Par. 1216 and by Tilimsānī. Both writers retained the second *ḥātam* and omitted the *hā'*, thereby gaining a name of seven symbols against the eight of the Cod. Berol. and the *ṭāsa* of Rehatsek.

²⁵ *Explanation and Facsimiles of Eight Arabic Talismanic Medicine-cups*, in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the RAS., vol. X, Pl. I, p. 150, reproduced by Winkler, p. 115, No. 15.

^{25a} "The Muslim sorcerer, who had united the 7 seals, was certainly accustomed to hear of 7 seals. It was his merit to decide upon 7 signs as the 7 symbols, which, only slightly changed, have spread over the whole Muhammedan world." Winkler, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

²⁶ I, p. 71.

²⁷ I, p. 71.





The confusion about the form of the Most High Name is probably due to the fact that some one, at an early date, added a *ḥātam* to the original Name of Seven Seals to be able to form a magic square of 8×8 cells. Such a square is found in Dērabi.²⁸ It is noteworthy that he repeats the second *ḥātam* only in the last horizontal row, which is a repetition of the first. In the remaining 6 rows the opening symbol is repeated at the end of each row, so as to obtain rows of 8 cells.

It seems that the hexagram, to judge by Winkler's Table,²⁹ is more frequently used than the pentagram or any other of the signs representing the *ḥātam*.

Al-Būnī³⁰ makes two contradictory statements as to the total number of the signs composing the Most High Name. Thus he says:

“Of the letters there are four from the Torah,
And four from the Gospel of Jesus, the Son of Mary,
And five from the Qur'ān. In their entirety
They are useful for every creature, eloquent and dumb.
Do not fear snake, nor be afraid of a scorpion,
Nor of a lion that cometh toward thee roaring.”³¹

The second passage is accompanied by the symbols:

There are in it six letters from the Torah, and they are  , 
And from the Gospel there are in it  #
And from the Qur'ān  ☆.

The six letters from the Torah are, in this order, *hā'*, *wāw* and the four perpendicular lines called “fingers” or “alifs” *i. e.* the 6th, 7th and 5th symbols. The number of the letters taken from the Gospel is not mentioned, but is indicated by the two symbols, the “ladder” and *mīm*, *i. e.* the 4th and 3rd symbols. The letters taken from the Qur'ān are likewise indicated by their signs, the hexagram and the three perpendicular lines with a crossline above, *i. e.* the 1st and 2nd symbols. It is noteworthy that the symbol of the “four fingers” is evidently regarded here as being four separate

²⁸ P. 61.

²⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 115 f.

³⁰ Vol. I, p. 69; ed. 1874, p. 62.

³¹ The animals mentioned here are engraved in the bottom of one of Rehatsek's *ḥāsāt* (see note 25). He identifies the third animal with a dog. In my *ḥāsa*, V resembling R's, the figure of this animal is practically erased.

symbols. A remote age is attributed to this Name by the Imām Abū 'Alī eṭ-Ṭabarsī, who reports that it was found engraved upon a rock by 'Alī Ibn 'Abī Ṭālib who declared it to be the Highest Name of Allāh.³² Ewald in 1839, at a time when the knowledge of South-Arabian inscriptions was still in its infancy, took this statement as a historical fact and regarded the *sab'a ḥawātim* as a Himyaritic inscription.³³ Al-Būnī relates that the seven *aḥrāf* were written upon the Gate of the Ka'ba.³⁴

Al-Būnī's poem describing the symbols of the Most High Name is based upon that given in the so-called Dīwān 'Alī, enlarged, with some verbal changes and a different order of some of the lines. Dērabī's version shows similar peculiarities.³⁵ Al-Būnī³⁶ says:

“ Three sticks are erected after a seal,
 Over their heads something like splendour³⁷ is spread out;
 Then (follows) *mīm*, blind, maimed; then a ladder,
 And in its midst are two crossbars in partnership.
 And four, like unto fingertips, (come) after it,
 Pointing unto the good works and gather the means of
 subsistence;
 And a split *hā'*, then a bent *wāw*,
 Like the tube of a cupper; because of the mystery it is
 long-necked.
 And its last (symbol) is like the first, a seal
 Of five points, and they encircle the mystery.
 And this is the Name of Allāh, it is most majestic.
 And his Names are renowned among the creatures.
 And this is the Name, O fool, firmly believe it,
 And do not doubt (it), so that thou mayest have the spirit
 and the Paradise as friends.

Budūh.

The simplest form of the magic square is the *budūh*³⁸ of 3×3

³² Winkler, pp. 65 f.

³³ *ZKM.*, vol. II, pp. 107 f.

³⁵ P. 61.

³⁴ Al-Būnī, vol. I, p. 66.

³⁶ Vol. I, p. 69.

³⁷ Other copies read *sihām* inst. of *bahā'*.

³⁸ For various theories as to the origin of this word and its modern use cf. Enc. of Islam, art. *Budūh*, by D. B. Macdonald. Lane cites an instance in which the *budūh* square, although he does not use that name, is used as a framework for a magic ink mirror. The square has an oblong form.

cells. It owes its name to the fact that the letters spelling this word occur in it. Due to al-Ghazālī's interest in it, it is also called *al-ḡadwal al-mutalaṭ lil-Ghazālī*.³⁹ The four letters *b*, *d*, *ū*, *ḥ* are distributed in the four corners of the square. The remaining five cells, forming a cross, contain the letters—beginning at the top of the middle columns of cells,—*ṭā*, *hā* and *alif*; to the right of *hā* is the letter *zēn* and to its left *ḡim*.⁴⁰ Instead of Arabic letters Arabic numerals, called "Indian letters,"⁴¹ corresponding to the

The sign for the letter *hā* is a *hā* *mašqūqa* and is found in the upper left corner of its cell, to make room for the ink. *The Modern Egyptians*, 5th ed. 1871, p. 341.

³⁹ *Munqid min ed-dālāl*. Text and translation by C. Barbier de Meynard, *Traduction nouvelle du Traité de Ghazzālī intitulé le préservative de l'erreur*, in *JA*. 9 (1877), p. 85.

⁴⁰ For a drawing of such a square, and its use as a talisman to ease birth, see Fr. Dieterici, *Die Propädeutik der Araber*, p. 43, a chapter translated from the *rasā'il* of the *ihwān es-ṣafā'*. Cf. also note 38. Dēraḇi, *op. cit.*, pp. 119, 123. Douṭṭé, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

⁴¹ This is probably what Al-Būnī meant when he says: "And what concerns his word: All armies shall be put to flight (a quotation obviously intended to be from 'Alī), this means, draw out the letters of these noble names and translate them into Arabic ones, and make a *vafq* of the letters in the midst of a tablet . . .," vol. I, p. 70. Winkler *op. cit.*, p. 84, n. 3. In speaking of the making of a certain talisman Al-Būnī, III, p. 42, says: "engrave upon it 12 *ḥindī*" which, as the accompanying drawing shows, are 12 Arabic signs for the numeral 9. Al-Birūnī, *kitāb at-taḥīm li awā'il sinā'at at-tanḡīm*, "The Book of Instruction in the Elements of the Art of Astrology," text and transl. by Ramsay Wright, London 1934, speaking of the origin of the use of Arabic letters in place of numerals, says: "The people selected the order of the *ḥurūf al-ḡummal* because this was widely diffused among the People of the Book before the time of the Arabs" (section 116). In the next section he complains of "people outside of the profession" (of astronomers), who wilfully put false values to *ṣ* and *ḍ*. In section 118 he points out the special forms of certain letters when used as numerals, thus *ج* = 3 is written without a tail, to distinguish it from *ح* = 8. *Kāf* must always be written horizontally, so as not to resemble *ك*, i. e., *ك* this is the form always found upon *tāsāt*.

On the top of a *תפלה שאל*, of Bokhara origin, in my possession, appears a magic square of 4 × 4 cells with the Arabic numerals for 4, 8, 1, 9. They are so arranged as to form the sum of 22, whether added horizontally, perpendicularly or diagonally. The second horizontal row is like the first one read backwards. For description and illustration see the article by Mrs. H. H. Spoer (A. M. Goodrich-Freer), "Notes on some Hebrew

numerical value of the Arabic letters, are also used. Two such squares occur on my *tāsa* V, they are called *ḥātam abī sa'īd*.⁴² The total sum of the numerals, whether added horizontally, perpendicularly or diagonally, is always the same, 15. The numerals in the four corners, 2, 4, 6, 8, are called *مزوجات المثلث*, while the uneven numbers, in the other cells, 9, 5, 1 and 7, 3, are called *مفردات المثلث*.⁴³ The word *budūh* is used in a good sense, while the word *اجزط*, composed of four of the remaining letters, is used in a bad sense.⁴⁴ Ḡāber,⁴⁵ on the reputed evidence of Apollonius (*Balīnūs*), says that the *budūh* square, of which he gives a drawing, but does not use the name, is a magic tablet to assist women in an otherwise difficult childbirth. If the writing in question is really Ḡāber's we have here the earliest known representation of a *budūh* square.⁴⁶

On *tāsa* I (Fig. II), there occurs in a circle an irregular *budūh* square of 4×4 cells.⁴⁷ The four letters are distributed in consecutive order in the cells of the first horizontal row and serve as the base for the remainder. There is no common numerical value to the added numbers in either the diagonal or perpendicular cells, nor does there seem to be any stereotyped arrangement for the order in which the letters are placed, except that those in the third horizontal row form the word *budūh* written in the reversed order, *ma'kūs*, to be read from left to right. This same arrangement occurs also in *nin-budūh* squares (Fig. II). The same phenomenon is referred to by Doutté, *op. cit.*, p. 198, quoting Ibn al-Haḡḡ,

Amulets," in *Papers and Transactions of the Jubilee Congress of the Folk Lore Society*, London, p. 298, Pl. V.

⁴² *JA.*, 4ième série, vol. XII, p. 522.

⁴³ *JA.*, XII, p. 523.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ Ḡāber ben Haiyān al-'Azdi at-Ṭūsī as-Ṣūfī: *kitāb al-muwāzin as-ṣaḡīr*, "The Book of Little Balances," ed. and transl. by Berthelot and Houdas in *La Chimie au Moyen Age*, vol. III, pp. 118 and 150. Cf. n. 40.

⁴⁶ W. Ahrens. "Studien über d. mag. Quadrate d. Araber," in *Der Islam*, vol. VII, p. 187. P. Kraus, art. "Djābir," in the *Suppl. of the Enc. of Islam* points out that the writings, attributed to an imaginary Djābir, are the work of a compiler whose name according to Abū Sulaiman al-Manṭikī, is al-Ḥasan b. al-Nakad al-Mawṣilī. The *terminus ante quem* being somewhere about 330 A. H.-941/2 A. D.

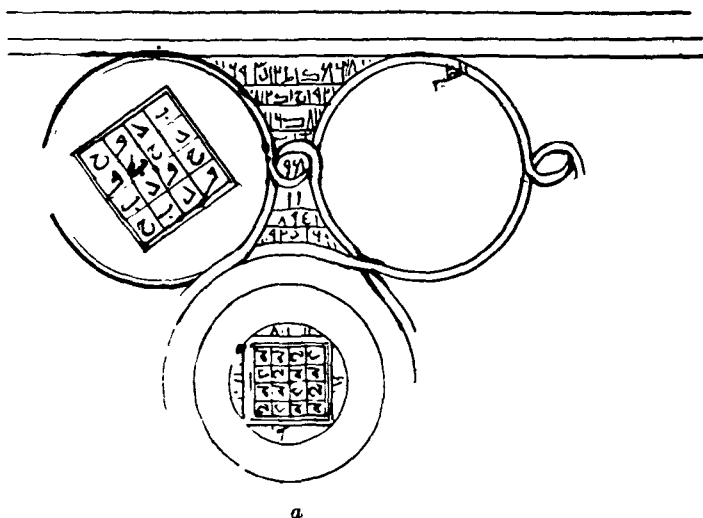
⁴⁷ Cf. Al-Būnī, vol. IV, pp. 4, 117; ed. 1874, vol. IV, pp. 4, 98. Doutté, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

associated with Saturn, the remotest of the seven planets. Its sacred numbers are 3, 9, 15, 45. The square of 4×4 cells is Jupiter's, its sacred numbers are 4, 16, 34, 136.⁴⁷

Tāsa I.

The bronze bowl described here has a diameter of 6 inches, a depth of $1\frac{3}{4}$. In the centre is a boss $\frac{1}{2}$ inch high, 2 inches wide

INTERIOR OF BOWL.



Magic Inscription on Rim of Bowl.

— 77 914217121 — 91481914141111 — 77121117171717 —
 — 17444171917 — 17141717171717 — 17171717171717 —
 — 17444171917 — 17141717171717 — 17171717171717 —

b

FIG. III.

at the bottom, $1\frac{1}{2}$ at the top (Fig. III). The rim of the bowl is about $\frac{1}{8}$ of an inch wide. All details of the inscriptions and orna-

⁴⁷ W. Ahrens, *op. cit.*, vol. VII, pp. 198, 201 f. also *Die Mag. Quadrata Al-Būnī's* by the same author, in vol. XII.

mentations etc. are carefully executed. Much usage has almost effaced the inscriptions near and in the bottom of the bowl.

The Interior of the *ṭāsa*.

There are eight lines of magic signs on the top of the rim, divided by short lines ending at both ends in a hook, one pointing upward and the other downward (Fig. IIIb).

On the inner edge of the *ṭāsa*, encircling it, are the words of Sur. 20 vv. 3 to 7 engraved. The beginning of this inscription is indicated by a symbol resembling the "doubled" *hā'*. Just below, and concentric with this inscription, is a large circle which is part of a system of skilfully connected and inscribed circles, which fill the interior of the *ṭāsa*. These circles, formed of double lines, a sort of ribbon $\frac{1}{8}$ inch wide, wind in and out, having neither a visible beginning nor an end. The idea is perhaps that all the virtues and graces contained in and conveyed by them are gathered in one indivisible whole, symbolical of the Unity of Allāh, cf. Sur. 112. This "ribbon" forms 6 circles of 2 inches in diameter, they appear as if hanging from the large circle. Three of them contain inscriptions, the other three, alternating with them, have each, in the middle, a magic square of 4×4 cells (Fig. II). The squares are formed of double lines and placed in such a position that the lower corners point to the centre of the *ṭāsa*. They are surrounded by inscriptions. One of the squares is a *budūh*. The 6 circles are connected by means of loops, smaller circles, each containing two or three magic signs. The spaces, above and below the connecting loop, resemble, roughly, cones. The upper ones are filled with four lines of magic signs and the lower with three (Figs. III, IV). Finally, this ribbon forms a circle in the bottom of the *ṭāsa*, having a diameter of $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. In the middle is the round boss; on its flat top is a magic square, with letters, of 4×4 cells (Fig. III). The sloping side of the boss is inscribed with magic signs (Fig. IIb).

The Exterior of the *ṭāsa*.

Encircling the *ṭāsa*, just below the rim, is the famous *'āyatu l-kursī*, Sur. 2. v. 256. Its last two words are found in the cartouche following upon the name *al-ḥamal*, aries, a sign of the zodiac, *ḥalak al-burūğ*, indicating the beginning of the order in which to

read the *tāsa*. Below the Throne Verse are twelve egg-shaped ⁴⁸ cartouches (Fig. Va), each preceded by the name of one of the signs of the zodiac.⁴⁹ These names appear in the little triangular spaces formed at the top by the joining of two cartouches and the

	Upper Section.	Circle.	Lower Section.
N° 2	<p> </p>	<p> </p>	<p> </p>
N° 3	<p> </p>	<p> </p>	<p> </p>
N° 4	<p> </p>	<p> </p>	<p> </p>
N° 5	<p> </p>	<p> </p>	<p> </p>
N° 6	<p> </p>	<p> </p>	<p> </p>

FIG. IV.

circle above them. Six of the cartouches are inscribed with verses from the Qur'ān, while the remaining six, alternating with them, contain each six lines of magic signs interspersed with letters and, what are evidently, numerals.

The Cartouches.

In the cartouche preceded by:

⁴⁸ For the sake of convenience I have drawn the cartouches in straight lines.

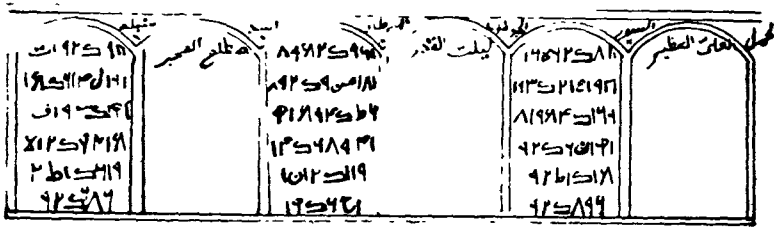
⁴⁹ On another *tāsa* (IV) the signs of the zodiac are represented by images, cf. note 3.

1) *Al-ḥamal*, aries, are, besides the last two words of the Throne Verse, Sur. 97. vv. 1. 2.

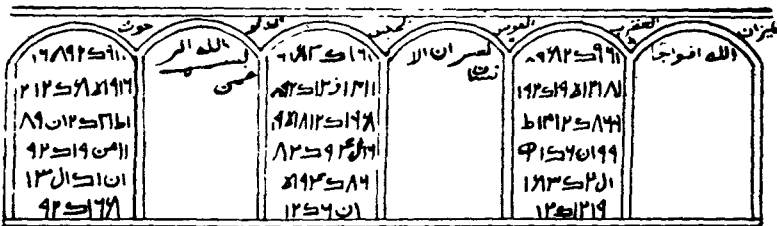
2) *Aṭ-ṭōr* (*ṭāsa* has *sōr*), taurus, is a magic inscription. In it occur the letters a, k, h, ع, n, ṭ.

3) *Al-ḡōzā*, gemini, are Sur. 97. vv. 3. 4 and part of v. 5.

MAGIC INSCRIPTIONS ON THE OUTSIDE AND BOTTOM OF BOWL.



a



b

FIG. V.

4) *As-saraṭān*, cancer, is a magic inscr. with the letters a, k, ḡ, ṭ, n, ḥ, m.

5) *Al-ʿasad*, leo, are the remainder of Sur. 97. v. 5, and Sur. 110. vv. 1, 2 to *fī dīni*.

6) *As-sunbule*, virgo (lit: ear of wheat), is a magic inscr. with the letters a, k, t, l, m, f (or q), h, ṭ.

7) *Al-mizān*, libra, are the remainder of Sur. 110. v. 2 with the addition of *al-qaīyūm* "the Self-subsistent," the *basmala* and the letters *wāw* and *alif*, the beginning of *wal-aṣri* "by the afternoon," Sur. 103. v. 1, continued in No. 9, *al-qaus*.

8) *Al-'aqrab*, scorpio, is a magic inscr. with the letters a, d, k, h, ṭ, n, m.

9) *Al-ḡaus*, sagittarius, is Sur. 103, cf. No. 7, adding *yā ḥay. Ṭāsa* has 'asr inst. of 'aṣr.

10) *Al-ḡadi*, capricornus, is a magic inscr. with the letters a, k, f, h, l, m, n.

11) *Ad-dalū*, aquarius, are the *basmala* and Sur. 61. v. 13 beginning with *naṣrun minallāhi* "help from God," closing with O Muhammed! O 'Alī, *ḥēr ed-dīn* "Best of the religion!"

12) *Al-ḥūt*, pisces, is a magic inscr. with the letters a, k, h, ṭ, n, d, l.

Below the cartouches appears a circular magic inscription containing the letters a, d, ḍ, f, k, l, m, n, h. The letter *ṭā* is found only on the rim, and 'ayin only in the cartouche *tt-tōr*. All the other letters mentioned occur several times. It is noteworthy that the *kāf*, used in magic inscriptions, is always the "horizontal" one of Al-Birūnī.⁴¹ It does not occur in the non-magic inscriptions. *Kāf* is found in every line of the cartouches and once in every line of the upper triangular spaces between the circles, but never in the lower ones (Pl. Ia).

The frequent occurrence of *kāf* may be accounted for by the fact that great power is attributed to its inherent qualities. It does not only cure the milt, if written four times on a vessel, but produces union and friendship, if written 12 times on a bronze vessel. By it "Allāh causes His love to dwell in the hearts of His creatures." A powerful talisman is formed by four "horizontal" *kāf*, united two by two and laid across one another. In the angles, thus formed, the names of the angels Ḡabrā'īl, Miḥā'īl, 'Uzrā'īl and Israfā'īl are written.⁵⁰ The *kāf* stands probably for *al-Kāfi* "the Sufficient One"? cf. Sur. XXXIX. 37, 'alaise allāhu bikāfin 'abdahu? We may perhaps see in the hooked lines on the rim of the *ṭāsa* connected letters *kāf*, such as found in the *kāf* talisman. The letter *hā* has always the form δ , never the round form, which is used for the numeral five.

Some of the magic signs resemble the numerals 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 8 and 9. corresponding to the letters a, b, ḡ, d, w, ḥ, and ṭ. According to the 'ilm al-ḥurūf "the science of letters" almost any of the

⁵⁰ Al-Būnī, III, p. 43. For a drawing of the *Kāf* amulet see also T. Canaan, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

letters of the alphabet may be regarded as the initial of an Attribute or Excellent Name of Allāh, or as that of a saint.⁵¹ Al-Būnī describes the essences *الخواص* of the letters of the alphabet.⁵²

The magic letters are sometimes so arranged as to form sentences or words. For the most part however they seem to be just magic signs, or must be regarded as such, until a key for the solution of the mystery which surrounds them is found. P. Casanova⁵³ discovered one for one particular inscription, but it is not of general application.

One sign, the meaning of which I cannot explain, and which I have not found elsewhere, is of frequent occurrence on this *ṭāsa*. It resembles the Arabic figure for eight with a hook at the top on the left, turned upward. Another very frequent sign resembles a Greek capital Φ, without the perpendicular line extending beyond the circle at the top (cf. Plates I. II. IV.). This sign is really the letter *hā'*, as is proved by the word *هي* on *ṭāsa* II. The *hā'* is exactly like this sign, and the *yā'* is a mere twist to the left at the end of the perpendicular line.

The beginning of the inscription, which encircles the interior of the *ṭāsa* near the edge, is prefixed by the "doubled" *hā'*, referred to above. It opens with the *basmala* and continues, "in the Name of Allāh, in the Name of Him who causes all (mankind) to return (to Him), the Lord of the future and present world. There is neither a superior to Him nor one who brings Him to an end. His are what is in the high heavens etc." (Sur. 20. vv. 5-7.)

The inscriptions in the circles, or medals, are unfortunately not well preserved. The opening lines contain for the most part "Excellent Names," Sur. 20. v. 7, or *ṣifāt*, of Allāh, what follows is too fragmentary to yield any connected information, so that neither date nor original ownership can be determined, if at all mentioned in the now illegible parts of the inscriptions. The inscription around the boss begins with *al-'uyūn wa . . .*, the next few words are doubtful, but the closing words, are, *wa nūr en-nahār wa daw' al-qamr wa šu'ā' aš-šamš*. The last word, following upon *šamš*, is doubtful.

⁵¹ E. Rehatsek, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

⁵² *Op. cit.*, I, pp. 35 ff.; III, pp. 35 ff.

⁵³ "Alphabets magiques arabes," in *JA.*, 1922, pp. 260 ff.

II.

Bronze *ṭāsa* of as-Sultān al-Malik al-Manṣūr 'Asad ed-Dīn Širkūh, 570AH.

This *ṭāsa* has a diameter of $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches and a depth of $2\frac{3}{4}$. Upon it are no magic squares, and it lacks most of the symbols generally found on *ṭāsāt*. The only Arabic inscription is found on the outside, just below the edge, encircling the *ṭāsa*. Below the inscription is a mystic ornamentation, consisting of a large number of semi-circles, crossing each other in such a manner as to form, together with the top line, 13 small triangular segments of curved lines. Below these are two rows, each of 14 lozenge-shaped four-cornered fields, formed by the intersecting lines of the circles. The lower of these two rows is interspersed with 13 cone-shaped divisions. These 54 divisions probably represent a conventionalized magic square. All the divisions are filled with small magic signs resembling numerals and letters. Frequent among these are the *hā'* *mašqūq*, *lām*, the round *hā'* and a sign resembling an omega closed at the top. In the lower point of one of the large squares occurs a *ḡim*. In the circular magic inscription upon which the semi-circles rest occurs the horizontal *kāf*.⁵⁴ All the signs of this inscription are large. Concentric with it are traces of at least six more magic inscriptions of small size letters.

The Interior of the *ṭāsa*.

A magic inscription, of small signs, runs along the top. In it occur several horizontal *kāf*. The decoration below this inscription is similar to that on the outside. As there are only nine semi-circles, the divisions formed by them are fewer and larger. At the top of the *ṭāsa* are nine triangular segments, formed in the same manner as the corresponding ones on the outside. There are 18 large fields of a triangular form and nine, smaller than these, of a conical form. All the lines are naturally curved. All the divisions are filled with magic signs and letters. In 16 of the 18 large sections occurs the horizontal *kāf*, in most of them at least three times, never less than twice. It may occur oftener, as well as in

⁵⁴ Cf. note 41.

⁵⁵ Began on Friday August 2nd, 1174. Wüstenfeld-Mahler: *Vergleichungstabellen*, 2nd ed. For another date for Širkūh, cf. Lane Poole, *Muh. Dynasties*, p. 74; also art. "Širkūh," in the *Enc. of Islam*.

the remaining two sections, but the thick solder of mended places and heavy tinning, hard to remove, have covered some parts of the bowl where it was injured. This *ṭāsa* must have been much in demand during the many centuries of its existence, for whatever was below these sections has practically disappeared by much rubbing.

وصدت ونقشت والقمر في العقرب برسو السلطان الملك المنصور¹⁾
 اسد الدين شركه بسنه خمسماية وسبعين هذه الطاسة^{1b)}
 المباركه للسومات كلها وقد جمع فيها منافع فخره وهي للسعه²⁾
 الحيه والعقرب والحما والمطلقه والفرس والمغله والكلب الكلب³⁾
 والمغص والقولنج والشقيقه والضربان والحما الكبد والطحال^{1c)}
 والقوة ولزقي ولوجع والقلب والعين والنظرة والرمد والنزلة⁶⁾
 ولرباح الشوكه وللارواح البواسير وللخلط البارد ولقطع النزيف¹³⁾
 ولجميع العلل والافات ويسقى فيها الملسوع او رسولة³⁾
 فانه يرى باذن الله تعالى^{1d)}

The words in this inscription are, for the most part, divided, and the parts are placed above one another, as is done in ornamental Arabic inscriptions. The first part of the words is generally in bold characters, while the remainder is mostly of very small letters, difficult to decipher.

1) Original diacritical points.—1b) Orig. diac. points on ش.—1c) Orig. d. p. on ق.—1d) Orig. d. p. on ف.—2) Orig. *shedde*.—3) Orig. vowel.—4) Instead of فخره the word مجربه “proven” is found on some *ṭāsāt*, e. g. Reinaud, *op. cit.*, vol. II. 310; Rehatsek, *op. cit.*, vol. XIV. 204.—5) Omit و.—6) Orig. *sukūn*.—7) Upper line of ي is not engraved.

Translation.

“It was prepared and carved while the moon was in the scorpion, by order of as-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Manṣūr 'Asad ed-Din Širkūh, in the year 570.⁵⁶ This blessed *ṭāsa* (protects) against all

⁵⁶ Bokhārī reports, on the authority of al-'Aswad, a *ḥadīth*, which he claimed to have received from 'Āisha, in which Muhammed permits the use of رقية, charms or spells, in case of stings by snakes or scorpions. But the رقية was, according to 'Abd el-'Azīz, on the authority of 'Āisha, an invocation to God for healing; cf. Ṣaḥīḥ, Constantinople ed., Part vii, p. 24.

poisons. In it are gathered notable (or: well tried) benefits, such as are against the sting of the snake and scorpion.⁵⁷ And against the fever, the pain of parturition (of women) and the mare, and the (bad) milk of nursing women. Against the bite of a (mad) dog. Against bowel complaint and colic, and against hemicrancy and plagues, against fever of the liver and milt. Against power and magic spells. Against pain of the heart. Against the evil eye and blear-eyedness, against inflamed eyes and cold in the head. Against the whitlow, fluxes, flatulence, piles and against cold humour. It is for the stopping of a haemorrhage, and for all diseases and complaints. And he who has been stung, or his messenger, shall drink out of it, and he will be cured by the permission of God the Most High."

It is generally accepted that 'Asad ed-Dīn Širkūh, uncle of Šalāh ed-Dīn, died in Egypt 564 AH., but, according to the inscription on this *ṭāsa*, he was still alive in 570 AH. The designation as Sulṭān is surprising as Širkūh was not an independent prince. However this title was at times bestowed upon the highest official as a *laqab* (for references see Enc. of Is. art. Sulṭān) before it became the sovereign title of the ruler of the country. The domineering personality of Širkūh and his quasi independent position in Egypt might have readily suggested to an admiring or overawed subject the appropriateness of bestowing upon him the *laqab* Sulṭān. A not infrequent procedure in the Near East in similar cases for very personal reasons.

It is noteworthy that it is not necessary for the sick person to drink from the bowl, but that he will equally benefit by its healing qualities if his messenger drink from it in his stead. The liquid to be used is according to an inscription on a *ṭāsa* of the year 463 AH (published by Rehatsek, *op. cit.*, vol. XIV, pp. 205 ff.), "whatever of water, oil or milk may be ready at hand."

The legality of the use of charms in cases of illness is probably based on the *ḥadīth* of al-'Aswad, while the invocation generally finds a place at the end in the concentrated form of *bi idn rabbīna*, which has also the authority of 'Aīsha, or something similar. Abu Sa'īd el-Khudrī reports a *ḥadīth* (Bokhārī, *op. cit.*, Part vii, pp. 22 f.) which shows that the Prophet was not without a sense of humor. In answer to the question of some of the *'aṣḥāb*, who had cured the *ṣēḥ* of a certain tribe, who had been bitten by a scorpion, by the recitation of the first *Ṣurah*, whether they might accept the goats which they had stipulated as the price for healing him, Muhammed said laughingly: "Who has taught you that it is a charm? Take them, and reserve a portion for me."

ON THE ORIGIN OF CERTAIN COPTIC VERBAL FORMS

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I. *The First Perfect*

A VERY FEW early texts in several different Coptic dialects (Sahidic, Sub-Akhmimic, Fayumic and one or more of the less-known idioms which are subsumed under the label "Middle Egyptian")¹ make use of a verbal auxiliary identical with the First Perfect in meaning, and also in form except that it shows an initial *h* which the First Perfect lacks. Owing to the paucity of materials, it is impossible to construct a complete paradigm of this early Coptic auxiliary, even when we combine all of the forms found in different dialects. Table 1 gives all of the forms which I have been able to find, with symbols indicating the dialect or dialects in which each form appears; the complete paradigm of the First Perfect is added for comparison.² All forms included in the table are taken from passages where the meaning is certain.

TABLE 1

	Early form with <i>h</i>	Normal form of First Perfect
1st s.	<i>hai-</i> (S, F, M)	<i>ai-</i>
2nd m. s.	<i>hak-</i> (M)	<i>ak-</i>
2nd f. s.		<i>are-</i> (S, B)
		<i>ar-</i> (S, A, A ₂)
		<i>al-</i> (F)

¹ I use the symbol M to designate the last named group of Coptic idioms, and M. Eg. for the language discussed in Gunn's *Studies in Egyptian Syntax* and Gardiner's *Egyptian Grammar*; further, d. for the demotic script, and D. for the successive forms of the Egyptian language which were written in that script. The other abbreviations used in this article are the familiar ones; thus A₂ for Sub-Akhmimic. Note that M, as used here, does not include F.

² The existence of the early paradigm with initial *h* was first pointed out by Crum, together with its correct derivation from D. *w3h*: *AZ* 36 (1898), 140. See further Spiegelberg, *OLZ* 7 (1904), 199; Sethe, *AZ* 52 (1914), 112-116; Crum, *JEA* 13 (1927), 21 (best references to the sources).—The related relative formation *etah-* "who has (done)" was first pointed out by Ludwig Stern, *AZ* 24 (1886), 133, with a series of etymological remarks which come astonishingly close to the truth for that early day.

	Early form with <i>h</i>	Normal form of First Perfect
3rd m. s.	<i>haf-</i> (F, M)	<i>af-</i>
3rd f. s.	<i>has-</i> (S)	<i>as-</i>
1st pl.	<i>han-</i> (M)	<i>an-</i>
2nd pl.		<i>atetn-</i> (S, A, A ₂) <i>ateten-</i> (F, B)
3rd pl.	<i>hau-</i> (F, M)	<i>au-</i>
Before noun subject	<i>ha-</i> (A ₂ , F)	<i>a-</i>

Since the perfect tense with initial *h* is in any case an early phenomenon in the history of the Coptic language, and since, as we shall see, it is derived from a form which occurs in Ptolemaic and Roman Demotic, we should expect to find it well represented in Old Coptic. I have found only one example: **Ⲭⲁⲃⲉⲛⲥ** in the magical text Paris L, line 35, which doubtless represents *hafšens*, "he asked her".³

It is also rather surprising to find no Akhmimic form in the paradigm, since Akhmimic in many respects is the most archaic of the Coptic dialects. However, the A perfect relative formative *etah-*, "who has (done)", is obviously related.

Of the two manuscripts which were practically our only sources for A₂, the Gospel of John does not use our form at all; while the Acts of Paul uses it only before noun subject, but uses it there regularly with only two exceptions.⁴ Hasty search in Polotsky, *Manichäische Homilien* (1934), fails to reveal any example.

The fact that no Bohairic example has been found, may be due to the lack of early materials in B.

There is perhaps no text which uses our form with *h* consistently, to the exclusion of the normal First Perfect without *h*. The fact that both forms occur side by side is consistent with the behavior of the consonant *h* in Coptic manuscripts generally: "Weakness or absence of *h* is undoubtedly a general tendency, not only in Sahidic, but also in other dialects."⁵ This is particularly true of *h* < Egyptian *h*.⁶ If our auxiliary with initial *h* had been known

³ For the text. see Erman, *ÄZ* 21 (1883), 100 = Georg Möller in Preisdanz, *Pap. graecae mag.*, I, p. 70. That **Ⲭⲁⲃ** may represent the now more familiar *haf-* was suggested, with some hesitation, by Spiegelberg on the margin of his copy of *ÄZ* 38, p. 91 (now in my possession).

⁴ See Chaine, *Les dialectes coptes assyoutiques* A² (1934), p. 69.

⁵ Worrell, *Coptic Sounds*, p. 110.

⁶ Sethe, *Verbum*, I, § 250.

to scholars before any etymology for the First Perfect had been proposed, I do not think the identity of the two forms would ever have been questioned. Unfortunately the First Perfect without *h* looks like a derivative of the L. Eg.-D. auxiliary verb *i-ir-*, "to do", which is known to have lost its *r* in certain forms long before Coptic times. This etymology was proposed at least as long ago as 1880,⁷ and formed a part of the common fund of Egyptological belief before the synonymous form with initial *h* was discovered; apparently it remains a part of that common fund today,⁸ though at the cost of separating two Coptic forms which, to my mind, are obviously one and the same.

The derivation of the perfect auxiliary with initial *h* is not disputed: it comes from the verb *w3h*, one of whose many meanings

⁷ Stern, *Koptische Grammatik*, § 374. Six years later Stern had seen his error: see above, footnote 2. His Coptic grammar remained, and still remains, an indispensable tool, constantly in the hand of every Coptist; but the paragraph in the *Zeitschrift* seems to have passed unnoticed.

⁸ The derivation of the First Perfect from some form of the verb *try* "to do" is maintained by Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, Part I (1929), p. 1; Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik*² (1933), § 545; Spiegelberg, *Demotische Grammatik* (1925), § 181; Till, *Akhmimisch-Koptische Grammatik* (1928), § 132a and *Koptische Dialektgrammatik* (1931), p. 54; I accepted this derivation and taught it to my students until recently, and I am not aware that anyone now living is on record against it. The derivation from *w3h*, "to finish", which I am advocating in the present article, was proposed by Spiegelberg in *OLZ* 7 (1904), 199 and 25 (1922), 399, note 3; also by Sottas, *P. dém. de Lille* (1921), p. 38 and in greater detail in *Revue égyptologique*, N. S., vol. 2, fasc. 3-4 (1924), 13-16; but Spiegelberg afterwards withdrew his support from it, *Dem. Gr.*, § 188 Anm. Both Spiegelberg and Sottas rightly pointed out that Heinrich Brugsch had discerned the historical relation between the Demotic and Coptic forms; they were unaware that Stern had made the discovery even before Brugsch (see above, footnote 2). Stern and Brugsch, like several more recent writers, excusably misread d. *w3h* as the face-hieroglyph *hr* (which Brugsch further mistransliterated *ha*, the two mistakes serving in some degree to cancel one another). See also Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests*, pp. 107-108; Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, p. 30 (note on line 24); Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, vol. 3, p. 224, note 14.—A derivation of the First Perfect from L. Eg. *iw=f* (*hr*) *sdm* was proposed by Sethe in *ZDMG* 79 (1925), 292; this was also included in the view of Stern, who wrongly supposed that the d. form which we now read *w3h=f sdm* could be derived from *iw=f hr sdm*.—The excellent remarks of Hess, *Der demotische Teil der dreisprachigen Inschrift von Rosette* (1902), pp. 51 and 53, unfortunately escaped my notice until this article was in type.

is "to finish". This verb is often used in Ptolemaic and Roman Demotic as an auxiliary with perfect or pluperfect meaning, often (but by no means always) with the added connotation "already", for example, *md.t nb.t r-dd=t w3h=y ir=w n=t dr=w*, "all things which you have said, I have (now, already) done them for you, all of them".⁹ It occurs ten times in the Magical Papyrus of London and Leyden,¹⁰ and seems there (as often in earlier texts) to be a precise equivalent of the Coptic First Perfect.

Both Spiegelberg and Sottas have pointed out that the royal name *Apriēs* (from *w3h ib p3 R'*, the vulgar equivalent of *w3h ib R'*) presents an admirable phonetic parallel to *afsōtm*, "he has heard", from *w3h=f sdm*, "he finished hearing". Other, less close, phonetic parallels, are the personal names *Χαροχρατης*, *Χαρονχωνσις*, from *nh p3 hrd*, *nh=f n Hns*.

A detail tending to support the derivation of *afsōtm* from *w3h=f sdm* is the coincidence between the d. variant *r-w3h=f sdm* (i. e., with a prothetic vowel in front of *w3h=f*)¹¹ and the variant *eafsōtm* of the Coptic First Perfect.¹² So long as this was supposed to be the circumstantial *e-*, its occurrence here was anomalous. It is now seen to have quite a different origin, being probably a remnant of the first syllable of **wē3hāfsōtm*.¹³

Other Coptic derivatives of the auxiliary *w3h*, such as the very interesting Sahidic forms collected by Crum, *Monastery of Epiphanius*, II, p. 291, no. 544, note 3, are not discussed here since they have no direct bearing on the etymology of the First Perfect.

All forms of this auxiliary, in Coptic as well as in Demotic, are restricted to perfect or pluperfect meaning.¹⁴

⁹ *I. Kh.*, 5, 28. For this D. auxiliary in general, see Spiegelberg, *Dem. Gr.*, §§ 188-194.

¹⁰ See the glossary of Griffith and Thompson, no. 592; their reading "*hr(?)*", which Thompson has now abandoned (*A Family Archive from Siut*, glossary, no. 83) led Sottas (*op. cit.*, p. 16) to the erroneous conclusion that the auxiliary *w3h* does not occur in the Magical Papyrus. Its absence from that text would be hard to explain.

¹¹ Pointed out and correctly explained by Spiegelberg, *OLZ* 25 (1922), 399, n. 3, and *Dem. Gr.*, § 189, Anm.

¹² Steindorff, *Kopt. Gr.*, § 328.

¹³ The *e-* which sometimes occurs in front of *šare-* remains unexplained. Other apparently anomalous examples of *e-* introducing independent statements are so rare that they may perhaps be disregarded; but see Till, *A.-K. Gr.*, § 141k.

¹⁴ The evidence for this is overwhelming, and the isolated F fragment of

All forms of the First Perfect, in all dialects, appear, therefore, to be perfectly normal derivatives of the *sdm=f* form of *w³h-* with the single exception of the second person feminine singular, which is *are-* in B and generally in S, *al-* in F, *ar-* in A, A₂, and sometimes in S. The *r* or *l* of these forms cannot have originated in the *sdm=f* form of *w³h*; its probable source will be discussed in the third part of this paper.

II. The Second Present and the Circumstantial

Anyone who begins the study of Coptic through the Sahidic dialect must wonder why the Second Present and the Circumstantial are treated as two distinct tenses;¹⁵ for in that dialect the two are morphologically identical and differ only syntactically, the Second Present being used only in main clauses¹⁶ and the Circumstantial only in subordinate ones.¹⁷ Semantically, the Second Present represents time which is absolutely present, and the Circumstantial, time which is present relatively to the main clause on

Job xxx, 9 (*Coptica*, III, p. 29) alleged as an exception by Sethe *apud* Crum, *JEA* 13 (1927), 21, note 4, has to be interpreted accordingly: *tenū de haiš*[*aap nēu n*]ukithara [. . (?)*au*]ō anak hauḡ[ō nsōi] means "Now I have become for them a song, and they have gossiped about me", even though this is not a precise translation of the Greek (it happens, perhaps by a mere coincidence, to be a possible rendering of the Hebrew tenses, as my colleague Prof. W. A. Irwin assures me); note, further, that the next clause (verse 10) uses past tenses both in Greek and in Sahidic.—That the forms translated as present by Erman in *ÄZ* 44 (1907), 113 are all really past, is now generally recognised.

¹⁵ They are actually treated as one by Steindorff, *Kurzer Abriss der kopt. Gr.* (1921), § 71. This was doubtless meant only as a simplification for beginners, not as a retraction of the opinion which he had indicated in *Kopt. Gr.* (1904), § 286, Anm. The same explanation perhaps applies to his treatment of the Third Future in S as a single tense.

¹⁶ It seems to me improbable that the Second Present could be used in protasis, as stated by Steindorff, *K. Gr.* (1904), § 481 and Till, *A.-K. Gr.*, § 220; all examples are probably to be treated as Circumstantial, as is done by Mallon, *Gr. copte* (1926), § 388 and Chaine, *Éléments de gr. dialectale copte*, § 920. The only apparent exception known to me is *atēnsōtme*, "if you hear," quoted by Till from Zach. vi, 15 (A, ed. Bouriant), where Till himself very properly questions the text.

¹⁷ A further syntactic difference will probably be found to be that the Second Present can only be negated with (*n-*) . . . *an*, and the Circumstantial only with *-tm-* (*-štem-*). See Steindorff, *K. Gr.*, §§ 459, 482; Stern, *K. Gr.*, §§ 390, 452; Mallon, *Gr. copte*, §§ 237.3, 256.

which it depends. The whole distinction, in Sahidic, seems to lack empirical reality.

In A₂, the situation is the same as in S. In A, F and B the syntactic difference is accompanied by a morphological one, for in these three dialects the Second Present begins with the vowel *a* while the Circumstantial begins (as in S and A₂) with *e*. In no dialect is there any consonantal difference between the two. Table 2 exhibits all forms of both tenses in the five adequately known dialects. For a reason which will appear later, the forms of the Negative Present of Custom are also tabulated here for comparison, but without their characteristic initial consonants (*mp* in B, *m* in the other dialects).

TABLE 2

	Circumstantial	Second Present		Negative Present of Custom, omitting its initial consonants (<i>mp</i> in B, <i>m</i> in S, A, A ₂ and F)	
	(all dialects, except as specified)	Sahidic, Sub- Akhmimic	Akhmimic, Fayumic, Bohairic	Sahidic, Fayumic	Akhmimic, Sub-Akhmimic, Bohairic
1st s.	<i>ei-</i>	<i>ei-</i>	<i>ai-</i>	<i>-ei-</i>	<i>-ai-</i>
2nd m. s.	<i>ek-</i>	<i>ek-</i>	<i>ak-</i>	<i>-ek-</i>	<i>-ak-</i>
2nd f. s.	<i>ere-</i> (S, A, A ₂ , B) <i>ele-</i> (F)	<i>ere-</i>	<i>are-</i> (A, B) <i>ale-</i> (F)	<i>-ere-</i> (S) <i>-ele-</i> (F)	<i>-are-</i>
3rd m. s.	<i>ef-</i>	<i>ef-</i>	<i>af-</i>	<i>-ef-</i>	<i>-af-</i>
3rd f. s.	<i>es-</i>	<i>es-</i>	<i>as-</i>	<i>-es-</i>	<i>-as-</i>
1st pl.	<i>en-</i>	<i>en-</i>	<i>an-</i>	<i>-en-</i>	<i>-an-</i>
2nd pl.	<i>etetn-</i> (S, A, A ₂) <i>eteten-</i> (F) <i>ereten-</i> (B)	<i>etetn-</i>	<i>atetn-</i> (A) <i>ateten-</i> (F) <i>areten-</i> (B)	<i>-etetn-</i> (S) <i>-eteten-</i> (F)	<i>-atetn-</i> (A, A ₂) <i>-areteten-</i> (B)
3rd pl.	<i>eu-</i>	<i>eu-</i>	<i>au-</i>	<i>-eu-</i>	<i>-au-</i>
Before noun subject	<i>ere-</i> (S, A ₂ , B) <i>ele-</i> (F) <i>e-</i> (A)	<i>ere-</i>	<i>are-</i> (B) <i>ale-</i> (F) <i>a-</i> (A)	<i>-ere-</i> (S) <i>-ele-</i> (F)	<i>-are-</i> (A ₂ , B, A usually) <i>-a-</i> (A less often)

The relation shown in the above table between the Second Present and the Circumstantial may be explained historically in either of two ways: either the distinction between these two tenses is an ancient one which has been lost in S and A₂, or it is a more recent one which developed in A, F and B after their separation from S and A₂. Although we possess an almost continuous series

of linguistic monuments going back more than three thousand years before the date of the earliest known Coptic texts and including, presumably, texts representative of all of the Coptic dialects in pre-Coptic forms, yet the nature of hieroglyphic, hieratic and demotic writing makes any effort to sort the texts according to dialects extremely difficult; I shall say nothing further here about this method of investigation. Another method, which Romance philologists are applying with great success to the data embodied in the linguistic atlases of France and Italy, starts from the geographical distribution of many specific phenomena at a single moment of time: this method is hampered in the case of Coptic by the twin facts that all of the Coptic dialects are now dead and that their geographical distribution, when they were all living, is subject to grave doubts. In spite of these difficulties, some progress has been made in studying the historical interrelations of the dialects.¹⁸ Approaching our problem from this angle, I think it may be said that a distinction which exists in A, F and B but not in S or A₂, is more probably an ancient than a recent one.

If the distinction is ancient, in the sense of having once existed in the ancestral forms of S and A₂ as well as in those of A, F and B, then our inability to distinguish dialects need not prevent us from distinguishing these two tenses in pre-Coptic forms of the Egyptian language: if there were two Egyptian tense-forms corresponding to the Coptic Second Present and Circumstantial respectively, there is at least a reasonable chance that the two may differ observably in Egyptian writing.

There are in fact, as has long been known, two etymologically distinct forms of expression in Egyptian which offer themselves for study here:

(1) The Middle Egyptian *iw=f hr sdm*, literally "he is upon hearing," which lost its preposition *hr* "upon", becoming *iw=f sdm* in L. Eg.; and M. Eg. *iw=f sdm(w)*, literally "he is (in the condition of having been) heard." In L. Eg. these two forms have become identical except that the one uses the Infinitive and the other the Qualitative;¹⁹ Coptic uses both the Infinitive and the Qualitative in forming both the Second Present and the Circum-

¹⁸ See especially Worrell, *Coptic Sounds*, Part II, Chapter I.

¹⁹ In this paper I extend the term "Qualitative" to the Egyptian ancestors of that Coptic form, for the sake of simplicity.

stantial, and the distinction between the Infinitive and the Qualitative in Coptic is essentially the same as in L. Eg.

(2) L. Eg. *i-ir=f sdm*, a combination of a *sdm=f* form of *iry* "to do" with the Infinitive, meaning literally "he does hear." This form was probably not originally used with the Qualitative, but it may have come to be so used in Demotic.²⁰

In what follows, I shall cite these two Egyptian forms of expression as (1) and (2) respectively.

It is a painful fact, but a fact nevertheless, that what appear to be L. Eg. examples of both (1) and (2) can be found in both main and subordinate clauses, and expressing past, present and future time: each of the two appears to cover all, and more than all, of the uses served by the Coptic Second Present and Circumstantial. It is suspected that this apparently hopeless confusion may be at least partly due to the odd orthography of Late Egyptian.²¹ Demotic orthography, in this case, is even more confusing than that of L. Eg.—or so it appears at present. Future research will have to wrestle with this aspect of the problem, but the prospects cannot be called encouraging.

In M. Eg., where (1) is a clearly differentiated form and (2) can hardly be said to exist, (1) is often used with pronoun subject (though not with noun subject) in subordinate clauses; and when so used it corresponds very closely indeed to the usage of the Coptic Circumstantial. In L. Eg., not only is this circumstantial use of (1) extended to the form with noun subject, but the same introductory element *iw* (or what appears to be that) is constantly prefixed to sentences of many other types, giving them circumstantial force. This last function is performed in all Coptic dialects by a prefixed *e-* (never *a-*, and never *ere-*, *ele-*). The apparent identity of this *e-* with L. Eg. *iw* on the one hand and with the initial vowel of the Coptic Circumstantial on the other (contrasting, in A, F and B, with the initial vowel *a* of the Second Present) is a reason for suspecting that the Circumstantial (but not, or not

²⁰ See Junker, *Papyrus Lonsdorfer I* (SB. Akad. Wien, 197. Bd., 2. Abh., 1921), p. 22; of the two examples which Junker cites (Ryl. 226, note 20 and 243, note 17) the former may well be an Infinitive with passive sense, as Griffith suggested, but the latter is almost certainly a Qualitative. The real difficulty here lies in the apparently hopeless confusion (rightly stressed by Junker) between Demotic spellings of *i-ir* and those of *iw*.

²¹ Cf. footnote 24.

necessarily, the Second Present) may likewise be derived from L. Eg. *iw*.

(2), it will be remembered, was a L. Eg. combination of a *sḏm=f* form of a verb *iry* "to do" with (originally) the Infinitive of the main verb. A *sḏm=f* form of the same verb, and one which may reasonably be thought to be identical with the form used in (2), appears in Coptic in the Negative Present of Custom,²² where it is invariably preceded by the negative element *m-* (written and perhaps pronounced *mp-* in B, the *p* if real being derivable from *mpef-*). The L. Eg. ancestor of this negative element was written *bw*; its L. Eg. pronunciation is unknown.²³ The invariable presence of this negative element in the Negative Present of Custom, and its invariable absence in (2), would perhaps go far toward explaining the differences in vocalization which exist, in F and A₂, between the Negative Present of Custom and the Second Present—if it could be shown on other grounds that the Second Present is descended from (2).

Personally, I believe that the Second Present is descended from (2) and the Circumstantial from (1), but I do not see how either of these propositions can be quite conclusively proved or disproved. I base this scepticism on the peculiarities of L. Eg. and d. spelling which have already been mentioned. Gardiner, in his brilliant discussion of the tense-formative *ere-* in L. Eg.,²⁴ has shown conclusively that certain forms of *iw* and *iry* were confused, at least in writing, as early as the nineteenth dynasty—in other words, at the very beginning of the L. Eg. period. When once this fact is admitted, what reliance can be placed on *any* writing of either *iw* or *iry* in Late Egyptian or demotic?

The probable conclusion seems to me to be, that (2) had lost its *r* by the nineteenth dynasty, except in the second person feminine singular, in the form before noun subject, and perhaps in the second person plural (cf. B *areten-*). Those forms which had lost the *r* were then probably identical in consonantal structure with the corresponding forms of (1). At some date which we cannot

²² See Table 2.

²³ Albright believes that it "was presumably vocalized *bāw*" (*The Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography*, p. 24). For my part, I doubt whether it ever contained either a *b* or a *w* in actual speech: see *AJSL* 48 (1931), 42, and Czermak, *Die Laute der äg. Sprache*, §§ 118 and 138.

²⁴ *JEA*, 16 (1930), 220-228.

now determine, this close resemblance between (1) and (2) in all but two or three forms led to the equalizing of these two or three forms also, by the transfer of the consonant *r* which had survived in these forms of (2) to the corresponding forms of (1), where it was etymologically out of place. When this had happened, the two paradigms (1) and (2) may well have been identical with the Coptic Circumstantial and Second Present, respectively. But I must repeat that I do not see how this conclusion can be proved or disproved.

III. *The Verbal Infix -re- of the 2nd Person Feminine Singular*

There exists in all Coptic dialects a verbal infix *-r-* or *-re-* (F *-l-* or *-le-*) whose function is to mark the second person feminine singular as subject.²⁵ It is found in all dialects in the Second Present, the Second and Third Futures, the First and Second Perfects, the Imperfect, the Circumstantial, the Conditional, and the Negative Present of Custom; in S, B and F in the (affirmative) Present of Custom; in B and F in the First Future;²⁶ and in F alone in the First Present. The Present of Custom and its negative counterpart contain the verb *iry* "to do", and I have tried to show in the second part of this paper that the Second Present probably contained the same verb. In the light of present knowledge, the Second Present would seem to have been probably the most important source of our infix. The Present of Custom is ruled out in A and A₂, which show the *r* (of *hr*?) in all forms, and therefore is not likely to have been a *principal* source in the other dialects; while the Negative Present of Custom is a relatively uncommon form, and will probably have played only a subsidiary rôle. Other possible sources for the infix are the Conditional, whose origin is totally obscure,²⁷ and the Third Future,

²⁵ Infixes of similar form and related origin exist also for the second person plural and for noun subject, but no two of the three are quite alike in their distribution. For simplicity's sake, the infix of the second person feminine singular, which is the most widely used of the three, is alone discussed here.

²⁶ *Tenne-* (F) doubtless represents an earlier **telne-*, as Chainé suggests, *Éléments de gr. dialectale copte*, p. 146. Till, *K. Dialektgr.* (1931), p. 52, gives *telne-* alone for this form, though in *K. Chrestomathie für d. fay. Dialekt* (1930), p. 7, he gave *tenne-* alone: I do not know whether *telne-* occurs in the sources, or not.

²⁷ Two different etymologies for the Conditional have been offered, one

whose derivation no longer seems as obvious as it did before Gardiner published the article on the tense-formative *ere-* which I have mentioned above.²⁸ The Second Future is almost certainly a direct derivative of the Second Present (S and presumably A₂ *efna-*, AFB *afna-*) and Circumstantial (*efna-* in all dialects). The First and Second Perfects, the Imperfect, the Circumstantial, the Fayumic First Present and First Future and the Bohairic First Future probably adopted the infix after it had already come to be felt as a sign of the second person feminine singular in the Second Present and the Negative Present of Custom.

by Spiegelberg, *Dem. Gr.*, § 499, and the other by Sethe, *ZDMG* 79 (1925), 296, note 1, and *AZ* 64 (1929), 66; neither is very convincing.

²⁸ This remark, which was based originally on the phenomena observed by Gardiner in M. Eg. and L. Eg., is reinforced by two facts of Coptic morphology: first, the Third Future presents only a single paradigm in each dialect, differing in this respect from the Second Future which presents two paradigms corresponding to the Second Present and Circumstantial, respectively, in those dialects (A, F, B) where the Second Present and Circumstantial differ morphologically from one another; second, the single paradigm of the Third Future corresponds to that of the Second Present in A, but to that of the Circumstantial in F and B.

RAS SHAMRA NOTES IV:
THE CONFLICT OF BAAL AND THE WATERS

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(1) *The Text*

IN SYRIA XVI. 29-45, M. Virolleaud has published a fresh Hebrew text from Ras Shamra. Of the tablet, which is incomplete, he presents but one face containing a single column of text, and in deferring the publication of the reverse states that the subjects it treats are very different from those on the published face. The editor expresses the gist of this new epical fragment, as he interprets it, by the title "La révolte de Košer contre Baal."

The text may be divided into three acts on both literary and dramatic account. Lines 1-10 present a dialogue between the divine hero and Kuthar; ll. 11-27 pictures in Homeric fashion the combat between the hero and his opponents; ll. 28 ff. constitute an epilogue in which, after a couplet describing the victor's triumph, Athtart takes the rôle.

The accompanying plate presents, in Hebrew transliteration, parts one and three in running form. But part two is a specimen of highly developed poetic, perhaps choric, art the most remarkable that has yet appeared in these texts.¹ And accordingly I have attempted to present the at once metrical and dramatic style in tabular form of lines and columns. This exhibit will, I trust, explain itself; the lines are to be read one after the other, the columnar lines being applied to collate the parallel recurrent phrases.²

¹ Cf. Z. S. Harris's article in this JOURNAL, 1934, 80 ff., and for parallels in the Hebrew Bible (studied independently of these texts), the several illuminating articles by Principal Slotki, e. g. *AJSL* of Oct., 1933, *Journal Manchester Eg. and Or. Soc.*, XVIII, in both of which the writer lists his earlier titles. In similar vein is the article by Walker and Lund on "The Literary Structure of the Book of Habakkuk," *JBL* 1935, 355 ff.

² Cf. the writer's *Notes III*, *supra* 89 ff., for a similar presentation. For citation of the earlier epical texts I use the following sigilla: A = *Syria* XII. 193 ff.; B = XIII. 113 ff.; C = XIV. 125 ff.; D = XV. 307 ff. I have again to thank my colleague Dr. Harris for his kind aid in preparing the final copy for the plate.

(1) — מתת — (2) ח' — לאטצג'הם יאך. אמר — (3) — וב'ים מנה לאבדי ב'ים ג'רתם מ —
 (4) — נהרי תלעם תם חרבם יא'תס יאנשק (5) ג'תם לארץ יפל דלני ויל עפר עצם יא'
 (6) [נ]פה רגם ליצא בשפתה הותה ותתן גה יא'ר (7) תחת כסג' זבל ים ון כתר וחסס י
 לרגמת (8) לך לזבל בעל תנת לרכב ערפת הת אבך (9) בעלם אבך תמ ח'ץ

הת תצמת צרתך (10) תקח מלך עלמך דרכת דר דרך
 A | B | C | D | E | F | G | H | I | J

(11) 1 כתר צמדס ינחת ויפער שמתהם

2 שמך את

(12) 3 יגרש יגרש גרש ים גרש ים

(13) 4 לכסג'ה [נ]הר לכחת דרכתה

5 תרתקץ בד בעל

(14) 6 כם נשר באצבעתה הלם כתף זבליים

(15) 7 בן ידם [ת]פט נהר

8 ירתקץ צמד בד בעל

(16) 9 כם נשר באצבעתה ילם כתף זבל ים

(17) 10 בן ידם תפט נהר

11 עז ים לימד

(18) 12 לתנצן פנתה לידלף תמנה

13 כתר צמדס ינחת ויפער שמתהם

(19) 14 שמך אתי אימרי אימרי מרי ים מר ים

(20) 15 לכסג'ה נהר לכחת דרכתה

(21) 16 תרתקץ בד בעל

(22) 17 כם נשר באצבעתה הלם קדקד זבל ים

(23) 18 בן ענם תפט נהר

(24) 19 יפרסח ים ויקלי לארץ

20 ירתקץ צמד בד בעל

(25) 21 [כם] נשר באצבעתה ילם קדקדי זבל [ים]

(26) 22 בן ענם תפט נהר

(27) 23 יפרסח ים ויקל לארץ

24 תנצן פנתה וידלף תמנה

(28) 25 יקת בעל וישת ים יכלי תפט נהר (29) בשם תגערס עתרת יבת אלעין

(30) 26 [נ]ל ב'ת לרכב ערפת כשבין זבל [ים] (31) שבין תפט נהר ויצא ב

(32) 27 יבת נן אלעין בעל ו — (33) ים למת בעלם ים ל — (34) חם לשרר ו

(35) 28 יען ים למת — (36) לשרר ו תען — (37) בעלם המת — (38) לשרר ש

(39) 29 בראשה — (40) בה — (41) מש — (42) ענה

Some few remarks may be made on this graphic form. By the arrangement proposed the poem divides into two equal strophes of 12 lines each; and the forms are almost wholly correspondent. I had earlier thought of supplying in B 2 the plus contained in B 14, as a clerical omission; but I have avoided the heroic treatment by my attempt at interpretation. Similarly I have speculated whether C 3 should not be supplied before D 15; it must be supplied in thought before the following choric expression. I might compare the actually unsyntactical repetition at Ps. 18:14 from v. 13, of the phrase "hailstones and coals of fire." Also there is unequal balancing of form between the two strophes; C 3 and G 10 stand sole, but their quantum is made up by the parallelistic J 19 and 23, which have no parallel in the first strophe. There is a similar phenomenon in the poetical passage treated by Dr. Harris in his article cited above.

In respect to literary form the variations in this poem constitute an interesting phenomenon. Under E there is the alternation of subjects of the verb, with accompanying grammatical change in gender. Under F there is the progress of action on part of the berserker hero, from "smiting the shoulder" and "the chest" of his two antagonists, to his "smashing the head" of the one and "the forehead" of the other, this along with alternation of verbal tense. I 12 with its introductory precativ particle *l-* is a demand; the parallel simple impf. at l. 20 is statement of fact, the result demanded.

(2) *The Myth*

The myth is that of the rebellion of the waters personified in the Sea and the River. The genius of the former is Zebūl-Yam, Abode-of-the-Sea, of the latter Tāpiṭ-nahar, Ruler (the Biblical "judge")-of-the-River.³ The River is the fabulous water-supply

* "Abode," i. e. temple, etc., is a surrogate for the divine name as here and in the earlier texts, Zebūl-Baal; cf. later Hebrew *maqām*, etc.

[A striking parallel to the River-Judge is reflected by the legal provisions in cuneiform law whereby disputed cases are presented to the "River-god" for decision by ordeal; cf. e. g., Assyrian Laws, KVI. 1. §§ 17, 24, 25. By an interesting coincidence, the same issue of *Syria* in which the present text is published illustrates a statuette from Mari inscribed with the name of Idi-ḏNārum (Pl. ix), with the Sumerian and Akkadian equivalents for "river." The date of the Mari statuettes is Early Dynastic, i. e., cir. 3000 B. C.—E. A. S.]

of the earth; cf. "the River" which "went forth to water the earth" in the Eden story (see Skinner, *Genesis*, 62 ff.). The myth is similar to that in the first of the Babylonian Seven Tablets of Creation, of the war waged against the gods by Tiamat and her associates; it is not the Biblical story of the Noachian deluge. Compare also the myth of the rebellious Sons of God in Gen. 6, and its later counterpart in Enoch, cc. 6 ff. But the present myth has its independence and serves to illustrate much mythological language of the Hebrew Bible.

Such reminiscences are the following: Ps. 29:3, "The voice of Y. is upon the waters," and v. 10, "Y. took his seat on the Flood, and Y. sits a king forever." Ps. 93 is a brief commentary on our myth: "Established is thy throne from eld. . . . The rivers of Y. lift up, they lift up their voice, the rivers lift up their . . . [pounding?]. More than the voice of many waters, more glorious than the breakers of the sea, glorious in the height is Y." Compare the reminiscences of such a divine conflict at Ps. 18:14 ff., e. g.: "thundered in heaven Y., and the Highest gave his voice. . . . And he sent his arrows and scattered them [no immediate antecedent!], and lightnings he shot [?], and confounded them. And were seen the channels of the waters . . . at thy chiding, O Y." A similar case is found at Is. 17:12 f., where mythological language is inserted into the historical prospect, with an inimitable alliteration and syntax like instances in the Ras Shamra texts:

Ah, the roar of many peoples,
like the roar of seas they roar,
And clash of nations like clash
of mighty waters a-clashing,
Nations like the clash of many waters a-clashing.—
And He scolds it and it flees afar.

Again the singular "it," perhaps better "him," without antecedent. (I have followed the Hebrew text, *pace* the critics, whose classical taste is offended by the repetitions.) Further there is the striking literary reminiscence of the epical l. 12 at Is. 57:20:

חַרְשֵׁים כִּים נִגְרֵשׁ . . . וַיִּגְרֵשׁ מִיָּמִיו רַפֶּשׁ וַיֵּט

A similar passage of singularly alliterative character appears at Ps. 46:3 f.

The action and the *dramatis personae* of the myth are at first sight obscure, this largely owing to the broken condition of the first four lines. M. Virolleaud, as his title proposes, discovers a contest between the highest Baal and the well known genius of these tablets Kuthar (also with the composite name Kuthar-and-Ḫasis, as earlier, and with a new epithet Kuthar-*šmdm*), with Aleyan-Baal arrayed on the latter's side. But the identity of the unnamed divine speaker in the opening lines is revealed in the response made to him by Kuthar in ll. 7 ff. (as I interpret): "I say to thee [not "go," with Vir.], to Zebūl-Baal, I repeat to the Cloud-Rider: Thy enemies the Baals thou shalt smash . . . thou shalt take thy everlasting sovereignty." Now Zebūl-Baal is no other than Aleyan as the parallelism in A i. 14; iii. 3, proves, while "Cloud-Rider" is also epithet of Aleyan, with B iii. 11, 18; iv. 122; D ii. 7. On the other hand the named opponents are Yam "Sea," l. 13 = Zebūl-Yam, l. 14 etc., and Nahar "River," ll. 13, 20 = Ruler-of-the-River, ll. 15 etc. The former deity is also addressed as 'z *ym*, "Mighty-One-of-the-Sea," l. 17. It is their waters which "surge up to the throne and seat" of Aleyan Baal, ll. 12, 20. For another name given to this deity in the "scolding of names," l. 19, see notes below.⁴

There arises the problem of the identity of the "Baals" who are spoken of as "thy (Aleyan's) enemies," ll. 8 f., and whose "death" is referred to at ll. 32, 34, 36. They can be no other than the deities of the deep and their associates whom Aleyan "smashed"; they are not the whole pantheon. Indeed in the combat Baal has his cortège of followers, expressed in parallel phrases, ll. 13, 21 and ll. 15, 23 (for the terms see below).

The third act, ll. 28 ff., with the introduction of Athtart and her "scolding" of Aleyan and crying "shame" on him, raises yet another problem. That goddess has appeared hitherto only in the smaller Tablets, except for a case of disputed spelling (*'ttrt* for *'ttrt?*), B ii. 13. Why her umbrage here is not obvious. I can only compare Ishtar's dismay and rage over the flood in the Gilgamesh Epic, in truly feminine passion. Athtart's motive may

⁴ Virolleaud, p. 29, discussing the alleged enmity of Kuthar towards Baal makes the point that he is called "Son of the Sea" at B vii. 15; but the interpretation is doubtful, and in any case we can hardly expect logic in these erratic deities.

probably be explained thus: Her complaint, ll. 29 f., is that the destruction of the Sea involves that of the River; it is the fate of the latter that outrages her. I can but suppose that the myth involved lies in the problem facing nature, of which Athtart as goddess of fertility was the peculiar patroness, if the River, i. e. the rivers, are suppressed equally with the Sea. Their punishment and restraint equally with the Sea was necessary in view of the destructive spates, *sails*, of Syria and Arabia. Their equality is expressed at Ps. 24: 2, "He has founded it [the earth] upon the seas, establishes it on the rivers." (N. b. the variation of tense just as in the present poem.) Again Ps. 74: 15, "Thou hast dried up ever-running rivers"; for the "drying up" cf. our text at l. 28. The indeterminate noun "river," whose "channels rejoice the City of God" (a paradisaic expression), Ps. 46: 5, may be the River of our myth. To Athtart's mind the destruction of the Baals of the deep might also involve the destruction of many, or all, Baals, and lead to the tyranny of one God. This notion may underlie the phrase "a day for the death of Baals," ll. 32, 34. The Phoenician myths as retailed by Sanchuniathon are full of the envies and contentions of the deities for supremacy.

In the following translation fragmentary vocables will be avoided to be discussed below in the Notes.

(3) *Translation*

. . . (5) To the earth will fall my despisers, and to the dust the braves of Ay. (6) From his mouth a word surely came forth, with his lips he addressed him [?]: "And do thou announce (7) - under the throne of Zebūl-of-the-Sea." And answered Kuthar-and-Ḥasis: "Surely I speak (8) to thee, to Zebūl-Baal, I repeat to the Cloud-Rider. Behold, thy enemies (9) the Baals, behold, thy enemies thou shalt smite, behold, shalt destroy thy foes. (10) Thou shalt take thy everlasting kingdom, thy rule that is for ages and ages."

(11) Kuthar-of-the-Bands [?] descends and scolds them by name [*lit.* their names]: "Thy name, thou!"

(12) Surges, surges the surge of the Sea, the surge of the Sea to his throne. (13) the River to the seat of his rule.

Advances the congregation of Baal. Like an eagle with his fist [fingers] (14) he smote the shoulder of Zebūl-of-the-Sea, on the breast (15) the Ruler-of-the-River.

Advances the band of the congregation of Baal. Like an eagle (16) with his fist he smites the shoulder of Zebūl-of-the-Sea, on the breast the Ruler-of-(17)-the-River. "Potentate of the Sea, let its - - -" [two jussive verbs with subjects].

(18) Kuthar-of-the-Bands descends and scolds them by name:

(19) "Thy name, thou, is Aymr, Aymr, Lord [*mr*]-of-the-Sea, Lord of the Sea."

(20) To his throne the River, to the seat of his rule!

Advances (21) the congregation of Baal. Like an eagle with his fist he smote the skull of (22) Zebūl-of-the-Sea, on the forehead [between the eyes] the Ruler-of-the-River. And he suppresses the Sea, (23) raises the earth.

And advances the band of the congregation of Baal. (24) Like an eagle with his fist he smites the skull of Zebūl-of-the-Sea, (25) on the forehead the Ruler-of-the-River. He suppresses the Sea, he raises (26) the earth - - - [passage as at l. 17, but verbs in indicative].

(27) Baal collects and dries up the Sea, he dispatches the Ruler-of-the-River.

(28) By name Athtart scolds him: "Shame on Aleyan Baal, (29) shame on the Cloud-Rider. Like the conquest [*or* captivity] of (30) Zebūl-of-the-Sea is the conquest of the Ruler-of-the-River. - - - (31) Puts us to shame [?] Aleyan Baal and the Cloud-Rider. (32) A day for the death of Baals - - -" (34) He answers: "A day for the death of - - - (36) Baals he slew - - - (38) on his head - - -" (4) He answered her - - -

(4) Notes

1. *mtt*, *hy* appear to represent the verbs "to die," "to live."

2. *l'aššihm*: "let me destroy them," or "save them"; the latter meaning is supported by Akk. *ušeši* and Bibl. Aram., the former by Targumic *šēši*, and this appears more suitable to the theme. [But Shafel from *iš'* should be **ušaīšit'*! Do we have here a (secondary?) root *šš'*? E. A. S.]

3. *bym mnḥ l'abd*: Vir.: "in the sea an asylum for the wanderer."

— *'amr*: Vir. offers several choices, of which the verb "to speak" is most likely, cf. B i. 42.

4-5. *ḥrbm* || *'tm* (with parallel unintelligible verbs): if the for-

mer is "sword," with suffix, the latter may be explained from the possible interpretation of 'ēt habbarzēl, 2 Ki. 6:5, as "the iron head" of the ax, here used as term of a weapon; see GB *Lex.* and Stade *ad loc.* for opposite views.

5. *dlny*(?): "my despisers"; is it to be connected with *zll*, Arab. *ḡll*?; cf. Ps. 10:13, of God's despisers.

'*ḏm* 'ay: understanding the second much disputed radical as *ḏ*, I propose the ppl. of the Heb. root 'šm, "to be strong." The following vocable is the divine name found below in 'aymr, the adversary of Baal.

7. *yXr*: as in other cases of its occurrence (also in ll. 18, 26 below), the value of the second radical is wholly obscure. Vir. interprets as proper name of some "being who receives a mission." But a verb is required, doubtless in the impf. For the balance of the phrase cf. Ps. 29:10, "Y. sits enthroned on the Flood."

8. *ṭnt*: Vir. as an unknown name. But it is the verb *ṭny*, otherwise used in parallelism with verbs "to speak," e. g. B viii. 31.

9. The triple *ht*: with Vir. "behold"; cf. Arab. *ha'a*.

For the root *šmt* cf. Ps. 18:41 (Hif.), with object "enemies" as here.

šrtk (ignored by Vir.) as || to 'ibk must have the same meaning, "foes," and is identical with Heb. *šar*; for the fem. abstract cf. 'ēbatî, "my enemies," Mic. 7:8, 10.

10. 'lm as "eternity" also B iv. 42, distinct from 'lmk at D ii. 12. For "his 'lm" cf. Eccles. 12:5, used of man. The late hymn in Dan. 5:31 recalls this ancient expression of the divine eternity. N. b. supply of the unessential particle *ḏt* on metrical grounds.

11. *ktr šmdm ynh̄t*: Vir., "K. soumet (ses) attellages," or in variant form, "K. attelle ses coursiers," understanding *šmdm* of the horses yoked to the chariot. But in comparison with *smd bd* at l. 15 (see note there) I take the word here in sense of "bands, troops," either as object to the verb; or preferably (n. b. position) in construct with "K.," thus giving him an epithet. Compare the כַּלְצִמָּר in Kalamuwa inscr. l. 15.

yp'r etc.: Vir., "il prononce leurs noms [of the horses] (en disant): 'Ton nom (à) toi, c'est Ygrš, Ygrš!'," from which interpretation I totally dissent. I would take the verb *p'r* in the poetical Arab. sense of "scolding," the defiance by name and epithet of the opponent, as in early Arabian *saġ*. Then the following

"thy name, thou" must be understood as exclamation or interrogation, the name being actually pronounced at l. 19.

12-13a. The rhetoric of the passage is evident, even if the syntax be obscure. The advance of the stormy waters of the Sea and the River against Baal is presented in fine epic style.

13b. Vir. is puzzled over the conflict of genders between *trtkš* here and *yrtkš* at l. 15. The conflict is resolved by recognizing that the respective subjects must vary in gender. The first verb is construed with the noun *bd*, which must be fem., the second with *šmd*, which must be masc. This grammatical interpretation denies Vir.'s treatment of *bd b'l* as proper name of "a personage who runs to the aid of B.," comparing the element *bd* in Phoen. *nn. pr.*, e. g. Bod-Ashtart. The element is indeed that Phoen. word, obscure in origin, used here as in the phrase "the *bd* of the Sidonians" (Piraeus inscr., Cooke, *NSI.* no. 33), in the sense of "clientèle of the Sidonians." The present would then be the earliest occurrence of this interesting word. With Vir., the verb is the Arab. *rqz*, Aram. *rqd*, "to move, dance," here used of the rhythmical surging of the waters.

"Like an eagle": the same simile of divine action at Jer. 48:40.

14. *hlm* = l. 26 || to the impf. *ylm* ll. 16, 24: with Vir. the root must mean "to smite," but must be Hif. of a root *lm*, perhaps aboriginal to Heb. *hlm*.

15. *šmd bd* varies with *bd* above, of which it is only an amplification; cf. Syr. use of the root in sense of "assembly," etc.

"Between the hands": i. e. "on the breast"; as Vir. notes, the same expression is found at Zech. 13:6. Note below the parallel "between the eyes."

17-18a. 'z *ym*, etc.: as argued above I take the sentence as vocative. For 'z cf. the Akk. divine epithet *ezzu*, and Heb. 'izzûz, epithet of God, Ps. 78:4. For the following phrase cf. the parallel at l. 26. The verbs are jussive here, indicative there; they are respectively fem. and masc. with following subjects of identical gender; and the pronominal suffix *-h* affixed to each must refer here to the antecedent "thy sea," and below to antecedent "the earth." Vir. translates: "pour que se calment (?) ses vagues," and suggests Heb. *pinnôt*, "pinnacles, crests." I hazard the guess that *pnt* means "surface," as "face," and *tmn* is the Akkad. *tēmennu*, "foundation."

19. The obvious proper name *'aymr* is composite, the first element having been used alone in l. 5. Have we a foreign word, e. g. Aya = Ea the Bab. god of waters? The second element is best explained as identical with the following repeated *mār* [*yam*], "lord of [the sea]" (so the spelling of this word also in Phoen. nn. pr.). There is evident alliterative play upon the vocables of the whole phrase. I confess my skepticism as to interpretation. Parallelism requires *ym* as subject, then *mr* as verb—but with what meaning?

22. *yprsh*: I had thought of Arab. *parṣaḥa*, "to extend," but Vir. does better by comparison with Akk. *pulasuḥu*, "to tread down." He takes it as a middle, "elle s'effaïsse," but the gender of the verb and its parallel *ykl*, which cannot have *'arṣ* (infra) as subject, requires a masc. subject, i. e. Baal. The parallel is then to be explained from the root *kl*, and as Hif., in the sense "to levitate, raise"; cf. Arab. *yaḳala* in the latter sense. N. b. the acc. with the prep. *l*, as frequent in these texts.

27. *ykt*: to be explained from Arab. root *kyt*, "to collect," which probably is to be related to Heb. *ḳšš*, as generally understood at Zeph. 2:1. The same may be root of the name of the river Kishon, whose floods are notorious since the days of Deborah.

yšt ym ykly tpt nhr: for the first sentence Vir. translates, "sets the sea in its place," with which might be compared Ps. 104:9, "thou hast set a bound" [to the waters]. But parallelism with the following verb, which appears at D i. 2, of the "dispatching of the Serpent," suggests the unique and rare Heb. root *nšt* "to dry up," cf. Is. 19:5, where again epical language (e. g. "River") is employed. The many references to the drying up of the Red Sea in Biblical poetry are generally regarded as having a mythological background; see Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, 90 ff.

28. *bšm tg'rm*: Vir. avoids translation of the first word; I have no doubt that it means "by name." He questions the suffix *-m* of the verb, whether as plural "them" (but no plural antecedent appears), or as the Akk. conjunctival particle *-ma*, found elsewhere in these texts. As "name" is in the sing. (vs. ll. 11, 18), and only Aleyan is "scolded," we may best regard *-m* as sing., "him," as found in Phoen. and in Heb. *-êmo* (see Ges.-Kautzsch. *HG*, § 58, g, § 103, f, note). The root *g'r* is constantly used in Biblical poetry of the divine activity, e. g. Ps. 9:6; 104:7; Is. 17:3 (cited just above).

bṭ "shame": cf. root *bḥṭ* in same construction, D ii. 11, 19; the roots vary as in Heb. and Aram.

29b-30. *kšbyn* (bis): Vir. as verb, "as we have conquered," but Athtart's implication of herself in the contest which she denounces is unlikely; it is preferable to assume a noun in *-ân*. The root may be understood from the Heb. "to take captive."

31. *yḇṭ nn*: Vir. finds a single verbal form, "is ashamed [Aleyan]"; but *nn* is apparently suffix, "[shames] me," or "us."

33. *šrr* = Heb. *šôrêr*, "enemy"?

Postscript: There has come to hand, since the above article was in press, fasc. 2 of *Syria*, 1935, containing a study by M. Dussaud, pp. 196-204, upon the same text.

CHĀYĀ

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THE WORD *chāyā* (cf. Gk. *σκιά*) is primarily "shadow" and secondarily "reflection" and "likeness." In the Rig Veda these two senses are felt together; that which is in itself the manifested likeness or image of deity (Lat. *imago dei*) is also shadow in the sense of refuge (*śarma*) or coolth (*hima*) from oppressive heat. In I. 73. 8 Agni is said to be associated with, or present in, the world "like a shadow" (*chāyaiva viśvam bhuvanaṁ sisakṣi*); in what sense this is a laudatory expression appears in VI. 16. 38, "We come to thee, O Agni, in thy golden likeness (*hiraṇyasaṁ-dṛśaḥ*), for refuge (*śarma*), as to shade (*chāyām iva*) from burning-heat (*ghṛṇeḥ*);" ¹ cf. II. 33. 6, where the favor of Rudra is compared to a shade as if from burning-heat (*ghṛṇīva chāyām . . . rudrasya sumnam*). The thought in I. 116. 8, where the Aśvins are lauded with the words "Ye warded off with coolth the scorching fire" (*himena agniṁ ghraṇsam avārayetham*), is the same; but it must not be overlooked that *agni* here is not the manifested Agni of I. 73. 8 and VI. 16. 38, but either simply "fire," or more correctly, Agni ab intra as Ahi Budhnya, Śuṣṇa, the "flesh-eating, man-hurting" (*kravyāt . . . puruṣa-reṣanaḥ*) Agni of Atharva Veda III. 21. 8-9, against whom we have the prayer *mo aham ṛṣam* "may I not be hurt" in RV. X. 18. 13, the similar *mā ṛṣāmā* in I. 94. 7, and *mā mā hinsīḥ* in Vājasaneyi Samhitā XII. 102 and Taittirīya Samhitā III. 5. 6. This painful heat from which the shade or coolth is welcome shelter is not that of the Sun or manifested Fire, but that of the interior operation (*guhya vrata*, I. 163. 3), where in the beginning the desirous (*icchant*, *prajā-kāmya*, etc.) principles are on fire to set foot on the broadway of life (*amṛtasya gātu*, etc.) and to extend their line (*tantum tan*, etc.); the painful heat is that of the antenatal matrix wherein these principles are "cooked" or "ripened," as for example in VII. 104. 8 "with well-cooked intellect proceeding"

¹ Parallels may be noted in *Isaiah* 25. 4 "a shadow from the heat," *ibid.* 32. 2, "the shadow of a great rock in a weary land," and *Lamentations* 4. 20, "under his shadow we shall live."

(*pākena manasā carantam*),² and in VII. 103. 9, where “they that had been glowing vessels attain to coming forth” (*taptā gharṃā asnuvate visargam*). It is in fact by means of this shade or likeness that the whole light-world is brought forth to be the field of experience; as in V. 44. 6, where the Several Angels, the First Sacrificers, “by the efficacy of the reflection in the Waters (*chāyayā . . . sidhrayāpsu*) disposed for us the wide earth, the broad expanse, a great and noble manhood, and unfailing power.”³ The use of *chāyā* in the preceding passages might have been regarded as “poetic imagery,” but in V. 44. 6 it is quite clear that *chāyā* is not merely in a figurative sense a place of comfort, but is the form of deity reflected in the Waters, the manifested light in the worlds, cf. Gopatha Brāhmaṇa I. 3, where “Having emanated those Waters (*tā āpaḥ sṛṣṭvā*), he (*brahman*, *mahad yakṣam* of antecedent text) looked and saw his own reflection (*chāyām*) in them.”⁴ So far,

² It is by this anterior “cooking” that the desirous principles, including Agni himself and other Ādityas, are perfected (*sukṛta*) and qualified (*arhant*) to go forth, e.g. X. 63. 4, where it is “by fitness” (*arhaṇā*) that “they” (unspecified, but evidently *sarpyā* as in *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa* XXV. 15. 4) attain divinity and aeviternity (*amṛtatvam*), whereas those that are “imperfect” (*duṣkṛta*) “tread not the paths of Order” (*ṛtasya panthām na taranti duṣkṛtaḥ*, IX. 73. 6). It may be noted that the cooking or ripening (*pakva* as opposed to *āma*) and fitness (*arhaṇa*) which in RV. represent the necessary qualification for progression, become in Buddhism, in an ethical connotation, the qualifications for *further progress*.

³ For the manifested likeness as the common origin of all things cf. *Colossians* 1. 15-16, “Who is the image of the invisible God . . . for in Him were created all things in Heaven and Earth, etc.” (*imago dei invisibilis . . . in ipso condita sunt universa in caelis et in terra . . . omnia per ipsum et in ipso creata sunt: et ipse est ante omnes, et omnia in ipso constant*). The last expression, *omnia in ipso constant*, exactly renders X. 82. 6, *ekam arpitam yasmiṃ viśvāni bhuvanāni tasthuh*, and similarly AV. X. 7. 32, *tasmiṃ chrayante ya u ke ca devā*; just as *imago dei invisibilis* is precisely “*chāyā*.”

⁴ *Yakṣa* in RV. (VII. 88. 6 and X. 88. 13) has undoubted reference to Varuṇa, in AV. VIII. 9. 26 and X. 7. 21 a like reference can be inferred; in the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads the *Yakṣa* is Brahman. An identification of Varuṇa with Brahman presents no difficulties. The Buddha is also referred to as *Yakṣa*, in Majjhima Nikāya I. 383, and bearing this in mind, it is interesting to remark the survival of the older phraseology in the Divyāvadāna, text, p. 547, where the Buddha’s “shadow” is by him “expressed and uttered on the canvas” (*tatra chāyā utsṛṣṭā uktās ca*) to be colored in (*raṅgaiḥ pūr*) by Rudrāyaṇa’s painters (*citrakara*);

then, the divine *chāyā* is the form of deity ab extra, in act, and as mediate cause of the becoming of the whole world; *chāyā* is that manifested form of his, in and by which all things that had been merely in potentia, in the darkness and heat where they are ripened, are enabled to realise their existence and accomplish their ends in the cool light of day, that is their "shelter" or "refuge" (*śarma*). It is precisely *this* "shelter" (*śarma*) that is wanting in the beginning, "then was neither death (*mṛtyu*) nor life (*amṛta*), nor any manifestation (*praketa*) of night and day," X. 129. 1-2.⁵ Before the manifestation of the light, when all was covered over by darkness, there was no revelation (*praketa*), no likeness (*chāyā*), no refuge (*śarma*), no coolth (*hima*), but only the burning heat (*ghṛṇā*, *gharma*, *uṣṇa*, *ātapa*) of the interior darkness. In the expression *chāyātapau*, *Kaṭha Up.* III. 1 affirms the unity of these contrasted principles in the undivided Brahman; and this corresponds to RV. X. 5. 7, where "Agni in highest heaven," that is where he is one with Varuṇa ab intra, is *satasat*, the unity of being and non-being.

The nature of the "likeness" (*chāyā*) must not be misconceived. A priori, the desirous principles are in the bonds of Death, homeless in the In-finite, adrift in a landless Sea; what they desire is to be released "from the bond of Death, not from the bond of life" (*bandhanān mṛtyor mukṣīya nāmṛtāt*, VII. 59. 2), from the In-finite, not the Finite (*ditim ca rāsvāditim uruṣya*, IV. 2. 11), to be taken up into the Aśvin's ships of life (I. 116. 5, I. 181. 4, V. 73. 4, etc.), and brought across the River to a promised land (II. 15. 5, III. 33, VII. 60. 7, etc.). The promised land is a wide earth (*bhūmi*, etc.) and a support (*pratiṣṭhā*) anywhere within the worlds, where the Sacrificer may enjoy length of days (*dīrgham āyus*) or aeviternity (*amṛtatva*), and great possessions (*rai*). But the freedom thus attained by the *mumukṣu* is not an ultimate release, in coming forth from death to life he is not thereby alto-

all of which from a Vedic point of view could only have reference to the creation in the beginning; and thus the historicity of the supposed Buddha's portrait, suspect on other grounds, can be finally disposed of. For the notion of a strictly speaking *creative* art implied above, cf. Augustine, *De Trin.* VI. 10, where the Son, the perfect Word, is spoken of as "so to speak, the art of God."

⁵ For *śarma* as desired shelter see I. 140. 12, IV. 25. 4-5, V. 2. 12. *Praketa* refers to Agni (I. 94. 5, I. 113. 1, VII. 2. 11), Vasiṣṭha (VII. 33. 12), or Indra (III. 30. 1, X. 104. 6).

gether freed (*atimucyate*, as in Jaiminiya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa I. 3), for there is no escape from death in the worlds: his, Hiranya-garbha's, Agni's, Prajāpati's, likeness, the desired refuge, is both of life and death (*yasya chāyā mṛtyu yasya amṛta*, X. 121. 2), the Year both separates and unifies (Aitareya Āraṇyaka III. 2. 3), Brahmanaspati gathers together and divides (*sa samnayaḥ sa vinayaḥ* II. 24. 9);^{*} the manifested God himself is subject to inveteration and rejuvenation (*jujurvān yo muhur ā yuvā bhūt*, II. 4. 5, of Agni), and it is not without good reasons that RV. identifies Agni with Yama, or calls them "darling friends" (X. 21. 5). A discussion of the deaths and resurrections of the *devas* in RV. requires a separate article; in the meantime it is important to make it clear, in connection with X. 121. 2, that the life attained to by the desirous principles and by means of the manifested "likeness" (*chāyā*) is primarily a life in the worlds, a life of varying duration according to the individual's station in the worlds, and one which may be aeviternal (as when the *devāḥ* are referred to as *amṛtāḥ*), but even for the highest of the Angels, even for Agni, from whom the *devāḥ* receive their aeviternity, is not an eternal (in the proper sense of timeless) life such as belongs to the interior operation, that is to the Godhead as such, and to the Supreme Identity, *tad ekam* of X. 129. 2, Agni as *satasat* in X. 5. 7, Mitrā and Varuṇa as seers of the in-finite and finite both in V. 62. 8. As Eckhart also expresses it, with respect to the life of the manifested deity (the "hundred years" of Brahma's life in Paurāṇic formulation) "God comes and goes, God passes away."

Quite distinct from the use of *chāyā* in all the passages cited above is the rarer, and so far as I know only Aupaniṣada, use of *chāyā* exclusively in the primary sense of "shadow" or "darkness," and as the opposite of light and manifested being. It is in this sense that Bṛhad Āraṇyaka Up. III. 9. 14 speaks of the "Person whose abode is in the Darkness" (*tama eva yasyāyatanam . . .*

^{*} With the conception of "gathering together" (Mitra as *yātayaj-jana* in III. 59. 5, Yama as *saṅgamano janānām*, X. 14. 1) cf. *Matthew* 23. 37, "How often would I have gathered thy children together," *ib.* 32, "Before him shall be gathered together all nations," and *Galatians* 3. 28, "Ye are all one in Christ Jesus." For the identity of Yama and Agni, cf. *Revelations* 22. 13, "I am Alpha and Omega, prior and proximate, first and last" (from the Vulgate, not as in King James version); and *Hebrews* 12. 29, *noster deus ignis consumens est*.

puruṣam) as the "Person in the mode of shadow" (*chāyā-mayaḥ puruṣaḥ*), whose name is "Death" (*mṛtyuḥ*), and alternatively of the "Person whose abode is in the Waters" (*āpa eva yasyāyatanam . . . puruṣam*) as the "Person in the Waters" (*apsu puruṣaḥ*), whose name is Varuṇa; and contrasts these with the manifested aspects of the Person, the "Person whose abode is in appearances" (*rūpāny eva yasyāyatanam . . . puruṣam*) who is both the "Person in the Sun" (*āditye puruṣaḥ*) whose name is Actuality (*satyam*), and "Person in the mirror" (*ādarśe puruṣaḥ*) whose name is Life (*asuḥ*),⁷ or alternatively the "Person whose abode is in the Seed" (*reta evāyatanam . . . puruṣam*) and is the "Person in the mode of filiation" (*putra-mayaḥ puruṣaḥ*) whose name is Prajāpati (*ib.* 12, 15, and 17). It may be noted that Varuṇa and Mṛtyu are also, and rightly, identified in Gopatha Brāhmaṇa I. 7, and that there can be as little doubt of the identity of Varuṇa, ab intra, with Vṛtra, as of Agni, ab intra, with Ahi Budhnya and Trita, and of the latter in turn with Varuṇa (VIII. 41. 6). The Person in the Darkness, or Person in the Waters, corresponds also to non-being (*asat*) and to the in-finite (*aditi*, i. e. as Nirṛti, *apām upasthe*, *aditer upasthe*, and *nirṛter upasthe* being all equivalent), to the silent, resting, Brahman that is not in any likeness (*amūrta*, *aśabda*, *śānta*, Maitri Up. VI. 3. 22, and 36), the Eternal Impartite (*akāla*, *akala*, *ib.* 15), to Death and Privation anterior to the assumption of being (as in Bṛhad Āraṇyaka Up. I. 2. 1), to the *anātmya* of Taittiriya Up. II. 7, to Buddhist *anatta*, *nibbāna*, and in Christianity to the "Dark Ray,"⁸ Eckhart's "sable stillness," the Godhead that is "as though it were not," Böhme's God that is "no thing." To Him the Comprehensor returns, having done with the experience of divided things, and there "death gets him not, for Death becomes his essence, of all these Angels he becomes the Unity" (Bṛhad Āraṇyaka Up. I. 2. 7). Having found his way out through the solar gateway of the worlds (*loka-dvāra*, Chāndogya Up. VIII. 6. 6; *svargasya lokasya dvāram*, Aitareya Brāhmaṇa

⁷ This correspondence of macrocosm and microcosm is repeated in Kauṣītaki Up. IV. 2, *āditye mahat . . . ādarśe pratirūpaḥ*, and inverted in Kaṭha Up. VI. 5, *yathādarśe tathātmani*, cf. also Aitareya Brāhmaṇa VIII. 2, where "yonder world" and "this world" are each the counterpart (*anurūpa*) of the other.

⁸ For the "Divine Darkness" or "Dark Ray," the object of the Christian *contemplatio in caligine*, cf. Maitri Up. V. 2, "The Darkness remains in Him as Rudra."

III. 42; cf. Pūṣan in RV. as *vimuco napāt*), he is no longer in the bondage of life-and-death, but as *kāmacārīn* can "pass up and down these worlds eating what he will" (Taittirīya Up. X. 3. 5),⁹ for "having become one" (*ekadhā bhavantīḥ*, Jaiminīya Up. Brāhmaṇa III. 33; cf. Bṛhad Āraṇyaka Up. V. 5. 12) he is "That One" (*tad ekam*, X. 129. 2) and "shapes his body as he will" (VII. 101. 3), "proceeding as he will" (X. 168. 4), as Person no more allzumenschliche (Agni, *amānava puruṣa*, Chāndogya Up. *puruṣaḥ . . . aprāṇo hy amānaḥ*, Muṇḍaka Up. II. 1. 2) he is one with Agni not only in a manifested form, but as "Who proceedeth foremost, and yet abideth in His ground" (*anu agraṇ carati, kṣeti budhnaḥ*, III. 55. 7). Chāyā, then, as shadow in the sense of manifested likeness of divinity is man's temporal and aeviternal refuge (*śarma*); *chāyā*, as the sable stillness of unmanifested Godhead, is his last resort (*parāyaṇam*).

⁹ Cf. Pistis Sophia, "He shall have the power of exploring all the regions of the Inheritances of Light, and of remaining in the region which he shall choose," and *John* 10. 13, "I am the door; by Me if any man enter in, he shall be saved, and shall go in and out, and shall find pasture."

Here and elsewhere, Christian parallels are cited, not with a view to demonstrating "influences," but to remind the student that in Vedic doctrine there is nothing unique, and that the voice of tradition is everywhere the same.

A PURCHASE CONTRACT FROM THE TIME OF SAMSU-ILUNA

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THE CASE tablet published here belongs to the A. W. Lane Museum of Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas. Professor J. H. Hicks, curator of that museum, has permitted its publication.

According to the statement furnished by the seller of the tablet, it comes "from a ruin called Abu-Jamous, near Babylon, where but few tablets have been discovered." The text is a common purchase contract for real estate and follows the usual scheme: description of the boundaries of the property sold, mention of the parties, price, oath by the gods, witnesses, and date. However, the text has some peculiarities worthy of notice.

1. *The Description of the Property.* In purchase contracts for real estate the property is described by its two sides (*da* or *uš-sa-du*), by its front or first front (*sag-bi* or *sag-bi I-kam*), and by its rear, or second front, (*egir-bi* or *sag-bi II-kam*). In the contract under discussion the property is described by both of its sides and by its second front. It is surrounded on three sides by the property of the seller. In the place where we usually have the description of the first front, we have here merely *sag-bi*, "its front," and nothing more. This fact indicates that there was no necessity for describing the front, apparently because all houses had only one front. The scribe follows the usual scheme of description, mentioning the first front as well, but he does not fill out the description of the front. The reason why all houses had one front might be that in the town in question all houses faced the street. Possibly the place was merely a temple, and the buildings surrounded it so that each one faced the temple.

2. *The Oath by Gula.* The most interesting feature of this contract is the oath. For the first time we have an oath taken by Gula. This fact proves that in the place where the contract was made, namely, in that temple, Gula was the chief deity. The oath was therefore taken by Marduk, the god of the country, and by Gula, the goddess of the place. The contracting parties and the witnesses were probably officials in the temple of Gula.

Against this supposition may be argued that the seller of the property, Ilushu-našir, the son of Imgur-Shamash, is designated in his seal as *arad* ^d*Nin-šubur*, "a servant of Nin-shubur," namely, a priest of Nin-shubur; one of the witnesses, Adad-qarnaia, the son of Ibni-Adad, is designated as *arad* ^d*Adad* ^ù ^d*Šala*, "a servant of Adad and Shala," namely, a priest of Adad and his consort, Shala. Nin-shubur, as well as Adad and his wife, Shala, thus seem to have had chapels in the temple of Gula, together with servants from among their own followers to take care of their food, etc. The oath, however, is taken by the main deity, Gula, and not by guest deities, as Nin-shubur and Adad.

Since Gula is commonly known as "the great physician" (*a-zu-gal-la-tu*), it is probable that this place was some kind of healing resort where the sick of the surrounding localities were brought to Gula for healing. The first witness is not a *rabiānu* "mayor," or *daiānu* "judge," but a *pašišu* "anointer," some kind of official in the temple. Apparently the place was not very important, and the *pašišu* was the highest in rank. Gula plays an important role in the incantations. To her the prayers for recovery of health are directed. The *pašišu*, who is also a reciter of incantations (see Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien* [1925], 2. Band, 64) would be an important official in the temple of Gula.

3. *The Personal Names.* Most of the personal names are the usual ones of the Hammurabi period. The greater part can be found in Ranke's *Early Babylonian Personal Names* (1905). Those not mentioned there occur in the contracts published later. Some of the names deserve attention. It is interesting to note that in this apparently small place two names compounded with *Hammurabi* appear. The purchaser is called *Ha-am-mu-ra-bi-ri-im-[ili?]* "Hammurabi is the beloved of god" (line 8); and one of the witnesses is named *Ha-am-mu-ra-bi-ra-ap-pa-šu-nu* "Hammurabi is their healer" (line 21). Hammurabi must have been highly esteemed in that place if during his life two parents gave their children names praising Hammurabi. Since the names compounded with *Hammurabi* are rare, the addition of two new names of this kind in one place is certainly worthy of notice. The other names compounded with *Hammurabi* are: *Ha-am-mu-ra-bi-ba-ni* "Hammurabi is creator"; *Ha-am-mu-ra-bi-lu-da-ri* "May Hammurabi live forever" (Ranke, *op. cit.* p. 86); *Ha-am-mu-ra-bi-šamši(-ši)*

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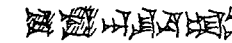
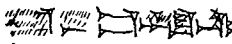
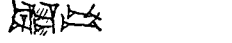
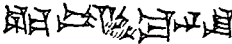
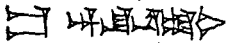



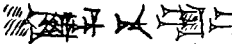
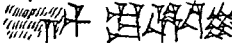
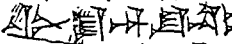



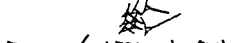
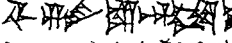
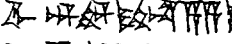
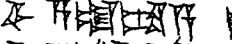
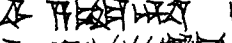

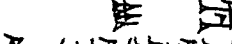
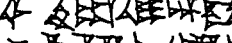
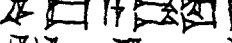

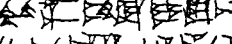
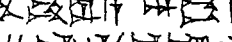
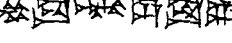
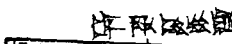
R.

20

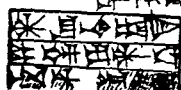
25



TABLET

9. 



 5. 




 10. 




 a. 
 15. 




 20. 




 25. 


 u. e. 

Other indistinct seal impressions.



"Hammurabi is my sun" (*ibid.* p. 187); *Ha-am-mu-ra-bi-ilī* "Hammurabi is my god" (Scheil, *Une saison de fouiller à Sippar*, p. 123, No. 146). Cf. also *Ha-am-mu-ra-bi-i-[li]* (Legrain, *The Culture of the Babylonians* p. 241, No. 328:1). A couple of names compounded with Hammurabi which have not as yet been published are: *Ha-am-mu-ra-bi-ī-li* (Yale Babylonian Collection, 8718:17) from the 25th year of Samsu-iluna; *Ha-am-mu-ra-bi-ša-ta-ka-lim* "Hammurabi of support" * (YBC, 6821:3, 5; 8767:4, 9, 15; 7612:31) from the 6th year of Samsu-iluna. The names compounded with *Hammurabi* can be divided into three groups: (1) Prayers for Hammurabi: "Hammurabi shall live forever"; (2) Glorification of Hammurabi: "Hammurabi is the beloved of the god," "Hammurabi is their healer," "Hammurabi of support"; (3) Deification of Hammurabi: "Hammurabi is my god," "Hammurabi is my sun," "Hammurabi is creator."

Also the name *Adad-qar-na-a-a* "My horns are Adad" (line 18 and seal) seems to be new. For similar names compare *Ilu-i-na-ia* "My eyes are god"; *Samaš-i-na-ia* "My eyes are Shamash" (Ranke, *op. cit.* pp. 104, 145). It is interesting to note that "the servant of Adad and Shala" is chosen from among Adad's adherents, as we can see from the fact that both Adad-qarnaia and his father, Ibni-Adad, bear names compounded with *Adad*.

3. *The Date Formula of the 12th Year of Samsu-iluna.* The date formula shows that the transaction is from the 12th year of Samsu-iluna. The time was troublesome. A decrease in the number of contracts is noticed. Only nine contracts from that year have been published: CT, IV, 49^c; A. Poebel in *BE*, VI, Part 2, Nos. 38, 39; Thureau-Dangin, *Lettres et contrats*, No. 134; E. Chiera, *Old Babylonian Contracts*, No. 135; Hunter, *Oxford Edition of Cuneiform Texts*, vol. VIII, Nos. 1, 2, 5, 10. The Yale Babylonian Collection possesses twelve more tablets from this year: Nos. 4242, 5933, 6186, 6193, 6672, 7621, 7816, 7830, 7912, 8062, 8413, 8447. Another purchase contract of that year is therefore quite welcome.

The date formula of this text is one of the more complete ones known. The most complete one was published by Chiera, *op. cit.* No. 135:25-28:

* I am indebted for this translation to Professor Arnold Walther.

mu Sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal-e
kur-gú-si-a an-ga-àm mu-un-da-bal-eš-àm
á-kal-mah dmarduk-ka-gè
mu-na-an-sum-ma-ta

The present text has almost everything except the last line. Compare also Hunter, *op. cit.* No. 10, case.

While the formula in general is clear, the phrase *an-ga-àm* is disputable. Hunter translates it "suddenly" (*op. cit.*), but apparently without any actual foundation. Thureau-Dangin, following a vocabulary, *an-ga-àm* = *ša-nu-um*, translates it "pour la seconde fois" (*RA.* XV. 50, note 1). Poebel regards it as related to the infix *nga* meaning "also," "as well" (*Sumerische Grammatik*, § 498). He disregards this word in his translation, however. Possibly it has a special purpose. The troublesome time of Samsu-iluna begins with the invasion of the Kassites, which serves as the date formula for the ninth year. The formula for the following year has the battles against the armies of Idamaraz, Iamutbalum, Eshnunna, Erech, and Isin. During his eleventh year Samsu-iluna was compelled to demolish the walls of the southern cities of Uruk and Ur, which deed is used as the date formula for that year. These internal troubles caused the foreign countries under his dominion to revolt against Samsu-iluna, who fought and subdued them "by the mighty power of Marduk" in his twelfth year. This event is commemorated in the date formula for this year. That Samsu-iluna held dominion over various countries we know from the date formula of his first year (see M. Schorr, *Urkunden des altbabylonischen Zivil- und Prozessrechts* [1913], p. 594). This revolt is expressed by this word *an-ga-àm*, "also," "as well." The translation of the formula runs as follows: "The year (named after the event) Samsu-iluna, the king, all the foreign countries *as well*, which revolted against him, by the lofty power given to him by Marduk (he smote them)"; namely, not only did he fight against the cities of Babylonia mentioned in the preceding date formulas, but he also fought successfully against the foreign countries under his rule.

The formula of the present text has one peculiarity: it has *mu-da-bal-e* instead of *mu-da-bal-eš*. It may seem that *eš* is omitted accidentally, that the scribe intended to write *e-eš*, as in *BE.* VI. Part 2, No. 39:28; *OECT.* VIII, 1:26; *YBC.* 8062:18.

For the introduction of a seemingly superfluous *e* in the preterit plural, cf. Poebel, *Sum. Gram.* §§ 457, 461-63. However, another possibility should be taken into consideration. In some of the texts the phrase occurs in a relative clause: *mu-da-bal-eš-a*, "which revolted against him" (*OECT.* VIII. 1:26); and even in the singular *mu-un-da-bal-a* (*OECT.* VIII. 5:27). Following this thread, it should be asked whether *e* in the present text, instead of the usual *a*, does not serve to express the relative clause. Possibly the same form is preserved in YBC. 8413:20. That the relative *a* can, under certain circumstances, become *e* is proved by Poebel, *Sum. Gram.* § 721. That the verb may appear after the collective *kur* in the singular is to be seen from the writing *mu-un-da-bal-a* (*OECT.* VIII. 5:27) and *mu-da-bal* (YBC. 4242:21).

4. *The Language.* The present contract is written in the usual contract Sumerian of the Hammurabi period; thus *ki* "from" (line 7) is used instead of the original *ki-ta*; *igi* "before" (lines 16-21, 23-25), instead of the older *igi-še*. That the center was Semitic is to be seen from the personal names: not a single Sumerian name appears in the contract. There are, however some indications that in the temple of Gula, in contrast to the other Semitic centers, good Sumerian was still used. Thus the scribe writes *in-pà-dè-eš* "they swore" (line 16), instead of the corrupt form *in-pà-dè-meš*; cf. Poebel, *Sum. Gram.* § 456. Also the writing *in-ši-šàm*, instead of the usual *in-ši-in-šàm* "he has bought from him" (line 9), is characteristic of classical Sumerian. Cf. Poebel, *Sum. Gram.* § 502 a, b.

5. *The Text.* The text is not well preserved. The clay is not baked and is crumbling. However, by a combination of the tablet and the case, we may obtain almost the whole text. When the text is missing on both of them, the restoration is marked with square brackets. While the text on the tablet and the case is the same, except for the omission of *um in gù-nu-um-mà-mà-a* (line 14 = 16) on the case, the number of lines differs: The tablet has twenty-eight lines; the case had not less than thirty lines. This difference is due to the splitting of some lines into two: 8 = 8-9; 11 = 12-13; 15 = 17-18. In the main text the case splits the lines in order to avoid any difficulty in reading, but in the names of the witnesses it crowds each name and the name of the father into one line. While the first three names of the witnesses are the same on the

case and the tablet, the order of the other four differs: Tablet, names 4, 5, 6, 7 = Case, names 6, 4, 7, 5.

The transliteration and translation follow the text of the tablet, which is better preserved; the deviations on the case are marked in the notes.

Lane Museum, No. 1, 15th Shebat, 12th Year of Samsu-iluna

Contents. Hammurabi-rîm-[ili?], the son of Sin-magir, bought $1\frac{1}{2}$ (?) sars of built house from Ilushu-našir, the son of Imgur-Shamash, for $6\frac{1}{2}$ shekels of silver. The seller and all his heirs swore never to contest the sale. Seven witnesses, the first of them an "anointer."

Transliteration

- (1) 1(?) $\frac{1}{2}$ ¹ sa[r] é-dù-[a]
- (2) d[a] é Ilu-šu-na-ši-ir [du]mu Im-[gur]-^dŠamaš
- (3) [ù d]a é Ilu-šu-na-ši-ir dumu [Im-gur-^d]Šamaš
- (4) sag-bi
- (5) sag-bi II-kam-ma Ilu-šu-na-ši-[ir dumu Im-gu]r-^dŠamaš
- (6) é Ilu-šu-na-ši-ir dumu Im-[gur-^dŠamaš]
- (7) ki Ilu-šu-na-ši-ir dumu Im-[gur ^dŠamaš
- (8) ¹H^a-am-mu-ra-bi-ri-im-[ilî?]² dumu ^dSin-ma-gir
- (9) in-ši-šám
- (10) šám-til-la-bi-šè
- (11) 6(?) $\frac{1}{2}$ gín kù-babbar ² in-na-an-lal
- (12) u₄-kúr-šè Ilu-šu-na-ši-ir
- (13) ù ibila-a-ni a-na me-a-bi
- (14) é-šè gù-nu-um³-mà-mà-a
- (15) mu ^dMarduk ^dGu-la ² ù Sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal
- (16) in-pà-dè-eš
- (17) igi Gi-mil ^dMarduk dumu Be-lí-ilu guda
- (18) igi ^dAdad-qar-na-a-a dumu Ib-ni-^dAdad
- (19) igi A-at-ta-a dumu Ša-lu-ru-um
- (20)⁴ igi A-bil-^dŠamaš dumu Im-gur-^dŠamaš

¹ The number of sars is not well preserved. While only *one* and *one-half* are visible, there is space for *three*.

² On the case the following is written on a separate line.

³ Case omits *um*.

⁴ Case has here name from line 21.

- (21)⁵ igi Ha-am-mu-ra-bi-ra-ap-pa-šu-nu
 (22)⁶ dumu Si-li-li
 (23)⁷ igi Ṭà-ab-šilli-^dMarduk dumu ^dSin-ma-gir
 (24)⁸ igi Ê-a-ga-mil dumu Ilu-li-ṭúl
 (25) itu Zíz-a u₄ 15-kam
 (26) mu Sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal-e
 (27) kur-gú-si-a an-ga-àm
 (28) mu-da-bal-e á-kal-maḥ ^dMarduk-
 kišib Ḫa-am-mu-ra-bi-ra-ap-pa-[šu-nu]

Seals. On the tablet:

Ilu-šu-na-ši-ir
 dumu Im-gur-^dŠamaš
 arad ^dNin-šubur(?)

On the case:

^dAdad-qar-na-ia
 dumu Ib-ni-^dAdad
 arad ^dAdad
 ù ^dŠa-la

Translation

- (1) 1½ (?) sars of built house
- (2) by the side of the house of Ilushu-našir, the son of Imgur-Shamash,
- (3) and by the side of the house of Ilushu-našir, the son of Imgur-Shamash;
- (4) its front
- (5) its second front Ilushu-našir, the son of Imgur-Shamash,
- (6) the house of Ilushu-našir, the son of Imgur-Shamash,
- (7) from Ilushu-našir, the son of Imgur-Shamash,
- (8) Hammurabi-rim-[ilî?], the son of Sin-magir,
- (9) has bought from him.
- (10) As its full price
- (11) 6½ (?) shekels of silver he has weighed out to him.
- (12) That in the future day Ilushu-našir

* Case has here name from line 24.

* Case has it on the preceding line.

* Case has here name from line 20.

* Case has here name from line 23.

- (13) and his heirs, whosoever,
- (14) concerning the house shall not contest,
- (15) by the name of Marduk, Gula, and Samsu-iluna, the king,
- (16) they swore.
- (17) Before Gimil-Marduk, the son of Beli-ilu, the "anointer";
- (18) before Adad-qarnaia, the son of Ibni-Adad;
- (19) before 'Attâ, the son of Shalurum;
- (20) before Abil-Shamash, the son of Imgur-Shamash;
- (21) before Hammurabi-rappashunu,
- (22) the son of Silili;
- (23) before Tab-šilli-Marduk, the son of Sin-magir;
- (24) before Ea-gamil, the son of Ilu-liṭul.
- (25) The month Shebat, the 15th day,
- (26) the year (named after that) Samsu-iluna, the king,
- (27) the entire foreign country which likewise
- (28) has revolted against him by the lofty power of Marduk ...
The seal of Hammurappashunu

Seals. Ilushu-našir,
the son of Imgur-Shamash,
the servant of Nin-shubur.
Adad-qarnaia,
the son of Ibni-Adad,
the servant of Adad
and of Shala.

SOME NOTES ON THE CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM CHALDICARUM *

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THE WORK which I am about to discuss is a first grade work. Though as yet incomplete, it is already an indispensable source for everybody who tries to understand the history of the earlier part of the first millenium B. C. Its importance will increase, however, when the publication, so badly needed, has been continued and brought to a close. It comprises the inscriptions of the Urartean kings who ruled in the 9th, 8th and 7th centuries over a large and powerful kingdom.¹ Their historical significance rests on the fact that they enable us to learn something about the conditions prevailing in the northern parts of the Near Eastern world during the centuries in which the Assyrian Empire arose and declined; they help us to recognise that in the mountainous sector of the Near East there existed during these centuries an empire which counterbalanced the great Mesopotamian power and to some extent even competed with it for supremacy.

To establish the details of the historical development will be a subject for future research. For the time being we can face only the philological problems presented by the voluminous material. But first we shall have to make further progress in deciphering the language which is still insufficiently known.

The first issue of the Corpus, reviewed by the present writer in *Klio* 23 (1929) pp. 107-11, has already revived the long neglected studies in this field,² a fact which becomes evident from the supple-

* *Corpus Inscriptionum Chaldicarum*. In Verbindung mit F. Bagel † und F. Schachermeyr herausgegeben von C. F. Lehmann-Haupt. Textband 2. Lieferung (nebst Supplement zur 1. und 2. Lieferung). Pp. ix-xiv and cols. 57-168. Tafelband 2. Lieferung. Plates xliii-lxv. Berlin und Leipzig 1935. Verlag von Walter de Gruyter & Co. RM 60.

¹ As to Urartean history and culture see my brief summary in *Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients* (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft III. 1, 3. 3. Abschnitt, 1. Lieferung), 173-85.

² I enumerate here the main contributions published after the Corpus started: M. von Tseretheli, *Die neuen chaldischen Inschriften König Sardurs von Urartu* (Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akad. der Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl. 1927/28 5); A. Götze, *ZA. NF.* 5 (1929). 99-128; cf. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Klio* 24 (1930). 148-63; E. Ebeling, *Afo.* 6 (1931). 225-8; Joh.

ment which has been added to the second issue in order to let readers benefit by the results obtained. It is to be hoped that the publication of the second issue will have a similarly stimulating effect.

The former issue presented the inscriptions of the older Uratēan kings (Nos. 1-30). It got down to Menuas, a contemporary of Semiramis, the real founder of the Uratēan power. This king left so many documents that the second issue had to be devoted entirely to his remaining inscriptions (Nos. 31-110).

We owe the present form of the texts to the cooperation of the editor with F. Bagel and F. Schachermeyr. It seems to have been done quite carefully. There are only a few remarks which I can contribute.

No. 31 l. 15: *ha-a-ú-a-li* is surely a verbal form, more precisely a 3rd person sing. with the suffix of a plural object as indicated by me to Friedrich (cf. *Arch. Or.* 3. 269, note 2). This interpretation requires that an accusative in the plural precede. It is surely contained in the first word of the line ending in *-li-e*. It can not therefore be interpreted as a proper name.—l. 17: Is *me-si-ni pi-i* correctly printed? The usual spelling would be *me-ši-ni pi-i*.—l. 16: Read ^{URU}*Me-li-té-i-a-al-hê* and cf. Sayce^{2a} 502. In *-alhe* we meet a suffix which forms adjectives derived from geographical names. Other instances are: KUR³ *Hušalhi* M.-O.⁴ C 3; KUR*Qumahalhi* M.-O. E 41; ^{URU}*Puinialhi* M.-O. A 17; Sayce 49. 17; and with a slight variant probably also KUR *Qulḫahali* M.-O. D 6, cf. *Qumahalḫali* M.-O. E 37. Cf. Friedrich, *Einführung* p. 63.

No. 32 B obv. l. 9: Passages like M.-O. C 4⁵ and 39; *CICl.* 112 (pl. XXVII) A 2. 21; 149 (plate XXXIX) rev. 1 induce me to

Meščaninov, *AfO.* 6 (1931). 201-16, 273-9, 7 (1931). 160-6; J. Friedrich, *Caucasica* 7 (1931). 53-86, 8 (1931). 114-50; ZÄ. NF. 6 (1931). 264-88; *Archiv Orientalni* 3 (1931). 257-71, 4 (1932). 55-70; *Einführung ins Urartäische* (MVAEG 37, 3. 1933); M. von Tseretheli, *RA.* 30 (1933). 1-49; 31 (1934). 31-47; 32 (1935). 29-50, 57-85.

^{2a} 'Sayce' refers to Sayce's series of papers on Uratēan inscriptions in *JRAS.* 1882. 377-732; 1888. 1-48; 1893. 1-39; 1894. 691-732; 1901. 645-60; 1906. 611-53; 1912. 107-12; 1929. 297-336.

³ Sumerian readings of ideograms will be preferred here—in spite of L.-H.'s protest—because their lack of inflection makes them much more appropriate for this purpose.

⁴ 'M.-O.' refers to Marr and Orbeli, *Archeologičeskaja Ekspedicia v Van* (1922). The inscriptions there published are easily accessible also in Tseretheli's treatment (see note 2).

⁵ Read there against Marr and Tseretheli: *e-ir-ši-du[-bi]*.

read *e-ir-si-du-bi*. Where the supplement [*ra*]-*ni-si* of the Corpus is taken from, we are not told; supplementations are not justified by notes in the second issue either (cf. *Klio* 23 p. 108).—My supplement has the consequence that every line known starts with a complete word; I suppose therefore that nothing at all is lacking in the beginning of the lines.—Rev. l. 14/15. In my opinion *ar-hi* and *ú-ru-li-a-ni* are two words. It never happens—or practically never—that one and the same word is spread over two lines. At any rate, it must not be supposed that this occurs three times with the same word: *CICH.* 27, 34; 53. 14 and this passage.

No. 33 A. 12: Read EN.NAM, Akkadian *bēl pihāti* and compare M.-O. D 19; F 16; *CICH.* 112 B 1 (plate XXVI). 17; Nor-Bay. 4.

No. 52 rev. 8: The restoration of the first word is very doubtful. I do not think that the *šu-i-ni-ni* of the passages quoted is of much help. Furthermore, the two remaining upright strokes are opposed to the reading *su*.

No. 55 rev. 2: The *pu* must be between brackets because it is supplied.

No. 56 l. 10: There is no reason at all to join *patari* (l. 11) by a hyphen to the preceding ^D*Hal-di-i*. As to the construction I agree with Friedrich, *Caucasica* 8. 115.—l. 31: Instead of the name of an unknown deity ^D*Hu-li-e* (cf. col. 92) I propose to read a verbal form *'a-hu-li-e*,⁶ although this word seems to be unknown also. In my opinion the context requires a verb in this place.

No. 70 l. 6: Read of course *t[i-i-ni]*.

No. 80 l. 7: See below.—l. 14: *a-lu-še* UDU *RU-qu-du-li*, perhaps *šub-qu-du-li*; cf. 88. 6.

Every Corpus Inscriptionum should be restricted to the mere presentation of facts. It should abstain from all interpretation. So, we can only approve the editor's refusal to give full translations; it would indeed be premature and above all opposed to the character of a Corpus. It was of course tempting to add several remarks on questions which arose in the recent literature of the subject. It is to be regretted that the editor has yielded to this temptation, the more so as his discussions are full of polemics against the younger generation of scholars who have worked in this field, particularly against M. von Tseretheli,⁷ Joh. Friedrich⁸ and

⁶ The AN which seems to begin the line is in reality only a part of the first sign. The edge of the stone is somewhat mutilated. The sign is apparently 'a.

⁷ Col. 59 note 1, col. 62 note 1, col. 83 note 1. I myself recommended Tseretheli's manuscript to the Heidelberg Academy for printing. I am far from identifying myself with Ts., but I must say here that just in

to a lesser degree, also against the present writer. These comments are out of place in the Corpus and cannot be regarded as felicitous. The overwhelming majority of them fail to refute the arguments attacked.

In the following lines I wish to show this in discussing some of the points involved.

I. Joh. Friedrich who deserves very well of the new branch of cuneiform studies doubted (*ZA.* NF. 6 p. 285) that "Khaldic" was the genuine name of the language in the inscriptions. He emphasized in arguing against L.-H.—and I think rightly—that the alleged occurrences of Khaldi or Khaldini for the people and of Khaldia⁹ for their country do not exist in the texts, that only a god Khaldi occurs. I have myself expressed the same opinion in my *Cultural History of Asia Minor* (*Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft. Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients*, 3. Abschnitt 1. Lieferung) p. 175, note 5 and have, therefore, adopted the name "Urartean" for the language and the kingdom in which it was used. Against this cautious attitude L.-H. tries once more to prove that the expressions ^DHaldinini *ušmašini* and ^DHaldinini *alsuišini* are datives in the plural and mean "to the Khaldi-gods" and "to the great Khaldians" respectively (cols. 73 f.).

Against this opinion the following details are to be emphasized:

a.) The construction of both phrases is obviously the same as in [^DHal-]di-ni-ni *ba-ú-ši-i-ni* equaling Ass. *i-na <qi->bi-it* ^DHal-di-a "on the command of god Khaldi" in the Topzawā bilingual stela (*ZDMG.* 58. 834 f.) ll. 17 and 15 of the two respective versions, and equaling Ass. *ana tukulti* ^DHal-di-a "with the support of Khaldi" *ibid.* ll. 25 and 24. A similar phrase occurs also in the other bilingual text, the Kelišin stela (*CICH.* 12 and now 12 Bis [cols. 132 ff.]) in ll. 20 Urart. = 17 Ass., unfortunately mutilated in both versions. The reading adopted now in the supplement of the Corpus (col. 133 ff.) is Urart. ^DAl-di-ni-ni *uš?-gi?-ni* = Ass.

the points touched by the quoted notes I agree almost completely with Tseretheli. L.-H.'s censure is unjustified.

⁹ Col. 148 note 1, col. 152 note 3. My opinion below.

^{*} As to this, L.-H., too, cites (col. 76) only examples with the determinative "god." The determinative "country"—so frequent in the inscriptions—could not be left out under any circumstances, if the word denoted a country. I agree with Friedrich, l. c.

[*ina an*]-*ni ki-ni* ^D*Hal-di-e*.¹⁰ The reading of both versions is quite uncertain. It seems even possible to replace *uš?-gi?-ni*—for which reference can be made to *CICH.* 10. 12—by *uš-ma-še-ni* or also *uš-ma-ši-ni*, a reading which would impart to this passage still more significance for our problem. At any rate, we have before us in all these phrases undoubtedly *adverbial* expressions and no datives in the plural.

b.) At the base of *alsuišini* and *ušmašini* are the words *alsuiše* and *ušmaše*. These words are not theoretically constructed; they actually occur in our materials. We can state with absolute certainty that they are abstract nouns. For this fact I refer particularly to the inscription Nikolsky ^{10a} 14 (= Sayce 64) restored recently from a new fragment published in *Izvestia Akademii Nauk* 1932 p. 345 and to be further completed by the duplicate Nikolsky 13. Here we find the group: *ul-gu-še al-su-i-še* [*ar-di-še*]¹¹ *ar-ni uš-ma(-a)-še pi-šu-še ú-a-ni-še*. Two of these words are known from bilingual texts: *ulguše* “life” and *pišuše* “gladness, gaiety.” There cannot be any doubt because of the common suffix that the others belong to the same general class of nouns. As *alsui-* certainly means “great” (also L.-H. col. 65), the abstract *alsuiše* is clearly “greatness.” Of the same kind is *CICH.* 149 (pl. XXXIX). 8 ff.¹²: *a-ru-ú-še e-ku[-ú-še] iš-pu-i-še ul-gu-[-ú-še] pi-šu-ú-še al-[su-i-še] e-ia ar-di-[-i-še] ar-a-ni uš-[ma-še]*.

I have, therefore, little doubt that also in the Topzawā stela—as Tseretheli, *SBH.AW.* 1927/28. 5 (cf. p. 294 note 2) p. 53 has already pointed out correctly—in accordance with the Ass. words ^D*Hal-di-a li-tú da[-na-nu ha-du]-tú iddinana* “Khaldi gave me power, strength and gladness” (l. 25 f.) we must read: *a-ru-me-e*

¹⁰ I myself proposed [*ina te*]-*ni-e-ni* (*ZA.* NF. 5 112). Tempting as Ebeling's reading may be, I have not been able to verify his *ki* on the Berlin cast. There is no Winkelhaken at all. Furthermore, it is more probable that the Urartean word is rendered by only one Assyrian word. Taking into consideration what is said above, the supplement [*ina da*]-*ni-e-ni* does not seem to be unlikely.

^{10a} ‘Nik(olsky)’ refers to *Materialy po Archeologii Kavkasa* 5 (1896).

¹¹ For this supplement note the passages given in the text immediately afterwards. L.-H.'s supplementation of Nik. 13/14, given in col. 74, must be corrected.

¹² L.-H. (col. 74) quotes incorrectly and in my opinion also incompletely.

¹³ This *Nor-Bayazet* 7.

^DHal-di-i[-še] [uš-ma-]še-e ar-di-še pi-šu-ú-še. That is to say, *ušmaše* is equivalent to Ass. *litu* "power."

It may be added that in ^DHal-di-ni *uš-ma-ši-i-e* and ^DHal-di-ni *ar-ni-i-e* *CIch.* 18. 17 (both of them datives in the singular) we have to recognize attributes of the god Khaldi.

There remain the three nearly identical passages *CIch.* 112 (pl. XXVII). A 2. 16 f., M.-O. E 16 f., Nor-Bayazet 6 f.: KUR *Bi(-i)-a-i-na(-a)-ú-e* *uš-ma-a-še(-e)* KUR *Lu-lu-i-na(-a)-ú-i* (or: KUR KÚR¹³) *na-a-pa(-a)-hi(-i) a-i-di*¹⁴ "in order to establish power for the country of the Biya'ans (but) humiliation for the Lulu'ans (or: the enemy's country)."

The conclusion from the evidence given can only be: ^DHaldinini *ušmašini* means "in the power of Khaldi" and ^DHaldinini *alsuišini* "in the greatness of Khaldi."

II. L.-H. denies (cols. 153 f.) that ^DHal-di-na-ni, ^DHal-di-na-ú-e and, we may add, ^DHal-di-na, belong grammatically together with ^DHal-di-ni-li, all of them interpreted as nominal forms in the plural by Joh. Friedrich (see most recently the paradigm in *Einführung in das Urartäische* p. 15). L.-H. defends his previous position that the suffix *-na* means "city" (cols. 76,¹⁵ 152 ff.) and calls it a "Grundpfeiler der chaldischen Forschung" (col. 153). Although L.-H. accuses everybody who takes Friedrich's part of "sinning against the spirit of the language" (col. 154), I can only concur with Friedrich.¹⁶ My reasons are the following:

a.) The expressions

^DHal-di-na-ni KÁ, *CIch.* 12. 23, 29; 102. 2 f.

^DHal-di-na-ú-e KÁ, *CIch.* 18. 16 = 58; 16. 5, 10.

^DHal-di-na KÁ, 101. 3, 4, 5, 7; 103. 2.

^DAl-di-na KÁ, *CIch.* 12. 22.

^DHal-di(-i)-ni-li KÁ, *CIch.* 11. 7 = 23 = 39; 22. 6; 56. 6; 68. 3.

^DHal-di-ni-li KÁ. MEŠ, *Nor-Bay.* 4.

^DHal-di(-i)-ni-li KÁ-li, *CIch.* 66. 4 = 9; Nik. 12. 5.

¹³ For the form cf. ZA. NF. 5 118; the meaning given for the verb is entirely conjectural. Cf., however, *CIch.* 168 (pl. XLI). 3.

¹⁵ The ^DHal-di-i URU of *CIch.* 70. 6 quoted there is irrelevant to our problem. I can see no proof that it is to be read otherwise than ^DHal-di-i *patari* "Khaldi-city."

¹⁶ My former opinion that the Urartean plural is characterized by the syllable *na* was in spite of L.-H.'s protests (cols. 62, 76, 152 and note 3) only partly wrong.

belong without the slightest doubt to one and the same paradigm. They are different grammatical forms of one and the same phrase.

b.) The plural nature of KĀ "gate" or "gates" is distinctly indicated in the last two of the examples listed. As to ^DHaldinili KĀ, it is (except in *CICH.* 11) guaranteed by the verbal form *ši-di-iš-tu-a-li*; see my observation referred to by Friedrich, *Arch. Or.* 3. 269, note 2. In the two occurrences in the Kelišin stela the Assyrian version makes certain the plural character by its rendering. And with regard to the rest of the forms, Friedrich's explanation (*Caucasica* 8 p. 125 f.) that in Urartean the plural mark could be omitted seems to me perfectly correct.

c.) L.-H.'s argument that the equivalent of Ass. KĀ is Urartean *susi* (cols. 96 f., 101, 148, 152), that is to say, a singular, is wrong. In order to prove this it would be sufficient to repeat Friedrich's reference to the text now published as *CICH.* 66.¹⁷ Having read, however, L.-H.'s prejudiced note (col. 148), I prefer to take another way of proving his error.

The inscription Nikolsky 14 reads in its new form,¹⁸ l. 3:

^DHal-di-na-ni KĀ bi-di-ni.

As has long been known, a duplicate of this text exists in Nikolsky 13. But here the passage reads:

[^DHal-di-na-ni xx-]ra-a bi-di-i-ni.¹⁹

That is, the ideogram is here replaced by its phonetic reading. Although the unfortunate mutilation of the stone conceals the beginning of the word—probably only one syllable is lacking—one thing is sure: *susi* is *not* the reading of KĀ. We have even a second example for this fact, which is unfortunately mutilated once more: *CICH.* 80 l. 7 is in my opinion to be restored as:

a-li ^DHal-di-n[a-di xx-]ra-di-e TAG-e.

¹⁷ That L.-H. is able to get his identification from this very text is the consequence of his rendering *šidištuali* by "nachdem er wiedererbaut hatte" (cf. col. 89). It can be proved, however, that this rendering is wrong. The form in *-uali* is a simple 3rd person singular with the suffix of a plural object (cf. above 295). The two forms *šidištuni* and *šidištuali* are therefore on the same level and perfectly parallel to each other.

¹⁸ *Izvestia Akademii Nauk* 1932 p. 345.

¹⁹ Meščaninov, l. c. p. 348 supplies [du]-ra-a, I do not know on what evidence.

Here we meet the directive of the same expression for which the available forms have been listed above.

III. L.-H. formerly identified the Urartean word *pulusi* or *N^apulusi* with the ideogram DUP.TE; he restates his reasons once more in cols. 60 f. He asserts that TE merely forms part of the ideogram, though he admits that he cannot give the explanation for it. I adopted myself the equation ZA. NF. 5 p. 122, but since then I have become more and more sceptical. I wish to set forth my doubts here.

a.) There is no reason at all to regard TE as belonging to the ideogram, in other words as something to be explained by Sumerologists. A Sumerian DUP.TE is entirely unknown, and to assume such a word in Urartean epigraphy would be a construction ad hoc. It is much more reasonable to see in the syllable TE a phonetic complement, the end of the corresponding Urartean word.

b.) DUP-te and *pulusi* are used in phrases which for the most part are different from each other. In dealing with the setting up of the respective objects the Urartians say:

DUP-te *teru*:- CICH. 29. 2 ff.; 88. 3 f.; M.-O. D 11, E 13; Muš²⁰ II 3, III 7.

pulusi kuyu:- CICH. 14. 1 ff.; 15. 1 ff.; 31. 12; 33. 1 ff.; 48. 1 ff.; 52. obv. 1 ff.; 56. 1 ff.; 82. 3; 83. 1 ff.; 84. 1 ff.; 85. 1 ff.; 89. 1 ff.; 90. 1 ff.; 91. 1 ff.; 92. 1 ff.; 93. 1 ff.; 94. 1 ff.; 95. 1 ff.; 96. 1 ff.;²¹ 129 A 1. 1 ff.; 149. 1 ff.; 151. 1 ff.; Zivin.²² 4; Van Angestan.²³ 1 ff. Once *pulusi au*- CICH. 168 (pl. XLI). 1 ff.

The opposites are:

DUP-te *pitu*- CICH. 13. rev. 21; 21. 15 f.; 27. 29 f.; 32. rev. 2; 31. 22 f.; 34. 7; 35. 7; 38. 4; 47. 10 f.; 51. rev. 2; 87a. 10, b. 10; 129 a 1 (pl. XXX) 16; Sayce 50. 35; Sayce 86. 32; Nik. 21. 22; Maku²⁴. 7. *pulusi suyidu*- CICH. 55 rev. 3 ff.; 129 (pl. XXX) A 1. 15.

The only exception I know of is the sentence *a-lu-še DUP-te i-ni su-ú-i-du-li-e*, Kelišin (= CICH. 12 and 12 Bis). 37.

²⁰ *Doklady Akademii Nauk SSSR*. 1930. B p. 207.

²¹ One expects the name of a god. Probably the restoration is not entirely correct. The loss of the stone prevents any examination.

²² *Doklady Akademii Nauk SSSR*. 1931 B p. 69 ff.

²³ Meščaninov, *Khaldovedenia* p. 265 no. XX.

²⁴ *Zapiski Vostočnago Otdelenia* 25 pl. 1.

c.) DUP-*te* is never the main subject in an inscription, the object commemorated; *pulusi*, on the contrary, almost always²⁵ has this function, particularly in the cases where the word occurs in the first few lines of an inscription. It plays there the part elsewhere played by a "palace" or a sanctuary. Since an inscription, as L.-H. himself has stated repeatedly (cf. col. 97), never commemorates itself, *pulusi* cannot mean "inscription."

It is also significant that in *CICH.* 129 (pl. XXX) A 1. 15 f. DUP-*te* is mentioned immediately after *pulusi*. That the two words are identical is impossible also for this reason.

d.) The *pulusi* has a religious significance. The usual type of *pulusi* inscription states that the king erected—or whatever *kuyu* may mean²⁶—this *pulusi* to this or that deity. Furthermore, *pulusini-kai* is in apparent parallelism to ^D*Haldina* KÁ, denoting a sanctuary, in *CICH.* 56. 29. The connection with religious matters is evident also from *CICH.* 129 and 149.

More precise determination had better be left for future investigations.

IV. Hittite scholars will be astonished to learn from cols. 85 ff. that so far they have read the name of the country Arzawa erroneously. They are told they must replace their reading *Arzawa* by *Arzawi*. It is regrettable that L.-H. did not consult anybody familiar with Hittite texts before printing such a statement. If he had done so, he would have found out that in the Hittite syllabary there exists a special sign *yi* and that also *ú-i* is used to express this succession of sounds. The name under discussion, however, is never spelled with *yi* or *ú-i*. Hittite scholars will therefore keep to their former reading.

Fully half of the Urartean inscriptions still remain to be edited. We look forward with interest to future parts of the Corpus. As far as known, the inscriptions of Menuas' successors surpass those of this king in size as well as in historical importance. What philology can learn from them can scarcely be overestimated.

²⁵ As an additional element in *CICH.* 31 and 82.

²⁶ L.-H.'s rendering by "cover with writing" depends upon his interpretation of *pulusi*, and becomes uncertain if the latter is not accepted. It may be added that *i-ú* *CICH.* 56. 5 is a conjunction "when, after." The alleged *i-ú* "as follows" (also *ZA.* NF. 5 116) very possibly does not exist at all.

PROBLEMS OF RIVERS AND CANALS UNDER
HAN WU TI (140-87 B. C.).

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A STUDY of the treatises on rivers and canals in the *Shih chi* and the *Ch'ien Han shu* reveals the reign of Han Wu Ti as a central chapter in the millennial struggle of the Chinese race against flood and drouth. In the narrative of the control and use of water appear economic items—information on agricultural productivity, on transportation and regional exchange. There was an evident concentration of imperial activities near Hsi-an, which required large quantities of grain and wood from a distance. Indications of how policy was formed and administration carried on are the more valuable because they come naturally in the story of the waters: witness the conflicts of local interests, the personal advantage of high officers, the appeal to superstitious practices, the authority of the Yü tradition. The continuing peril of the Huns suggests a proposal defiant of geography—to change their whole environment and character by running the Yellow River through their country.

Our texts put the effort of Wu Ti's era in its setting of hundreds of years of work with rivers and canals. In undated times a canal had been drawn off from the River near K'ai-feng, reaching the sea through the Hwai valley; a great canal connected the Hwai with the Yangtze; the T'ai-hu region was cut by water-courses; there was a canalized passage from the old Yellow River course in north-west Shantung to the sea near Laichow; canals cut the Hupeh plain from the left bank of the Han; the Mo was controlled near Ya-chow, and the Min was managed in two courses by Ch'eng-tu. In about 400 B. C. the Chang-teh area of northern Honan was irrigated from the Chang; and in 247 was begun the highly successful Cheng Kuo canal, carrying water from the Ching across to the Lo in southern Shensi (on lines recalled by modern engineering) and reclaiming 40,000 *ch'ing* (ca. 1,000 sq. m.) of marshy or salt land.

The *Shih chi* treatise, which Chavannes has translated, covers Wu Ti's reign to a few years after 109 B. C.; thus far the *Han shu* is an equivalent, with many verbal variations which do not yield

significant differences of content. Here we are limited to an analysis of the recorded facts.

In 132 B. C. came the great break in the River at Hu-tzŭ (in K'ai-hsien near Ta-ming), pouring southeastward via the Hwai to the sea, the first reported use of this course by the main stream of the Yellow River. The breach was not closed, ostensibly because of the Grand Councillor's arguments for letting nature have her way, supported by the readers of emanations; but our scribes recorded that the Councillor got his income from the territories just north of the southward break. Some twenty years later, after a succession of bad harvests, the Emperor elaborately undertook repair at Hu-tzŭ, and turned the River into two channels along the old course.

There was a veritable boom in waterways, not always well considered. A canal from Hsi-an to near T'ung-kuan, running south of the Wei, was profitable both for transport and for irrigation. The Fên canal watering southwestern Shansi was expected to produce much grain within easy carriage to the capital; but the river changed its course, and soon the canals and fields were abandoned to immigrants from the Yüeh of the southeast. In southern Shensi, improvement of the Mien (upper Han) and Pao rivers was undertaken, to connect with the Hsieh (Yeh) and Wei by a hundred-li portage; there was hope of bringing the grain of the Han valley to the capital, of exploiting the building timber and bamboos along the way, and of bettering the transport from the middle Yangtze. But the rocky channels and irregular torrents were never really conquered. A canal east of the Lo (Shensi) is obscurely described, seemingly short and unprofitable; part of it was said to be built by digging a long line of deep wells, perhaps a confused account of an underground watercourse in the loess. Other enterprises are referred to as benefiting over 10,000 *ch'ing* (ca. 250 sq. m.) in each case: three up the Yellow River in the far west: one north and west of Hsi-an; irrigation of two commanderies from the Hwai; a project in Shou-kuang, (N. central) Shantung; use of the Wen below T'ai Shan.

Ssü-ma Ch'ien concludes his treatise with an account of his own travel and observation on the watercourses, while the *Han shu* continues the story. Further irrigation was attempted in southern Shensi, supplementing the Cheng Kuo project. Most

successful was the Pai canal from the Ching to the Wei near Lo-yang (Shensi), two hundred *li* in length. "When the people secured its benefits, they made a song in these words: 'Whence came our cultivated fields? From the gleaming reservoirs at Ku-k'ou. The Cheng Kuo was earlier, and then the Pai canal. Grasp the spade to make clouds, and break open the channel to cause rain.' In one *shih* of water from the Ching there are several *tou* (1/10 of a *shih*) of mud; thus there is both irrigation and fertilization, lengthening our ears of grain. The feeding and clothing of the metropolitan district, with its vast population, that tells the productiveness of these two canals.

"At this time there was concern regarding the Hsiung Nu. Those who pushed for glory and gain, and who discoursed of [possible] advantages were very numerous. A man of Ch'i, T'ing Nien, offered a written proposal which declared: 'The River emerges from the K'un Lun and passes through the central state to flow into the P'eng Hai. This is its geographical setting, sloping from the northwest plateau southward and eastward; you may observe the nature of the territory according to the maps. If you order the hydrographic engineers to level down the high places, opening a great river which would come forth from the plateau, traverse the middle of the Hu country, and flow eastward to the sea; in this way the land east of the passes would be perpetually freed from flood disasters, and the northern frontier would not suffer from the Hsiung Nu. . . . The Hu robbers are a calamity, invading and plundering us, overthrowing our armies and slaughtering our commanders, exposing their skeletons in the wilderness. The Empire is forever warding off the Hsiung Nu; but does not suffer from the hundred Yüeh, because streams separate them and cultivated lands divide them. . . .'

"When the proposal had been presented, the Emperor praised it, replying as follows: 'T'ing Nien's plan has been thoroughly considered. But the River indeed was directed by the great Yü. When sages carry out their enterprises, they act for the benefit of ten thousand generations. What is in relation with the bright spirits is, we fear, difficult to alter.'

"After [the work at] Hsüanfang, the river again broke northward at Kuant'ao (just S. W. of K'aihsien), branching off as the Tun-shih river, going northeastward across the Wei commandery

and Ch'ing-ho, Hsin-tu (Chichow), and P'eng-hai to enter the sea. It was broad and deep as the great rivers; so they accepted the course of nature and did not block it. Since the channel was opened, the four or five commanderies north and east of Kuan-t'ao have, it is true, suffered slightly at times from the waters; on the other hand the six commanderies south of Yen-chow have had no trouble with floods."

As the *Han shu* goes beyond Wu Ti to the Wang Mang era, it records with increased detail the accumulation of experience, and discussions of principle reached a discrimination that has not been greatly surpassed in two thousand years. In some places there had been built through the centuries a series of parallel dikes extending tens of *li* back from the River, and stone facings protected several long stretches. Officials observed that for a long period all breaks had come within a certain reach of the River, and urged a new channel start from there. Some officers were continually weighing the injuries and risks to areas north and south of the River, and one insisted that channels be kept open to both of the main mouths, dividing the dangers. Opponents of any particular plan could usually denounce it as "unconstitutional" because it did not follow the scheme of Yü. There were specific reports on areas damaged, buildings destroyed, persons driven out, transfer of funds and grain to flooded regions, costs of repair, settlement of refugees. Special rewards stimulated officials to efficiency and economy, while one high dignitary rebuked by the emperor committed suicide.

As to policy, there was a preponderance for conformity to nature, with the backing of Taoist concepts if you like. Why not use the vast expenditures on dikes and relief to move the peasants and let breaks be utilized in natural places? Why should the great system of the Han contend with the waters for a paltry foot of land here and there? The worst way is simply to build the dikes higher and higher, for that means no limit to cost and effort and danger. People lose half their time on dike-work; in the undrained (perhaps brackish) areas near the river people become sick, vegetation fails, even fish and turtles do not thrive. A compromise policy retains dikes, but draws off water in canals. This practice is difficult at changing levels, but the advantages of reclamation, increased fertility, and transportation are considerable.

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

Hebrew and Aramaic from Beth Shemesh

Professor Elihu Grant's most recent volume, *Rumeileh* (Haverford, 1934), continuing the reports of his excavations at 'Ain Shems, brings interesting material, with some items of especial importance. It is excellently illustrated, as usual, containing thirty-two plates in half tone, three colored plates, and six maps, besides figures in the text. It is furnished with an Index which includes also the material reported in the former publications, *Beth Shemesh* (1929), and *Ain Shems I* (1931) and *II* (1932); a very useful feature. The volume will be reviewed by experts in Palestinian archaeology; it is the purpose of the present writer to attempt the decipherment of four brief inscriptions found at this site, each offering its own peculiar problem. Two of the number are jar handle inscriptions of the common sort, containing names of men; a third jar handle presents a legend of a hitherto unknown type; the fourth object is a private seal brought to light in the earlier (British) excavation at Beth Shemesh.

The stamped impressions on jar handles are sometimes indistinct or defective. In the present examples we are fortunate in having before us drawings which may be relied upon as accurate. The two inscriptions published in *Rumeileh* come from Iron Age levels, and their script also marks them as of the best period of Hebrew epigraphy. In the case of the inscription from Room 379 (Fig. 2A, p. 29), the fact that *two* jar handles with the same impression were found (p. 67) adds to our confidence in the reading. The characters, as drawn, are those of the 8th or 7th century B. C. The reading above the usual dividing line is **𐤌𐤍𐤁**; below the line, **𐤏𐤊**.

If we have here two Hebrew proper names, as is altogether probable, they are at least unfamiliar. It is noticeable that each of the two ends in *aleph*; hypocoristica in *-ā* are not very common in the old Hebrew known to us (though in actual use, in ordinary intercourse, they may have been much more numerous than our texts give us reason to believe). As for **𐤌𐤎**, it could be the abbreviation (Zakkā) of such familiar names as Zachariah or Zakkūr. The name **𐤌𐤍**, on the other hand, is problematic. A theophoric name

containing either כסה (Ps. 85:3) or כסל (Ps. 78:7), cf. the מַבְטָחִיה of the Elephantine papyri, may be conjectured; beyond doubtful guesses we shall hardly come at present.

The inscription on the jar handle found in Room 376 is described (p. 68) as both small and crowded; it is also somewhat defective. The characters, as copied, are of the same age as in the former case. See again Fig. 2A, p. 29. Above the line the letters are לִמְנָה; below the line, מִן|בִּגְב, with a dividing mark after the first letter. The first name is evidently מִנְחֵם, familiar from the O. T. (Menahem), and found on a seal excavated by Bliss at Tell el-Judeideh. The three remaining letters, BGB, make a most unpromising combination, the least that we could ask for is another G; and the question arises, whether this impression of the stamp can be trusted. Further study may possibly bring new light.

The inscribed object mentioned above as found in the British excavations at 'Ain Shems is a small scarab seal, published in the *P. E. F. Annual*, II (1912-1913), pp. 91 f. (with an enlarged facsimile of the impression) and Plate LXI, 1. See also David Diringer, *Le Iscrizioni Antico-Ebraiche* (Firenze, 1934), pp. 206 f. and Plate XX, fig. 18. The reading hitherto adopted is: above the line, לְחֶסֶד; below the line, בְּעֶדְאֵל. The date indicated by the archaeological evidence is given as c. 700. The inscription has received no satisfactory interpretation (see Diringer).

The Hebrew characters on the seal are roughly and clumsily made, and I venture to think that they have not been correctly read. The third letter in the first line is not *aleph*, but *samekh*. Diringer repeats what others have said in holding that the former letter is "abbastanza chiara," since it has only two transverse lines. But his Plate XXII, 9b, shows a *samekh* with only two such lines (read as this letter by several experts, without hesitation), and he includes the form in his own Table of old Hebrew characters. I lay no weight on the fact that Euting's Table of Aramaic alphabets in Chwolson's *Corpus Inscriptionum Hebraicarum* has a specimen *exactly* like the one on this seal (an example from the Egyptian papyri), for it seems to me a mere coincidence; but I think that the reading of *samekh* on our seal is certain. In the final letter in the line I can see only *yodh*, not *hē*. The short but heavy stroke at the bottom, *running to the right*, seems decisive. The name Ḥassai (cf. Zakkai) would be a regular abbreviation of חֲסִיָּה (1 Chr. 3:20).

As for the second line of the inscription, we may well be satisfied with the reading given above. The name Ba'd'el sounds strange to readers of O. T. Hebrew, but it seems to be sufficiently supported by the *בעדיה* which occurs twice in the Elephantine papyri. The proposal of Père Vincent (*Revue Biblique*, 34 [1925], p. 440), to read the familiar Biblical name *עֲדָיָה*, would be very attractive if the preceding characters could be made to agree; but the reading of *beth* is clear beyond question at the beginning of the second line, and is quite impossible at the end of the first line.

A jar handle inscription published by Grant in his volume *Beth Shemesh* (1929), p. 213, is of unusual interest. The object was picked up by Grant on the untouched surface of the mound, at the beginning of his excavation (see p. 18). The script is plainly of later date than that of the two inscriptions discussed above, published in *Rumeileh*. There is however one character which seems to prohibit carrying the date down far. The *kaph* of this type, the favorite form in the older Hebrew writing, finely exemplified for instance in the Siloam inscription, seems to have disappeared from use during the two centuries of Persian rule of Palestine. It was foreign to every variety of Aramaic script, and by the latter it eventually was crowded out. The Jewish coinage, with all its great variety of types of script, has no example of the form here considered, and this would seem to show that it had long been out of use. Regarding the progress of this displacement, however, we have as yet no information.

Another example of the later use of this form of *kaph* is to be seen in the terra cotta object (label?) excavated by Bliss in 1900 at Tell el-Judeideh; see *P. E. F., Q. St.*, 32, p. 221 and Plate VII; Bliss, *Excavations in Palestine*, p. 122. The character is noticeably like our specimen, exactly similar in the form of the head, where the line of the shaft is continued in the *middle* line of the three, rather than in the one at the right, as in the older form. The meaning of the legend. *בכרה*, is uncertain, and so is the date, though it can hardly be doubted that the object belongs to the Persian period. The safest guess for both inscriptions would seem to be the fifth century, though the fourth may be possible.

In the inscription from Beth Shemesh, the characters in the upper line are *לִבְכִּיל*, with the second *ל* reversed; the lower line has *שלם*. The reversing of the final letter in the first line is

merely for symmetry, to correspond to the same letter at the beginning of the line. This device which I remember to have seen in at least one other Jewish inscription is also to be found in the late Phoenician seal published by me in this JOURNAL, 28 (1907), p. 354.

As far as I am aware, the only attempt to interpret which has been made is that by Diringer, *op. cit.*, p. 342. He is troubled by the reversed *lamedh*, cuts quite loose from it, and conjectures *hē* instead; obtaining a proper name בְּכִיָּה, which he admits to be a strange compound and does not attempt to explain. The lower line is supposed by him to contain the familiar name Shallūm.

If I am not mistaken, this is a jar handle stamp of a new type—the type of inscription ancient enough, to be sure, inasmuch as it carries a good omen. It begins with a feminine imperative; feminine, because these jars were carried by women; and the inscription says, in effect, “Good luck to her who shall handle this jar!” It reads לְבָכִי לְשָׁלָם, “lay hold in peace!” and, since this verb is known to us as only Aramaic, the vocalization is doubtless לְבָכִי לְשָׁלָם. The interpretation seems quite certain, and the legend is an interesting monument of Palestinian life and language. We are perpetually surprised to find how modern the ancients were. This bit of writing, moreover, appears to be the earliest known witness to the adoption of Aramaic as the popular speech in Judea. I hope to return to this subject elsewhere.

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The Conjunction of May 205 B. C.

THE *History of the Earlier Han Dynasty*, written by Pan Ku (58-82 A. D.) and others, in chap. I, p. 18b, reads, “In the first year, in the winter, the tenth month (November 14-December 12, 207 B. C.) there was a conjunction of the five planets in (the constellation) *tung-ching*.”

Dr. J. K. Fotheringham of Oxford has very kindly calculated this conjunction. According to his results, this conjunction cannot have been correctly recorded for 207 B. C., inasmuch as at that time, altho the planets were within about 41° of longitude of each other,

"Mercury and Jupiter were on one side of the sun, visible as morning stars, and Venus, Mars, and Saturn were on the other side, visible as evening stars." In 206 B. C., Mars was far away from Jupiter.

The date of closest approach for these planets was on May 30, 205 B. C., when the planetary longitudes were as follows: Mercury and Jupiter at 88.3° right ascension, Saturn at 90.7° , Mars at 98.4° , and Venus at 111.3° . The total range in right ascension was thus 23° .

But at that time all the planets were not in the constellation *tung-ching*. The right ascensions of the stars in that constellation are calculated for 205 B. C. by Dr. Fotheringham as follows: μ Gemini as 62.8° , ν as 64.9° , ϵ as 67.3° , γ as 67.8° , ξ as 70.5° , ζ as 73.3° , and λ as 77.7° . *Tung-ching* is however stated by Chinese authorities to contain 33 Chinese degrees, which is about 32.5° in European measurement. The next constellation in the Chinese zodiac is *kuei*, whose constituent stars ranged at that date from 95.3° to 98.8° R. A. This constellation is said to contain 4 Chinese degrees (about 3.9° in our measurement). Hence "it is clear from this that the space between one asterism in the list of zodiacal constellations and the next was reckoned to the preceeding asterism. At least this was so with *tung-ching*." Then *tung-ching* extended from 62.8° to 95.3° R. A. Even so, on May 30th, Mars was in *kuei* and Venus in the next constellation, *liu*.

Dr. Fotheringham has however calculated that on May 16th, 205 B. C., when Mercury was first opposite the first star in *tung-ching*, being at 62.8° , the other planets were located as follows: Jupiter at 85.0° , Mars at 88.8° , Saturn at 88.9° , and Venus at 95.9° . They were thus spread over 33.1° of longitude. The first four planets were in *tung-ching*, and Venus was just over in *kuei*. Venus had last been seen in *tung-ching* on May 14th, two evenings previous. But *kuei* is usually mentioned together with *tung-ching* in the *History of the Earlier Han Dynasty*; the two were grouped together as the constellation *shun-shou* (lit., "the head of the quail.") Chinese astronomers thus had no difficulty in giving "the conjunction the benefit of any doubt." We may then take the middle of May 205 B. C. as the date of this conjunction.

How did this conjunction get dated in November 207 B. C. in the *History*? That date was the result of a misunderstanding on

the part of its author. The earliest extant statement about this conjunction is found in the *Shih chi*, chap. XXVII, p. 40a, "When the Han dynasty triumphed, the five planets appeared in conjunction in (the constellation) *tung-ching*." (Cf. E. Chavannes, *Memoires de Se-ma Ts'ien*, vol. III, p. 407.) Chavannes adds a note that this conjunction happened in 200 B. C., on the authority of Ssu-ma Ch'en's *So yin*. But the *So yin* gives that date, not to this conjunction, but to the event mentioned next, the siege of Kao-tsu at P'ing-ch'eng, for the note comes after the sentence recounting the siege. Elsewhere the *Shih chi* (cf. Chavannes, *ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 389, 390) gives this date for the siege.

The date when "the Han dynasty triumphed" may be variously given. One answer, besides that of the *Han History*, is that the triumph occurred when Han Kao-tsu returned from his virtual banishment to Han by Hsiang Yü and conquered the three states that had been set up by Hsiang Yü to succeed the state of Ch'in—which was June 206 B. C. Kao-tsu however first actually assumed imperial prerogatives when he did away with the Ch'in dynasty's gods of the land and grain and substituted his own gods—which is dated in the *History of the Earlier Han Dynasty* on March 5, 205 B. C. About the time of the conjunction in May 205 B. C., Kao-tsu did triumph over Hsiang Yü, in that he, together with his allies, entered P'eng-ch'eng, Hsiang Yü's capital, but he was severely defeated immediately afterwards. Perhaps this conjunction actually helped him to keep up his courage after that defeat, for the *History* tells that he was not cast down by that annihilating defeat, from which he barely escaped with his own life, and after which his allies all left him, but immediately set on foot new projects to overthrow Hsiang Yü. Hsiang Yü was however not killed until January 202 B. C., and Kao-tsu did not ascend the throne as emperor until February 22, 202 B. C. It was thus quite natural that Kao-tsu's assumption of imperial prerogatives in March 205 B. C. should have been linked with the conjunction in May, and that the conjunction should have been said to have happened when the Han dynasty triumphed.

The astrological interpretation of this conjunction also assisted in bringing about the statement in the *History*. The ancient Chinese allocated the various regions of the sky to various states, just as was the case in the ancient Mediterranean world. Accord-

ing to Cheng Chung (ca. 5 B. C.-83 A. D.), *shun-shou*, which includes *tung-ching* and *kuei*, was allocated to Ch'in. Since Kao-tsu had possessed himself of this territory, it is natural that the conjunction should have been interpreted with reference to his dynasty. Ying Shao (ca. 140-206 A. D.) remarks that this conjunction indicated that a new emperor of a new dynasty would conquer by his righteousness.

Because of this astrological interpretation, when the exact date of the conjunction had been forgotten, it was natural to have put this conjunction at the beginning of the Han dynasty's reign. Liu Hsiang (80-9 B. C.) wrote, "When the Han (dynasty) entered (the region of) Ch'in, the five planets appeared in conjunction in (the constellation) *tung-ching*." In the *Shih chi*, chap. LXXXIX, p. 9b (repeated in the *Han History*, chap. XXXII, pp. 6b, 7a) we find a further detail, "The old gentleman Kan said, 'When the King of Han (Kao-tsu) entered the pass (October 207 B. C.), the five planets appeared in conjunction in (the constellation) *tung-ching*. *Tung-ching* is the portion (of the heavens allocated to) Ch'in. Whoever reaches (that place) first should have been made its king.'"

With the foregoing statements before him, it is quite natural that Pan Ku should have written as he did and dated this conjunction at the official beginning of the Han dynasty in November 207 B. C. He evidently had no exact record of the conjunction except the foregoing passages and was not sorry, in his record, to glorify the dynasty under which he was writing.

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Les noms propres sud-sémitiques. By G. RYCKMANS (Louvain).
3 vols.; pp. xxi 415; 134; xxiv 206. Louvain: Bureaux du
Muséon; 1934-35.

The first volume of this sumptuous work received in its manuscript condition the prize of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres in 1930; this has been expanded by the editor to the present three volumes, a massive *opus* of 800 pages. It is to be warmly hailed as the first long step towards booking the lexical contents of the South Arabian inscriptions. Withal it confines itself to the proper names, but this limitation is an index of the vast amount of material which has slowly and with arduous care been brought to light from the interior of ancient Arabia, amounting to some 7000 inscriptions, as the editor reckons. Only scanty lexical compendia have as yet been published. In 1917 Piltner published an *Index* of the South Arabian Proper Names contained in the *Corpus* of Semitic Inscriptions, vol. IV. Since the Glossary in Hommel's *Chrestomathie* of Minaean texts (1893) Rossini has published in his *Chrestomathia* (1931) a most valuable Glossary, which goes beyond the limits of the texts in his selection. Otherwise apart from indexes of words discussed in various monographs, e. g. in Rhodokanakis's invaluable publications, there is no collection of lexical material, and the student is forced to compile his glossary for himself.

"South Arabian" of the title is used in its philological, not geographical sense, and this lexicon includes not only the names of the Minaeans, Sabaeans and related peoples, but also those of the northern Lihyanite, Safaitic and Thamudene groups, as well as the proper names found in epigraphic Ethiopic. The editor has devoted careful criticism to all the texts and published studies, an arduous work indeed especially in view of the difficult interpretation of the innumerable graffiti of the northern groups. The reader should in the first place give his attention to the Preface of vol. I, in which the editor explains the disposition of his material. The arrangement according to a series of lexical groupings may at first seem complicated; as the editor remarks in his Preface, "no classification is faultless"; but with an understanding of his method the reader

will appreciate the value of his distinction of materials. Vol. I contains in several chapters the "Names of Gods," "of Persons," "of Ethnic Groups," "of Places," "of Months," with an Appendix of "Ethiopic Names." The classification of human personal names is as follows: (1) Simple Proper Names, in two classes, (a) Denominative Names, e. g. 'ab, "Father," 'usâma, "Lion," (b) Simple Verbal Names, which makes the largest group of all, pp. 39-217; (2) Theophorous Names; (3) Composite Names; and finally with due caution Names of Uncertain or Unknown Provenance. The student should carefully note the Additions and Corrections, pp. 389-415, consisting largely of supplemental material that came to hand in the continuance of the original work. Vol. II, *Répertoires alphabétiques*, contains two indexes which serve the previous volume; first a useful index of the roots of the elements in proper names which do not begin with the root in question or with the first radical of the root. The second is a General Alphabetic Index, with cross-references to the analytic lists in vol. I. It is to this index that in case of uncertainty as to classification the reader should first apply. The same index also contains a full supplement of all citations of names, complementing the first indexes, which gave only exemplary citations. Vol. III is a General Concordance of South Semitic Inscriptions; it is divided under the heads of the several South Arabian dialects. The volume is in a word a bibliographical index, a most welcome supplement to the lexicon. In brief, it gives a means of locating the often frequent publications of a given text, and this by a very careful system of abbreviations. If for instance the reader desires to follow the subsequent treatment of any one of the 985 texts in the *Corpus*, he can obtain under its number the concordance of publications; and so similarly for Glaser's 1756 numbers. This work is of immeasurable value, as any student will realize who has attempted to make his way through the accumulated and scattered literature.

The lexical material is treated with scrupulous care. The root in classical Arabic is given, if attainable, along with the meaning of the vocable, which is presented in transliteration. The treatment often expands into a considerable note in discussion of readings and interpretations. It may be remarked that there remains much to be done on the forms and the semantics of these ancient names, so far antedating those of literary Arabic, and often to be compared rather with the older Semitic languages. For instance we have

frequently to do with the polarization of Semitic roots. Thus the name עִמְנֹכַר is translated "Amm rejects," which seems impossible as a proper name; this interpretation follows the Arabic root *nakira* "to ignore." The Hebrew follows this meaning in *nokri* "stranger," but its verb in Hifl means "to recognize"; a parallel may be found in English "to look into," which implies an initial ignorance. Under the list of Simple Proper Names are many which are abbreviations of compounds; e. g. divine names become personal, as Il, Ilat (cf. Biblical Eli, and Jehu, which Akkadian and Syriac properly present as Yahu); others are reduced to the predicate of the original theophorous name, e. g. Nebaṭ (as with the name of Jeroboam I's father); this may be the case with the name ṭk "ancient," possibly reduced from a form like the Sabaeen name 'Amm-ṭk "Amm is ancient," with which is to be compared not only "the Ancient of Days" of Daniel with same root in the Aramaic epithet, but also the Ras Shamra epithets for El as eternal. Such a frequent element as *ḍmr* (see II, pp. 6, 46) is evidently a divine element, and is to be explained from the Syriac *ḍmr* with its notion of "reverence," cf. "the Fear of Israel," Gen. 31: 42; the same root is found in Biblical Zimri, Zimran. I note with interest the name listed in I, p. 265, transliterated as Sab'an'ašrawân, i. e. "the seventeenth," which is to be explained as a date-name, compare my note on Bath-sheba, *JQR.* 24, 264 f.

But our notice cannot extend beyond presenting the richness of this fine compendium, for which Semitic philology is immensely indebted to M. Ryckmans. It is a work that will stand alongside of our great Semitic lexica. And the reviewer expresses the hope that M. Ryckmans may proceed now to a complete lexicon of the South Arabian inscriptions.

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The Indian Travels of Apollonius of Tyana. By JARL CHARPENTIER. Uppsala, 1934. Pp. 66.

This brochure reviews the life of Apollonius of Tyana, chiefly as recorded by Philostratus in his *Vita Apollonii*. Mr. Charpentier believes that the diary of Damis really existed and he is inclined to accept the other sources of Philostratus. He summarizes briefly the chief articles dealing with the Indian travels of Apollonius and

points out that a knowledge of India and its customs might have eliminated some of the scepticism regarding the visit of Apollonius.

But, though Mr. Charpentier emphasizes that the excavations at Taxila have vindicated Philostratus in his description of the city, it seems to me that he himself too readily assumes that other statements of Philostratus are merely fanciful. I hold no brief for the reliability of Philostratus nor even for the visit to India of Apollonius; but surely certain statements can not be dismissed summarily as untrue. In one case, at least, I believe Philostratus to be sustained by the facts.

Mr. Charpentier says (p. 25), "As grapes have never been cultivated within India proper wine was never prepared within the country." On p. 60 he says again that grapes were never grown in India, and dismisses the notice regarding vines and wine (Ap. III. 5) as without foundation. He is not the first, by any means, to say that grapes were not grown in India, but I have never seen any reason given for the statement. Perhaps it goes back to Baber who says, in his sweeping condemnation of things Indian, that they had no grapes and no melons.¹ Tod helped spread the idea: "To Baber . . . India is indebted for the introduction of its melons and grapes. . . ."² But there is plain evidence to the contrary. Hemacandra (1088-1172 A.D.) was obviously familiar with the grape. He lists it among other trees and plants in the *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* (4. 221), and in the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra* (1. 6. 409) he refers to Śabarīś on Mt. Śatruñjaya drinking *madhu* made from grapes (*drākṣā*), the date palm (*kharjūra*) and the palmyra palm (*tāla*). Surely *madhu* made from grapes is wine; but assuming that it *might* be only unfermented grape juice, it is clear that the grape was no novelty in Gujarat at least four centuries before Baber. It is more difficult to say whether it was growing in India in the time of Apollonius, but it seems not improbable. It is mentioned in the Jain Āgamas,³ and the word *dakkhavana*⁴ occurs, which sounds like a cultivated vineyard.

Mr. Charpentier dismisses other things also as "sheer fancy"

¹ Leyden, *Memoirs of Babar*, p. 333.

² Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. I, p. 643.

³ Piṇḍaniryukti 169 and the *Sthānāṅga* 3. 4.

⁴ *Anuyogadvāra* 131. According to the lexicons, *Suśruta* mentions the grape several times, and *drākṣāvana* occurs in the *Harivaṃśa*, but I have not these texts to ascertain the context.

too readily (p. 60).⁵ Surely the wild asses with one horn are rhinoceroses, and are not the dragons the hooded cobras and huge pythons, granting that much fiction is mingled with their description? A thousand stadia a day for a camel does not seem an impossibility (p. 37). The *Encyclopedia Britannica* (s. v. camel) says that the dromedary "is celebrated for its fleetness, carrying its rider when necessary 100 miles a day." The same work (s. v. lion) says that within the nineteenth century the lion's range extended through the northwest parts of Hindustan, so it does not seem "utterly doubtful" (p. 38) that lions were seen by Apollonius. The consumption of lion-flesh is more startling, but apparently not unheard of. Berwick⁶ quotes Bruce⁷ as saying that he had eaten it.

Mr. Charpentier dismisses the stay with the "philosophers" as wholly imaginary, mainly because all the details do not apply to any one sect which we know. But that is hardly sufficient reason. Most of the description undoubtedly applies to Indian ascetics, as he admits. There are infinite variations of rules and customs among Indian ascetics today. It would be very easy to describe accurately a group that would be very difficult for even contemporaries to identify.

The author's conclusions are that Apollonius existed, that the diary of Damis existed, that Book II was written by a traveler who went as far as the altars of Alexander but no further, and that Book III is mainly fanciful, based on other writings. I do not think such a distinction can be made between Books II and III.

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⁵ Cf. Briggs, *JAOS* 51. 278.

⁶ *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, translated from the Greek of Philostratus, with notes and illustrations. By the Rev. Edward Berwick, London, 1809.

⁷ Presumably, Bruce's *Travels*. Berwick's translation has many interesting, however uncritical, notes. He says (p. 73): "The wandering Arabs are exempted from paying tribute to either Tunis or Algiers, on account of their being obliged by the institution of their founder to eat lion's flesh for their daily food. Bruce mentions his having eaten of three different aged lions, of which none were tolerable." He also quotes Buffon (presumably from the *Histoire Naturelle*) as saying that Indians and negroes frequently eat the flesh of lions, and that Indians eat the flesh of tigers.

The Origin and Development of Religion in Vedic Literature. By P. S. DESHMUKH. . . . With a foreword by A. BERRIEDALE KEITH. London: OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1933. xvi + 378 pp.

This Oxford doctoral dissertation was completed about ten years ago; no publication since 1924 seems to have been used in it. It is thus out of date bibliographically at least; but also in other ways. It should not have been published without far-reaching revision.

As a descriptive account of the religion of the Veda it is negligible, and doubtless is not meant to claim much originality. Only a minor part is devoted to this subject: that part contains chiefly a brief and conventional treatment of Rigvedic mythology (closely following Macdonell for the most part), plus a yet briefer and more perfunctory chapter on the Brāhmaṇas; nothing on the Upaniṣads, and next to nothing on the Atharva Veda. It is, indeed, clear from the title that the author's interest lies elsewhere; namely, in developing his theories of the origin of Indic and Indo-European religion (and even of religion generally), and its relation to magic. In itself, the Vedic religion serves as a sort of peg on which to hang an extensive structure of speculation, which occupies the greater part of the book.

Mr. D. draws a sharp line between "magic," which is "coercive," and "religion," which is devotional and "propitiatory" (p. 20). These two are regarded as mutually exclusive and irreconcilable opposites, "fundamentally different attitudes of mind" (p. 131), altho sometimes it is admitted that both may have existed side by side "from very early times" (p. 135). Among the Indo-Europeans, "magic," if it existed at all (which sometimes the author inclines to doubt, p. 63), was very unimportant compared with devotional "religion." Their migratory life "would prevent them from being very superstitious or magical," since "magic, generally speaking, is the curse of a settled . . . life" (p. 63),—an astonishing dictum for which no evidence is offered (it is news to me that nomads are "generally" not addicted to magic). Like the Indo-Europeans, their descendants the Indo-Iranians and the Vedic Indians were devotees of true "religion," and had little or no "magic." Even the Atharva Veda contains "not truly magical charms" but "degenerate forms of prayer" (p. 135); and furthermore, the Atharvan compositions are very late and belong only to a

decadent stage of Vedic religion. "The Rigveda is the only book where we can find the pure Vedic religion" (p. 198).

From this it may be guessed that Mr. D. is vigorously opposed to the theory that religion develops out of magic. Much that he says against this theory has a great deal of force. But he is so ardent in the cause that he comes perilously close to arguing that magic develops out of religion. Indeed he actually does argue that about Atharvan magic, as we saw. Here he certainly goes much too far. In fact, I think he greatly exaggerates the cleavage between what he calls "magic" and "religion." Let us accept his distinction between these terms (it has its convenience, tho I can see also some inconveniences); let us call "coercive" supernaturalistic practices and compositions "magical," and devotional ones "religious." That it is possible to make such a distinction, in the abstract, may be admitted. Yet both seem to me better described as different aspects of the same thing; and (what is really important) at any rate no psychological (or, if you like, linguistic) distinction is made between them in the Veda. As a matter of fact, primitive—and even not so primitive—man naturally tries to impose his will on his environment by force so far as he thinks he can, and resorts to propitiation of some sort or other only when he feels confronted by *force majeure*, or when he thinks that cajolery is apt to be easier or more effective than a domineering attitude. He deals thus with his fellow humans, and quite similarly with the non-human powers with which he comes in contact, and to which his animistic fancy assigns volitional and other anthropomorphic functions like his own. (See my essay on "The Religion of the Veda" in *Religions of the Past and Present*, ed. J. A. Montgomery, Philadelphia, 1918, especially p. 117 f.) "Gods" are merely "spirits" or mysterious powers too mighty to be dominated by force; that is their only distinction from the powers used in "magic." There are many border-line cases which slip over from one class to the other according to shifts of human psychology; nay, even the highest "gods" may, in extreme cases, be conceived as "coercible": witness the Brāhmaṇas, where (we may grant Mr. Deshmukh) "religion" has changed ("degenerated" if you like) into "magic." Generally, on the other hand, a man does not pray to his ox or his plow, simply because he thinks he doesn't have to, in order to control them. If he thinks he could profit by cajoling them instead of bullying them, he does so; then "magic" changes into "religion."

Taken as a whole, neither is "older" than the other and neither "originates from" the other. But also, the two are inextricably blended—rather, in the Veda at least, never at all distinguished psychologically (*aliter*, linguistically). They are very frequently combined in the same verses, both Vedic and other.

This is disputed by Mr. D. on p. 155, where we read that except the word *mantra*, "which in the Indian vernaculars has come to mean 'incantation,' but which originally meant 'a hymn,' there cannot be found in the Sanskrit language any words for 'magic,' 'magical,' or 'magician,' and 'priest,' 'priestly,' or 'priesthood' which have anything common between them." I think it can very easily be shown that this is the reverse of the truth. In the Veda it would be much more nearly true, and indeed would involve very little exaggeration, to say that *every* such word has *both* meanings; the fact being, as I said, that to the Vedic consciousness the two are absolutely one. Any Sanskrit dictionary will show that *mantra* means "magic charm" as well as "devotional hymn" already in the Rigveda itself (I am sure Mr. D. cannot mean that this alleged "change" does not occur until "the Indian vernaculars," tho his statement is most unfortunate, in suggesting that absurdity). Exactly the same is true of *bráhman*, which is probably the favorite word of the Atharvan magicians for their own charms (so used about a hundred times). They constantly call themselves *brahmán*, *vipra*, *vipaścit*, *kāru*, etc. (references in Whitney's Word Index). In short, they apply all the time to themselves and their activities the entire vocabulary used by the Rigvedic priest-poets of themselves and *their* activities, except only technical words referring to the specific *ritual* rôle of the Rigvedic (*hotar*) priest. Mr. D. makes much of the fact that *yātudhāna* and *yātuvid* ("sorcerer, black-magician") are not used of priests. A curiously naïve argument! These are terms of abuse. They are applied never to the speaker but only to those who use magic against "us." The *yātudhāna* is simply a *vipra* whom the speaker hates; naturally he is not complimented by identification with the speaker's own class. We, the *vipras*, do the same things that the *yātudhāna* does (the AV. is full of such charms—as well as of their antidotes), but of course only for our own righteous ends; the enemy is by definition wicked.

On p. 60 it is argued that if magic had flourished in Rigvedic times as it did (he here admits) in Atharvan times, the RV. could

not have been "kept free from any traces of" it "by the care and cunning of the collectors of the hymns," so as "to leave no trace of its existence whatsoever, even in that most heterogeneous of collections called the Rigveda." It would be hard to crowd into a short passage a greater number of errors. The Rigveda as we have it contains plenty of "magic." There are genuine Atharvanic charms, not only in Books 1 and 10 (e. g. the vermin-charm 1. 191), but even in the family-books (e. g. the sleep-charm 7. 55, part of which occurs in the AV. where it is more at home). And it is only in its present expanded form (containing magic) that the RV. can properly be called a "heterogeneous collection." If we should limit our consideration to the original kernel, which we can roughly determine as the hieratic family collections (partly included in Book 1) and Book 9 (minus certain late accretions to them, of course not clearly definable at times), then and only then could we say that it contained no "magic" in Mr. D.'s sense. But it also contained e. g. no marriage or funeral rites (would Mr. D. then maintain that these, also, were cultivated little or not at all in the "pure" Rigvedic times?). The truth is that this original RV. (the only RV. which contained "no trace" of "magic"), so far from being "heterogeneous," was remarkably homogeneous, and had a strictly limited practical purpose. It was a hymn-book of selections to be used by the *hotar*-priest at the hieratic, aristocratic, three-fire rites, of which the most important was the soma-cult. Naturally, therefore, it contained only hymns addressed to the powerful gods of those rites. But the practisers of this cult also engaged in very many other "religious" and "magical" rites. It was not "care and cunning" that excluded them from the (original) RV., but the practical purposes of the thoroly ritualistic and highly sophisticated priestly authors. And in spite of this they were *not*, finally, excluded from the collection as it has come down to us.

The old idea that the Rigvedic religion was a simple nature-worship, and that the poets were children of nature pouring forth the naïve devotion of their hearts to the divine powers of the universe, was exploded so long ago that I supposed no one now held it. But Mr. D. seems to come quite close to it, at least for the early Rigveda. See e. g. p. 138, where we read of the "crude but childishly simple . . . prayers addressed to the various gods"—in IE. and Indo-Iranian times, it is true, but just below, this state of things "can be proved to have prevailed . . . till the time of the

Rigveda." And indeed, what other evidence could there be for such a characterization of IE. and Indo-Iranian prayers? Later, to be sure, a growth of ritualism in the RV. is admitted, and even "the whole body of hymns" may have been regarded as ritualistic in "the latter half of the Rigvedic period" (p. 339). To me it seems that one who sees anything "childishly simple" in any composition of the Rigveda is manifesting considerable simplicity himself.

I cannot take space to list the numerous errors of detail which mar the book. Many of them cannot be misprints; as when Boghazköi is located in Persia (twice, pp. 195, 197), or when Boehtlingk and Roth's lexicon is attributed to an author named "Petersberg" (so! p. xv).

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On the Iconography of the Buddha's Nativity. By A. FOUCHER.

Memoirs of the Archeological Survey of India, No. 46, 1934.

Pp. 28, with 6 plates.

Professor Foucher's eloquent study of the iconography of the Buddha nativity is unfortunately marred by a complete neglect of the Vedic sources of its formulae. The paper is for the most part a restatement of the view that the representations of the type of the Abhiṣeka of Śrī-Lakṣmī as they occur in Early Buddhist art are actually "Buddha nativities"; the hope is expressed (p. 22) that I may concur in this view. I do so only to this extent, that inasmuch as these representations are actually of one and the same maternal principle or nature that is represented in the Buddha legend by Māyādevī, the Buddha's mother who dies seven days after his birth, they may be regarded as virtually, and possibly were actually regarded as, "nativities" in connection with the Buddha's incarnation. On the other hand, it must be emphatically denied that the formula had not already, and long before it could have been thus interpreted in Buddhist circles, been anything but a symbol of Śrī-Lakṣmī. M. Foucher (p. 13) with reference to the elephants supported by lotuses, remarks, "it is obvious that they, too, are a kind of specific detail subsequently added to the older theme. We are thus able to observe retrospectively the old image-makers' increasingly bold attempts at grafting on to the traditional symbol everything which could render its meaning more forcible."

All this is entirely to ignore the *Śrīsūkta*, which not only describes Śrī-Lakṣmī in great detail as a lady of the lotus who is the mother of Agni-Jātavedas, but actually employs the expression "bathed by royal elephants with golden jars" (*gaḇendrain . . . snāpitā hemakumbhair*) ; with reference not to the child, but to the mother. Needless to say that "the *khila* texts . . . are by no means a modern product, they belong rather to the Vedic age. . . . Only a few of them can be assigned to a late Brāhmaṇa period. . . . The *Śrīsūkta* is connected with the cult of Śrī and Lakṣmī which became prominent in the Yajurveda period" (Scheftelowitz, *Die Apokryphen des R̥gveda*, 1906, pp. 2-4). As to the notion that "no one would ever have dreamed of using the frail cup of a flower as a support for an adult human being, still less for huge elephants" (p. 13), it should suffice to point out that in the *R̥gveda* (VI. 16. 13 and VII. 33. 1) both Agni and Vasiṣṭha (an essential name of Agni as "the best of Vasus") are represented as having come into being supported by a lotus, and that the Brāhmaṇas understand by the "lotus" (flower or leaf) the "Earth," that is, universal substance, resting on the surface of the primordial waters, whence it arises in response to the manifestation of the light of the Sun. The lotus is then already in the Rig Veda the support of the "whole of life" (Agni, *viśvāyus*).

If ever the Śrī-Lakṣmī was understood in the sense of a Buddha nativity, the interpretation must have been early abandoned, for it is soon replaced by the standing figure of Māyādevī, holding to a branch of a *sāl* tree, a type that is mythologically that of the Yakṣī, and humanly speaking that of a *Śālabhañjikā*. Whereas the Śrī-Lakṣmī type is often, although not invariably, a seated one, the early Buddhist accounts of the nativity (Mahāpadāna Suttanta in the Dīgha Nikāya, and Acchariyabbhutadhammasutta in the Majjhima Nikāya), which are nearly contemporary with the earliest extant Buddhist art, assert emphatically that it is a universal law (*dhammatā*) that the mother of a Bodhisattva, unlike other women, is delivered standing (*ñhitā va bodhisattam bodhisattamātā kucchinā pariharitvā vijāyati. Ayam ettha dhammatā*, D. II. 14 = XIV. 1. 22). This tradition is preserved in the later accounts, and it is especially noteworthy that in the Mahāvastu version (II. 18. 7) it is related that Māyādevī had come into the royal park "to take part in the *śālabhañjikā* festival." In the art of Amarāvati, the nativity is indicated, in connection with the *śālabhañjikā* figure of

Māyādevī only by *pāṇḍuka* represented on the cloth that is held by the Lokapālas who receive the child, while the more realistic art of Gandhāra shows the child actually emerging from the mother's side.¹ We find in this iconography, then, two already well recognized stages in the manner of representation; in the latest (in manner, if not in date) the child is visibly represented; in the other, the child is unseen, although its presence is indicated by the footprints. We now venture to suggest that in a third and still earlier stage of the iconography of the nativity that the birth may have been indicated in a more summary manner merely by the standing *yakṣi-sālabhañjikā* figures beneath the tree, without even the symbolic representation of the child; in other words, that the Yakṣi figures with trees, which are so familiar in the art of Sāñcī, Bodhgayā, and Bhārhut are really "nativities," and that no necessity existed for the representation of the nativity in any other way.

The Spirit of Man in Asian Art. By LAURENCE BINYON. Cambridge, Mass.: HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1935. Pp. xvi + 217, with 70 plates.

Mr. Binyon's collection of five lectures, accompanied by a large number of wisely selected illustrations, provides what is undoubtedly for the general reader the best available introduction to the inner life of Asiatic peoples as it has found expression in art. It is the work of a poet, perfect in its kind: by sheer sensibility and without reference to the literary sources of Asiatic aesthetic the author has rightly grasped the religious, if not entirely the metaphysical, essence of Asiatic art, and has known how to communicate this spirit in words that have a beauty of their own. He speaks truly when he refers to "a flowering of the *mind* in form . . . making what are called aesthetic necessities appear as almost irrelevant externality." "It is rather hard for us," he says pathetically, "used to the practice of painting from nature with the eye on the object, to realise what intensity of contemplation preceded the actual throwing of the preconceived design with swift immediate strokes upon the absorbent silk or paper" (p. 92); "He (the

¹ It may be remarked in this connection that in Rig Veda IV. 18. 1-2 Indra, who takes birth in the same manner *pārśvāt*, already refers to this as "the pathway found of old"; and that like the Buddha's, and in fact for the same reasons, his mother does not survive.

landscape-painter) must identify himself with what he paints, become what he contemplates, before he can express it truly" (p. 97). These remarks might have been related to the European approach by a citation of Eckhart's, "To be properly expressed, a thing must proceed from within, moved by its form," and Dante's, "He who would portray a figure, if he cannot be it, cannot represent it." For mediaeval Christian and Asiatic art have actually a common level of reference and both are languages independent of observation; beauty for both is linked more closely to cognition than to feeling.

Repeatedly the author deduces from an analysis of the paintings themselves what is really explicit in the artist's ascertained ways of operation. For example, "Neither do these artists shrink from the vastness of empty space. They discover in it their own liberation" (p. 98); this might have been based upon the actual *Sādhana*s, in which we find it constantly enjoined that the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas (mentally evoked from a primordial concept of sound expressed within the heart, cf. St. Thomas' "per verbum in intellectu conceptum," said with reference to the interior operation of the artist) "are to be established on the background of space" (*ākāśadeśe*); nor is this an external and dimensioned space to be delimited in terms of a scientific perspective, but an unconditioned principle of space within us. Problems of optical plausibility do not arise. The represented figure is the affirmation of an infinite negation, and this latter is the matter of ultimate significance, liberation being *from* the limited existence that belongs to any specific manifestation. And this leads us to an ultimate consideration hardly touched upon in the volume before us, that implied in the fundamental proposition of the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, that "the picture is not in the colors, the principle evades the letter." Furthermore, the picture that is not in the colors is not itself the picture of any *thing*, but only the indication of a principle; the function of the work of art is not fulfilled merely by an assimilation of our consciousness to its ethical refinement, but only when the form of our being has been enlarged in conscious identity with the immaterial and strictly speaking non-existent principle that lies at the core of being and to which the image refers. When that has been touched, the function of the picture has been accomplished, and this is what is really implied by the Zen dictum that all scripture is vain. It is not enough to frame the absolute in words or forms;

it must be directly experienced. Mr. Binyon need not fear that he has "talked too much about the world of ideas in which they (these works of art) were born": he speaks of the "unreality of all *but* thought," but we must also remember that all this art, the Buddhist art in particular, whether hieratic or Zen, has ultimate reference to the experience of a reality beyond the unreality of thought itself.

Sometimes the author seems to have personal experience of a characteristically Asiatic type. For example: "On a summer night, driving in an automobile, have you not sometimes been startled and thrilled by the apparition of wayside flowers and grasses suddenly isolated and luminous in the beams of the head-lamps? A moment ago there was darkness. . . . Can they really have been there in the dark, with all their intricate profusion of form and color? You feel as if they had been suddenly created for you yourself" (p. 134). Does not this correspond essentially to Rig Veda V. 81. 2, where the Sun as maker (*kavi*, "poet" in the original sense of the Greek word as "creator") sets free the varied likenesses, or all the beauties, of things (*viśvā rūpāṇi prati muñcate*)?"

The Chinese Dragon has always been for the author a favorite theme; the reader will recall *The Flight of the Dragon*. We think him right when he connects the Dragon with the Tao concept; not that the *tao* in *tao t'ieh*, the dragon-mask on Chinese bronzes, has any connection so far as the characters are concerned with *Tao* as "Way," but that, as he rightly remarks, the Dragon, which represents in Western thought the power of evil, is from the Chinese point of view on the whole a beneficent power, in any case a marvellous and splendid power, as being the protean source of all life, the source alike of life and death. For the typically objectively oriented consciousness the power of death is evil; but there is another point of view according to which all that we call life is no more than the wandering of a prodigal son. As Chuang Tzū expresses it, "How do I know that he who dreads to die is not as a child who has lost the way and cannot find his home?" Many religions, the majority perhaps, have conceived the form of deity *ab intra* in the likeness of a serpent or dragon of protean versatility, and only *ab extra* in angelic or anthropomorphic forms. As soon as the dualistic and existential point of view is assumed, the Powers of Light (Solar Hero) and Powers of Darkness (Dragon)

are seen in clear-cut opposition; the Son is set over against the uncanny Father. It is a special characteristic of Chinese metaphysics to have dwelt rather upon the thought of this unitary source or Father than upon that of a manifested and intelligible Son; and this, whether consciously or by unconscious necessity, is reflected in the persistent attachment to the dragon symbol proper to Chinese culture. Considerations of this sort are by no means, as might at first sight appear, irrelevant to the appreciation of art even in its aesthetic aspects. The serpent-dragon plays, for example, a no less significant part in Mayan art, and Spinden remarks that "the high esthetic qualities [of Mayan art] were wasted on subjects that appear trivial to us"; while as he himself realizes, "When we can bring ourselves to feel the serpent symbolism of the Mayan artists as we feel, for instance, the conventional halo that crowns the ideal head of Christ, then we shall be able to recognize the truly emotional qualities of Mayan sculpture. . . . The serpent . . . appears as a general indication of divinity."¹

Mr. Binyon's references to Rajput painting are sympathetic and felicitous. But we think him wrong in saying that "it is mainly concerned with everyday life . . . the world they represent is small and circumscribed compared with the world of the Japanese woodcuts" (pp. 192, 195). He seems to think of the "mystic" (or rather metaphysical) significance of Rajput paintings as of something imported into their interpretation. But whereas the Ukiyoe prints are *really* "pictures of the transient world," and were understood by the Japanese themselves to be such, the Krishna paintings were never in the same sense understood to have been representations of pastoral life made merely as such; just as the Vedic liturgies, pungent with the scent of cow-sheds, were never conceived to have been merely the lyrical expressions of primitive ranchers. It has been universally understood, and explicitly stated by some commentators, that the Krishna legend is not historical but has to do with the relation of the human soul to deity; and while because of its vulgar associations the Japanese print had no appeal for the connoisseur or philosopher, the Rajput painting appealed as much to the connoisseur, the poet, and the metaphysician and theologian as to the countryman, so that we cannot apply the designation "popular" to both kinds of art in the same sense.

¹ *The Civilisation of Mexico*, 1928, pp. 89, 95, 98.

The volume is in every respect well produced. We note on p. vii the misprint Nizano for Nizam. The omission of any reference to the developments of art in south-eastern Asia, viz. in Java, Cambodia, and Siam, is rather surprising.

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The Hindu Conception of the Deity As Culminating in Rāmānuja.

By BHARATAN KUMARAPPA. London: LUZAC AND Co., 1934.

Pp. xv + 356. Price 12/ 6.

This thesis, accepted by the University of London for the Ph. D. Degree, presents an interesting study of the *Viśiṣṭādvāita* ("qualified Unity") as it plausibly threads its way in search of a monotheistic principle of Grace through the Upanishads, the Bhagavadgītā, the Pāñcarātra and Purāṇic literature, and the religion of the Ālvārs, culminating in the teaching of Rāmānuja. The author is to be commended for the careful and consistent manner in which he proceeds through this maze of literary material.

The impression gathered is that the author conceives of an unbroken, literary tradition, with modifications and contributions along the way, for an undifferentiated deity of grace. He wisely avoids the controversial subject of popular forces behind this literary tradition and consequently does not concern himself with a discussion of *bhakti* per se. The statement that, "The Gītā's unique contribution lies in the thought that the Supreme Being of the Upaniṣads, the all-pervading unknowable One whom the philosophers proclaimed has assumed the form of Kṛṣṇa, Arjuna's charioteer" is a naïve analysis, the result of the author's point of view and method of approach to the problem. This same doctrinal naïveté is observable at other points in the book.

It is interesting to note on page 89 the author's cautious suggestion that Viṣṇu was a Sun deity even before the period of the Brāhmaṇas. But there can no longer be much doubt in the minds of scholars that Viṣṇu was definitely a Sun deity in the Ṛg Veda.

In his discussion of Rāmānuja the author is forced to consider the conflict of karma and grace, a subject which he avoids up to that point. He merely presents Rāmānuja's point of view with no personal suggestions on the problem, except that he does honestly

call attention to the conflict, and the failure of Rāmānuja to cope adequately with a situation which he has encountered by claiming Reality for the world. Similarly in general the procedure is not so much critical as expository. Consequently much of this thesis consists of quotations from translations of original sources. Less of this and more of personal comments and interpretations would have made the treatise more readable, especially for the general reader, to whom the author has given his special attention in various explanations of rather elementary matters as well as in an index of subjects.

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The Origin and Development of the State Cult of Confucius. By JOHN K. SHRYOCK. New York: THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, CENTURY, 1932. 298 pp.

The author modestly calls his work: "an introductory study," and indeed, covering a period of two thousand years he could scarcely hope to exhaust a subject that so vitally concerns China's cultural development. Yet, with this necessary reservation, he has done much to destroy the erroneous notion, long prevalent, that ever after Confucius' death official worship has been paid to him, or at least, that since the Han dynasty his foremost position in the state religion has been unchallenged and unchanged. Dr. Shryock shows that a careful scrutiny of the facts does not bear out such views. The state worship of Confucius has undergone fluctuations just as Confucianism itself has had its ups and downs. He has grouped round his main problem such developments as seem to have a more direct bearing on it; it is however clear that a true picture of the place of "the State cult of Confucius" can only be obtained when we have a history of the development of other official cults as well. The present book is a valuable contribution towards such a history.

In tracing the origin of the worship of Confucius, the author's starting-point is very sound. He shows that worship of the departed spirits in ancient China was strictly limited to the direct descendants. For Confucius therefore to have gained a primary position in the official cult is something extraordinary that requires explanation.

Dr. Shryock devotes a good deal of attention to the first mention of official worship of Confucius. In Sze-ma Ch'ien's account of Confucius' Life (*Shih-chi*, ch. 47, *Mém. hist.*, V, p. 429) it is stated that Kao-tsu performed a *t'ai-lao* sacrifice to K'ung-tzū when he passed through Lu. In the *Ch'ien-han-shu*, ch. I, this information is repeated and is dated in the 11th month of the last year of his reign, B. C. 195. Dr. Shryock therefore calls this sacrifice "well authenticated" but fails to observe an important point. The *Pen-chi* of the *Shih-chi*, with which the *Ti-chi* of the *Han-shu* runs almost parallel, lacks that notice. Why? It is idle to suppose that the text is corrupt and that the sentence has dropped out. If at any time there should have been reason to suspect corruption of the text, the scholars would certainly not have neglected the occasion to bring the *Shih-chi* into harmony with the text of the *Ch'ien-han-shu* on this important point. The fact that they have not done so guarantees the text as it stands. Since Sze-ma Ch'ien does mention it towards the end of his biography of Confucius, why does he omit this mention in the Annals, considering the care he generally takes to have Annals and Biography correspond exactly as to facts? Surely, if the records contained this notice, he cannot have omitted it because he thought the fact of little importance. There would indeed have been good reason to insert it. Immediately after the mention of Kao-tsu's sacrifice the *Ch'ien-han-shu* records Kao-tsu's measure with regard to the sacrifices on the tombs of extinct feudal families; Sze-ma Ch'ien has the same notice. From a Confucian point of view it looks ill that Kao-tsu did take care of these feudal princes, including even Shih Huang-ti, and, according to the reading in the *Shih-chi*, apparently did nothing to show respect for Confucius. The writer of the *Ch'ien-han-shu* must have been glad to remedy this situation by inserting the mention of Kao-tsu's sacrifice to Confucius, which, no doubt, he took from Confucius' biography in the *Shih-chi*. In Pan Ku's time it would not do to have the first Han Emperor show some interest in the worship of Confucius.

If, however, Sze-ma Ch'ien's omission of this fact in the Annals cannot be regarded as accidental, but means that the records made no mention of it, it makes his reference to it in Confucius' biography itself suspect. This suspicion is confirmed by another circumstance. At the end of the biography a genealogy of Con-

fucius' descendants is given, concluding with K'ung An-kuo, his son and grandson. Of K'ung An-kuo it is said that he was a *po-shih* in the service of the "present" emperor (Wu-ti) and that he died young (蚤卒). We know indeed (*Ch'ien-han-shu*, ch. 88) that he perished in the sorcery affair of B. C. 91; this has already led Chavannes (*Mém. hist.*, V, p. 434) to observe that therefore this part of the *Shih-chi* must have been written between 91 and 87, the year of Wu-ti's death. We do not know the date of K'ung An-kuo's birth; in view of the early marriages of Chinese it is possible that a person who is said to have died young, had already a grandson, although the probability may be against it. In the latter case the date of writing would have to be placed some years after 91. Without however pressing this point, we may concede that the text was written in 91. But even so we cannot escape from the difficult question as to whether Sze-ma Ch'ien was still writing in that year or not.

In a recent article in *Asia Major*¹ Fr. Jäger has given a good summary of some of the views that have in modern times been expounded by Chinese scholars on this matter. Within the scope of this review it is of course impossible to treat this problem adequately. Suffice it to recall the fact that the statements made in Sze-ma Ch'ien's so-called "auto-biography," *tzü-hsü*² (*Shih-chi* ch. 130) are contradictory, and they have led a radical scholar like Ts' in Shih³ to assert that Sze-ma Ch'ien ceased writing in 122; others like Liang yü-sheng⁴ regard 104 as the final year with some additions down to 95, others again like Li K'uei-hui⁵ accept the year 95. It will be recalled that Sze-ma Ch'ien suffered mutilation in 98. The *Ch'ien-han-shu* ch. 62 contains a letter, written by Sze-ma Ch'ien to his friend Jen-an⁶ who was one of the victims of the calamity of 91. Chavannes, with older Chinese scholars, after some hesitation, admitted it as genuine (*Mém. hist* I, p. XLII). It is however suspicious that it contains quotations from the Auto-

¹ Vol. IX, 1933, pp. 21-37, Der hensige Stand der Schi-ki-forschung.

² 自序.

³ 崔適 in his *Shih-chi-t'an-yüan* 史記探源 (1910).

⁴ 梁玉繩 in his *Shih-chi-chih-yi* 史記志疑 (1787).

⁵ 李奎耀 in his *Shih-chi-chüeh-yi* in *The Tsing Hua Journal*, IV (1927), pp. 1175-1215.

⁶ 任安.

biography and appears only in the *Ch'ien-han-shu*. In the *Shih-chi* itself events of the year 91 or thereafter are not recorded except in a few instances, in passing references that look entirely like later additions. I cannot follow Jäger, when, on Wang Kuo-wei's authority, he seems inclined to accept the statement about Li Kuang-li's submission to the Hsiung-nu (B. C. 90) as authentic. Cf. Jäger, *loc. cit.*, p. 34. In speaking of K'ung An-kuo's work on the *Shu-ching*, for example, in ch. 121, Sze-ma Ch'ien does not mention his death.

This is very important. With practically no evidence to support the view that Sze-ma Ch'ien wrote parts of the *Shih-chi* as late as 91, our suspicions against the end of Confucius' biography are certainly not allayed. I have however no wish to infer anything more than the probability that the text has been tampered with. In any case it is important to observe that the notice about Kao-tsu's sacrifice is not in the Annalistic Records but forms part of a narrative, written either by Sze-ma Ch'ien himself or by some one else under the influence of the Confucian school. If Sze-ma Ch'ien himself wrote it, his enthusiasm for Confucius has made him accept it without verifying it from the Annals. If he had done so, he would have noticed that, in the first place, it was unlikely that Kao-tsu should have honoured a local worthy with such an important sacrifice as that of *t'ai-lao*, reserved only for the most solemn occasions, and in the second place the circumstances were such as to make the tradition even more suspect. Kao-tsu was on his way home from his expedition against Ch'ing Pu; he had been wounded by a stray arrow, as both the *Shih-chi* and the *Han-shu* testify; on the way he fell ill, which illness after a few months led to his death. It seems unlikely, though it may not have been impossible, that he should have interrupted his journey under such circumstances.

In Dr. Shryock's discussion of Sze-ma Ch'ien's account, there is another point that deserves correction. He writes: "the historian says that he visited the tomb and saw the clothes, lute, chariot, and books of Confucius. If he saw the books, it is a pity that he did not give a list, and it is also hard to understand why, if they had been always preserved in a mortuary temple, the Han scholars had such a hard time in fixing the text." This however is charging Sze-ma Ch'ien with more than he actually says. In the narrative

it is stated, that the objects named were preserved in the hall that had been turned into a memorial temple by later generations. What Sze-ma Ch'ien himself had *seen*, he describes in his final verdict on Confucius as follows: "When I went to Lu, I saw Chung-ni's mortuary temple, his chariot, his clothes and his ritual objects,⁷ and I saw the scholars at fixed dates perform ceremonies at his house." The books, significantly, are not mentioned. In the "autobiography" (*Mém. hist.*, I, p. xxx, *Shih-chi*, ch. 130; also *Ch'ien-han-shu*, ch. 62). Sze-ma Ch'ien states that on this visit to Lu "he saw the relics of Confucius" (觀孔子之遺風). No mention is made of "books." This is an important difference. I believe that the expression *shu* used in the Biography should not be understood as referring in a general way to Confucius' writings, but that it indicates definitely the *Shu-ching*. It should be read in conjunction with the statement in ch. 121 about K'ung An-kuo's *Shu-ching* in ancient characters, where it is said, that "the K'ung family had a *shang-shu* in ancient characters" (孔氏有古文尚書). It is not certain when this text was "discovered." The accounts of its find on the occasion of the pulling down of Confucius' house are contradictory; Pelliot⁸ believes that it is a legend of the second half of the first century B. C. Sze-ma Ch'ien in any case knows nothing about it. When he visited Lu, after his twentieth year, the existence of the *Shu* was apparently still unknown in the K'ung family. K'ung An-kuo, according to the *Ch'ien-han-shu*, ch. 36 presented his text to the throne "after the T'ien-han period" i. e. after B. C. 97. Sze-ma Ch'ien knew him and is supposed to have questioned him on this text.⁹ This would presumably have been about that same time. The word *shu* in the narrative would therefore, indicate that it was written after Sze-ma Ch'ien had become acquainted with K'ung An-kuo's text. In recalling what he himself had seen, however, he omits all mention of *shu*. If one admits that later hands have tampered with the text, one can well understand why such an addition as the word *shu* should have been made, once the legend around the book was started. From a stylistic point of view it deserves atten-

⁷ Doubtless they were fakes!

⁸ *Le Chou King es le Chang Chou Che Wen (Mémoires concernant l'Asie orientale*, II, p. 136).

⁹ *Ch'ien-han-shu*, ch. 88.

tion that the rhythm is imperfect in its enumeration of five nouns; the last one looks as if it were tagged on. Immediately before, the text is admittedly corrupt; either the characters *ti- tzü* have been displaced or they should be omitted altogether. This is additional proof that the reliability of this part of the text is not above suspicion.

A few words should be said on the "ceremonies." In the Biography of Confucius it is stated; "From generation to generation the custom having been transmitted in Lu to perform sacrifices at fixed dates of the year at the *tomb* of Confucius, the scholars also performed the rites of the District Banquet and the Archery Bout at the *tomb* of Confucius." Let us first consider the second half of the sentence. Sze-ma Ch'ien, in relating what he had seen, says that "the scholars at fixed dates performed ceremonies at his (Confucius') house." For reasons indicated above, Sze-ma Ch'ien's personal account should be considered as more trustworthy than the narrative in the Biography. In the preceding sentence in Biography the word "tomb" occurs twice; graphically it is almost exactly the same as the character for "house," so that contamination is very easy. A simple text-correction is therefore obvious and has indeed been suggested by Yen Jo-chü 閔若璩 (1636-1704) in his *Ssu-shu-shih-ti-hsü* 四書釋地續.¹⁰ The character 冢 "tomb" is a mistake for 家 "house." Yen admits that the rites, performed by the scholars, took place in (the courts of) the house; this connects the statement up very naturally with the following one of the halls having been converted into an ancestral temple.

Should we admit, then, that there were two centres in which Confucius' memory was perpetuated: one at the tomb, where his descendants sacrificed and another in the hall of what was supposed to be his house, where the scholars met for their ceremonies? It is possible; yet the text, it seems to me, suggests something else. Yen wishes to make the correction of "tomb" into "house" only once. This is arbitrary. To read "tomb" in the first half and "house" in the second half of the sentence would create a very forced antithesis. The sentence is closely knit together by means of 而 *êrh* and 亦 *yi* "also." Obviously the two clauses emphasize that two different groups performed certain ceremonies at the same *place*.

¹⁰ Cf. Liang Yü-sheng 梁玉繩, *Shih-chi-chih-yi* 史記志疑 ch. 25. p. 29.

If we accept corruption of "house" into "tomb" we must accept it for the entire sentence and therefore make the correction twice. Ku Yen-wu (顧炎武 1613-1682) has in fact already suggested,¹¹ that the sacrifices also took place in the house and he thought that Sze-ma Ch'ien had probably misunderstood the situation. It did not occur to him to make the text-correction and his suggestion has not been accepted by other text-critical scholars. Yet on purely philological grounds I incline very much to this interpretation. I want to add one more suggestion. The sentence is followed by the statement: "the tomb of Confucius is large one *ch'ing*." This, with its clumsy repetition of the words "the tomb of Confucius" seems to me almost certainly to be an addition by some commentator who, being puzzled by the mention of archery bouts etc., on the tomb, wanted to explain that (in his time no doubt; when?) the tomb occupied a very large area.

Apart from the traditional story therefore of the disciples having dwelt on the tomb, the tomb itself, as a center for worship, disappears. Neither in the statement about Kao-tsu, nor in that of the visit which the officials are supposed to pay before they take up their official duties, is the tomb mentioned. Chavannes has in each case added this word in brackets. Shryock has, unconsciously, I suppose, made the correction of 冢 "tomb" into 家 "house" himself three times in the text of the *Shih-chi*, printed in Appendix IV p. 271, which is rather amusing.

Dr. Shryock traces the vicissitudes of the Confucian cult throughout the centuries in a way that is, in the main, exact. It would seem that his views are somewhat influenced by the orthodox school: "the Sung Confucians are nearer to the spirit of Confucius himself than the scholars of the Han period were" (p. 152). Reformers have always claimed to go back to the views of the Master. I wonder if they did! It is true that the Sung school did try "to free themselves from Buddhist and Taoist thought" (*ibid.*) but the Chinese mind by that time was so profoundly impregnated by both that its very structure had been affected. No efforts of the Sung school could extirpate that influence.

The important fact that from 720-1530 the objects of worship were images, is well brought out (p. 138). Yet it is inexact to say that images have entirely disappeared. Even up to modern times in

¹¹ In his *Jih-chih-lu* 日知錄 quoted in *Shih-chi-chih-yi* loc. cit.

the temple at Ch'ü-fu itself there was a large image of Confucius;¹² more examples could be given, although, of course, they were exceptions to the general rule.¹³

The list of names of all the scholars that have been associated with the worship given in the Appendix is very useful. Dr. Shryock states (p. 263) that a number of the names he gives do not appear on the list given by Doré (*Recherches* etc.) This is not quite true. Only No. 1 of those given by Shryock in the Eastern cloisters and No. 35 of those mentioned in the Western cloisters do not figure in Doré's list, which gives an earlier enumeration. The order however is different, east and west having been frequently interchanged and it would have been worth while to examine why this is so. The second character of No. 17 in the Eastern Wu p. 242 is not read *Mei* (which is written 眉) but *Chien* 肩.¹⁴

There is a strange note on p. 194 affirming that the expression 廟 *miao* the generic term for "temple," is commonly used by Buddhists and Taoists. This is certainly not true. The common designation for Buddhist temples is 寺 *ssü*, for Taoist temples 觀 *kuan*, while *miao* is used for the temples associated with the state-cult: K'ung-tzū-miao (Wen-miao), Kuan-ti-miao, Ch'eng-huang-miao.

Chi-ku, mentioned in an extract from Biot, on p. 69, whom Dr. Shryock has been unable to identify, is doubtless the great commentator Yen Shih-ku. The collection of essays, mentioned in passing in a note on p. 109, called *Jih-chih-lu*, is by the famous Ku Yen-wu mentioned above. The translation of the title 紹聖侯 *Shao-sheng-hou* on p. 129, as: "Successful and Holy Marquis" is wrong. *Shao* indicates the ancestral line, and the translation

¹² See a photo in A. Tschepe, *Konfucius*, I Teil, Sein Lebes, 1910 (frontispiece).

¹³ [Professor Duyvendak has apparently misunderstood a statement made on p. 190, which says, "The images, with a few exceptions in private temples, . . . were never renewed." The author was speaking of the state temples, and considered the Ch'ü-fu temple as the property of the K'ung family. J. K. S.]

¹⁴ I regret that a casual remark made by me several years ago in conversation about tablets added to the worship of Confucius during the republic has caused the author some trouble. I cannot verify now whether the addition he mentions on p. 260 corresponds with the notes I made at the time in Peking on a visit to the temple.

therefore should be something like: "Marquis who transmits the Sage-ness in direct descent."

It would be well if Dr. Shryock could conform to the customary romanisation, rather than follow his provincial dialect. The difficulties and confusions in romanisation are already great enough and there is no need to make matters more complicated by provincialisms.

J. J. L. DUYVENDAK.

University of Leyden.

L'Adoption Universelle des Caractères Latins. DOSSIERS DE LA COOPÉRATION INTELLECTUELLE. SOCIÉTÉ DES NATIONS, INSTITUT INTERNATIONAL DE COOPÉRATION INTELLECTUELLE. Paris: 1934. Pp. 197.

This volume consists of a series of reports by competent scholars of progress made in the adoption of the Latin alphabet by nations which until relatively modern times had made no use of it. Nineteen countries are considered. There is also a brief paper on the romanization of writing, with suggestions for the improvement of the alphabet, by Professor Denzel Carr, a young American who holds a chair at the University of Cracow. The reports are exceedingly interesting, and will be of value to students of linguistics.

Linguists are primarily interested in spoken languages, but the alphabet is concerned with written language. In all languages which are written phonetically, or which have had no written forms, as in the case of the Bantu languages, the chief problems are how to convince the people that the prevalence of the Latin alphabet justifies the initial difficulties of its adoption, and whether the letters of the Latin alphabet can be used to render acceptably sounds which do not exist in European languages. It may be said that the Latin alphabet is successfully overcoming these problems.

But in the case of languages which are written ideographically, rather than phonetically, a new factor enters, which western scholars seldom consider. Is a phonetic system of writing as valuable as an ideographic system? Westerners assume that the former is the more valuable, but without a fair consideration of the problem. The chief advantage of phonetic writing is that it is

easy to learn. The advantage of ideographic writing is that it permits written language to triumph over differences of dialect and even of language structure, as well as the fluctuations of pronunciation. In the case of China, where an ideographic writing has been used for a long time, a scholar who has learned it can consult the original sources of the literature of his race for 3,000 years. He can do, after learning one system of ideographic writing, what a western scholar can do only after mastering a dozen languages. The outstanding modern instance of ideographic writing is Chinese. It permits the uniform writing of dialects whose spoken forms are so different as to be mutually unintelligible. In Japan, it has been largely used to write a language which is structurally quite different from Chinese. It is the greatest single factor in the continuity of Chinese civilization. The question of the abandonment of this ideographic writing for a phonetic form in order that the masses may learn to read in two years less time than they could learn their present system is a very serious one, and the answer is not so simple as we sometimes think. In the opinion of the reviewer, the greatest calamity which could happen to the Chinese people would be for them to adopt a phonetic system of writing.

It is interesting to notice that the reports from China, Japan, and Annam, particularly the first country, recount many difficulties, but do not touch the heart of the question. Do we not profit ourselves by a limited use of ideographic writing? We write French with the Latin alphabet, but if we really wrote French as it is pronounced at present, it would be much more difficult to read than it is. Our civilization has unquestionably advanced over that of the Greeks and Romans in two directions, science and music. In both cases, our progress has been made possible by our use of two generally accepted ideographic forms of writing, the symbols of mathematics, and musical notation. We can understand the essentials of Euclid without a knowledge of Greek. We can play a composition of Rimsky Korsakov without a knowledge of Russian. It would be quite possible to have an ideographic writing which would not eliminate all differences between spoken languages, but which would make it possible to overcome such differences much more easily than they can be overcome at present.

Ancient Siamese Government and Administration. By H. G. QUARITCH WALES. London: QUARITCH, 1934. 263 pp.

This is an excellent book. It is strictly limited in its aim, and stays within those limits. Among the subjects considered are the monarchy, the classes of the people, the central and provincial administrations, the army, legislation, justice, finances, and the church. A bibliography and index are provided, but no map. The author assumes a good deal of knowledge of Siam on the part of his readers, such as acquaintance with the history and religion of the country. In this way he is able to treat his subjects adequately within a limited space. Even so, his accounts of such large matters as Siamese law are necessarily sketchy.

One or two minor criticisms may be made. A reader unacquainted with Siamese has some difficulty with the large number of words which are left untranslated. Some of the assumptions which the author makes concerning the early history of the Tai, such as that the Tai were originally a "race" of primitive Mongolian nomads, do not rest on a very firm basis. Tai is a group of allied languages, not a race, and no one knows the origin of the people. The author emphasizes the changes in Siamese administration and culture brought about by Khmer influence after the capture of Ankor Thom in 1431, but says little about Burmese influences. Indian influence is treated fully.

The author's interest is strictly confined to government and administration. He has already made a study of State Ceremonies. It is to be hoped that he will be able to continue his productive work, and make further studies in a civilization which is too little considered by scholars, especially in America.

Chinesisch und Tai. By K. WULFF. Copenhagen: LEVIN AND MUNKSGAARD, 1934. 260 pp.

This volume, a study in the similarities between Chinese and the Tai languages, is number 3 of volume XX of the *Historisk-Filologiske Meddelelser*, given at the Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. The first numbers of this volume were on the word order in modern French, by Andreas Blinkenberg, and a textual criticism of the Skjaldekvad, by Finnur Jónsson. No. 3 is written in

German. All words are given in phonetic script, and in the case of Chinese words, the characters are given. There is no index to this number.

The introduction gives an excellent résumé of the recent work of Karlgren and Maspero in reconstructing the sounds of archaic Chinese, giving particular attention to their theories of the use of *l* as an initial sound, and as an infix. Comparisons are made with the Tibetan-Burmese group of languages. A section discusses the vocalization of the Indo-Chinese languages. The Tai languages considered are Siamese, Lao, Shan, Ahom, Black Tai, Nung, and Dioi. The last two are spoken in the Chinese province of Kuangsi. The interrelation of sounds in these languages is considered, and their transcription. As in the case of the Chinese dialects, the tones not only differ from place to place, but the pronunciation of classes of tones differs also. For example, in two dialects of Lao, the first two tones, the even and the falling, are interchanged. The author discusses the relation of the tone systems of the Tai languages and Chinese. Special sections are devoted to word formation with infixes in Siamese, and to traces of the same phenomena in Chinese, particularly in connection with the sounds *l* and *r*. This last is still debatable ground, as no such infixes exist in modern Chinese. The investigation throughout the book is thorough, and the book itself is a valuable contribution to a difficult subject which has not yet been sufficiently investigated.

Painting in the Far East. By LAURENCE BINYON. Fourth edition. New York: LONGMANS GREEN: London: ARNOLD, 1934. xvi + 304 pages; 41 illustrations in color.

This standard work was first published in 1908. It was intended as an introduction to the subject, primarily for the man of general culture and interest in art, rather than for the specialist on the Far East. Its purpose was to awaken in the West an appreciation of Far Eastern painting, and it remains the best book in English for this purpose. It supplements the work of H. A. Giles, Waley, Siren, and Morrison. Charmingly written by a master of the English language, beautifully illustrated by reproductions of the art which is discussed, and adequately printed and bound, this edition reflects great credit upon all who were concerned with it.

Mr. Binyon has kept in touch with recent work in his field, has made corrections and done some rewriting, but in general the text has not been materially changed. Six new illustrations have replaced ones used in the earlier editions.

It should be remembered that while this book is scholarly, it is not intended primarily for the scholar. Mr. Binyon does not appear familiar with the work of Coomaraswamy, March, and the work of Brown and others on Jain paintings. He slides very smoothly over the much disputed question of Greek influence and the Mathura art. It will be a matter of opinion whether he gives full credit to the influence of Buddhist painting in China, and he certainly differs from Laufer on this point. Scholars will regret that he does not give the Chinese and Japanese words, and more quotations from works on painting in those languages. Nevertheless, the book is one that all students of the Far East will wish to own, and it is the best of all books for the layman.

J. K. SHRYOCK.

Philadelphia.

NOTES OF THE SOCIETY

Professor Ignazio Guidi, Honorary Member of the Society since 1893, died in Rome on Thursday, April 18, at the age of 91. A brief account of his writings, prepared by Professor Richard Gottheil, will be published in the December issue of the JOURNAL.

Certain errors which appeared in the JOURNAL 55, second cover page, have been corrected in this issue.

NOTES OF OTHER SOCIETIES

AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES

GRANTS IN AID OF RESEARCH

The American Council of Learned Societies is able to offer a limited number of small grants to individual scholars to assist them in carrying on definite projects of research in the humanistic sciences: philosophy; philology, literature, and linguistics; archaeology and art; musicology; history, especially all branches of cultural and intellectual history, but exclusive of those branches that are essentially social, economic, and political history; and auxiliary sciences.

Grants are designed to assist research by scholars who are trained in scientific methods of investigation. The maximum of the grants is three hundred dollars. Small additional allowances may, however, be made at the discretion of the Committee to meet unusual expenses involved in the research; the nature of such expenses must be indicated in the application.

Applicants must be citizens of the United States or Canada or permanently employed or domiciled therein; they must be *actually engaged* in the research for which they request assistance, and must *personally be in need* of the aid for which they apply.

Applicants must possess a doctor's degree or its equivalent in training, study, and experience. No grants will be made to assist in the fulfilment of requirements for any academic degree.

Applications must be made in duplicate upon special forms provided for that purpose, and must be mailed to the Secretary for Fellowships and Grants, American Council of Learned Societies, 907 Fifteenth Street, Washington, D. C., not later than January 15. Awards will be made in April.

SUMMER SEMINAR IN ARABIC AND ISLAMIC STUDIES

The six weeks' Summer Seminar in Arabic and Islamic Studies, sponsored by the American Council of Learned Societies and held at Princeton University, concluded its sessions Wednesday, July 31. The Seminar had a limited registration of 33 and drew scholars from 19 educational institutions in seven nations. Its enrollment was composed principally of members of college teaching staffs with a few missionaries and advanced graduate students.

Dr. Philip K. Hitti, Associate Professor of Semitic Literature in Princeton, was the director of the Seminar and Dr. Walter L. Wright, Jr., Assistant Professor of History in Princeton and President-elect of Robert College, Turkey, was secretary. In addition to these two, the faculty consisted of Dr. Mehmet Aga-Oglu, Research Professor of Islamic Art in the University of Michigan, Dr. Muhammad Simsar, of the University of Pennsylvania, Dr. Nabih A. Faris, of Jerusalem, and Edward Jurji, of Baghdad.

Men prominent in various fields delivered special lectures at the Seminar. Among these lecturers were Dr. Julian Morgenstern, President of Hebrew Union College, in Cincinnati; Dr. Nicholas N. Martinovitch, former professor in Petrograd University, Russia; Dr. Richard Ettinghausen, of the American Institute for Persian Art and Archaeology; Dr. M. S. Dimand, Chief of the Department of Near Eastern Art of the Metropolitan Museum of Art; Dr. John G. Hazam, formerly of Stanford University and the University of Oregon; Dr. Martin Sprengling, Professor of Semitics in the University of Chicago.

Also Dr. Isaac Husik, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Pennsylvania; Dr. James A. Montgomery, Professor of Semitics in the University of Pennsylvania; Dr. Walter T. Swingle, of the United States Department of Agriculture; Dr. Samuel M. Zwemer, Professor of the History of Religion in the Princeton Theological Seminary; and Professors C. Rufus Morey and Albert M. Friend, Jr., of the Princeton Department of Art and Archaeology.

PERSONALIA

The annual Haskell Lectures for the year 1935-1936 will be given at Oberlin under the auspices of the Graduate School of Theology during the first two weeks of October next. The lecturer will be Dr. Heinrich Frick, Professor of Theology and Director of the International Institute for the Study of Religions at the University of Marburg, Germany. His subject will be *The World Beyond and the Last Judgment; A Comparative Study of Eschatology in East and West*. Further information may be obtained from Professor Clarence H. Hamilton, Oberlin, Ohio.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
American Oriental Society

AT THE MEETING AT ANN ARBOR, 1935

The sessions of the One Hundred and Forty Seventh Meeting of the Society were held at the University of Michigan, on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, April 24th, 25th, and 26th, 1935. All the sessions were held in the Alumni Memorial Hall. The following members were present at one or more sessions:

Adams, Miss	Driscoll, Miss	McDowell
Aga-Oglu	Edgerton, F.	McGovern
Aga-Oglu, Mrs.	Edgerton, W. F.	MacLean
Barret	Elisséef	Matthews, I. G.
Bechtel	Emeneau	May
Bender	Engberg	Mayer, L. A.
Black, Miss	Everett, Mrs.	Meek
Blair, Miss	Folkman	Michelson
Blank	Gardner	Monroe
Bobrinskoy	Geers	Moore, Miss
Bonner	Glueck	Morgenstern
Bowman	Graves	Nakarai
Braidwood	Hahn, Miss	Olmstead
Braden	Hall, Miss A. H.	Orlinsky
Briggs	Hall, Miss H. B.	Price
Buckler	Hall, R. B.	Purves
Bull	Hallock, R. T.	Pyatt
Butin	Hamilton	Reisman, Mrs.
Buttenwieser	Hardy, R. S.	Riggs
Clark, W. E.	Harris, Z. S.	Rogers, Mrs.
Clendenin	Hubbard, Miss	Ruthven
Cook, Miss	Hughes	Sakanishi, Miss
Coomaraswamy	Hummel, A. W.	Sanders
Crary	Hussey, Miss	Schmidt, N.
Cross, Miss	Irwin	Schoch
DeLong	Jacobson	Schurman, Miss
Debevoise	Johnson, S. E.	Sellers
DeWitt, A. S.	Kent	Seraphin
DeWitt, Mrs.	Lewy	Shambaugh, Miss
Dubberstein	McCullough	Shier, Miss

Shryock	Stanton	Waterman	
Simcox	Staples	Webber, Mrs.	
Smeaton, Miss	Sturtevant	Wilson, J. A.	
Speiser	Trowbridge, Mrs.	Winnett	
Sprengling	Van Ingen, Miss	Worrell	Total 105

Prof. Louis C. Karpinski, of the University of Michigan, was a guest of the Society at one of the sessions and was invited to read a paper.

THE FIRST SESSION

At 10.10 A. M. on Wednesday, the first session of the meeting was called to order by President Roland G. Kent in the auditorium of the Alumni Memorial Hall. Reading of the minutes of the meeting in Philadelphia in 1934 was dispensed with as these were already in print (*JOURNAL* 54. 321). There were no corrections and the minutes were approved.

Professor Waterman, Chairman of the Committee on Arrangements, presented his committee's report in the form of a printed program. It was announced that the center of social activities was the Michigan Union, which had courteously offered its facilities to the members of the Society. It was also announced that the University Club and the Women's League extended their privileges to the members. The following exhibits were announced:

In Alumni Memorial Hall: Tibetan art, Persian miniatures, Islamic calligraphic specimens, old Japanese road maps.

In the Museum of Classical Archaeology: Finds from Karanis and Seleucia on the Tigris.

In the General Library: Illuminated Islamic Manuscripts and Arabic mathematical manuscripts; Greek and Coptic papyri.

In the Museum of Anthropology, Museums Building: The Far Eastern collections.

REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

The Corresponding Secretary, Professor LeRoy C. Barret, presented the following report:

The statistical summary of membership is not wholly comforting. There are now on the list 638 names, a net loss of 118. At, and since the last meeting, 1 has been reinstated, 62 have been elected to corporate membership (14 of whom did not accept and so were not put on the list of members), 27 have resigned, and death has removed 9. The number of

new members added during the past year (48) is greater than the number added in the preceding year (30), the number lost by death and resignation (36) is less than in the preceding year (58): the large loss is due to members dropped.

No events of unusual sort can be recorded as features of the activities of the Society during the last year. That there is some increase of interest concerning the Orient on the part of the general public seems clear, and that there is increasing interest of a scholarly sort is, I believe, a reasonable opinion. The Society is taking definite steps toward a more vigorous activity, and a proposal for revision of the constitution is ready for the consideration of the members.

During the year Professor A. V. Williams Jackson represented the Society at the exercises at Columbia University, marking the 1000th anniversary of the death of Firdausi; and Professors Kent and Speiser represented the Society at the annual meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science in Philadelphia.

The Corresponding Secretary attended the Eleventh Annual Conference of Secretaries, held in Boston on January 31st in connection with the meeting of the American Council of Learned Societies devoted to Humanistic Studies. The most important matters discussed by the secretaries concerned the continuation of their conference and a possible expansion of its make-up; the extended rotograph service of the Modern Languages Association, the ACLS plan of assistance to publication, and near-print methods of publication.

We now record briefly the names and services of those members whose deaths have been reported since the last meeting:

BASIL H. CHAMBERLAIN, for forty years professor of Japanese and Philology at the University of Tokyo, was a master of the Japanese language and its dialects and had published a number of books on phases of Japanese literature and culture. He published also a number of works in French. He died on Feb. 15, 1935 in Geneva, Switzerland, where he lived in retirement.

JOHN S. CHANDLER, missionary of the Congregational Church for 55 years in India, for many years devoted his abilities as a linguist to teaching and to translation of English works into Tamil; he compiled a Tamil dictionary and worked on a revision of the Bible in Tamil. For his linguistic work the Indian Government bestowed on him the Kaisar-i-Hind medal. He died at Kodai Kanal, June 19, 1934, at the age of 85.

VALDEMAR T. HAMMER, successful manufacturer, was from boyhood an ardent collector, and as a development of the collector's zeal he became interested in classical and oriental archaeology. He was glad and eager to share his pleasure in his hobbies with others old or young, and in a delightfully gentle way he spread abroad in a large community a beneficent influence. Death took him suddenly on April 7, 1935, as he was walking on his estate at Branford, Connecticut.

BERTHOLD LAUFER, curator of anthropology at the Field Museum, was a distinguished student of race, language, culture and history, particularly with respect to the Chinese people. He was a productive scholar and our Society has had high regard for him not only as a member, but as former president. He died September 13, 1934, at the age of 60.

BENJAMIN MARCH, lecturer on Far Eastern art at the University of Michigan, curator at the Detroit Institute of Arts, was an eager student and teacher in the field to which he was devoting himself, i. e. Asiatic art, especially Chinese. It was due largely to his urging that the Society meets in Ann Arbor this year. His death is a heavy loss to his personal friends and to the Society. He died December 14, 1934 aged 35.

ADOLPH S. OCHS was the maker of a great newspaper, but that was only one expression of the noble ideals which moved him, for he was a philanthropist in the essential meaning of the word. Here and in foreign lands his death has been greatly mourned, and we also know that a worthy member of our Society has departed. Died April 8, 1935.

KURT SETHE, Egyptologist, was one whose achievement put him among the greatest scholars in his field. Energetic and tireless, endowed with splendid mental powers, he ranged through the field of Egyptian philology to which he made many and varied contributions, and left his colleagues with a sense of irreparable loss. He died suddenly on July 6, 1934, at the age of 64.

LUDWIG VOGELSTEIN, man of business, philanthropist, and a lay leader of Reformed Judaism in this country, his adopted land, was a director of the Jewish Publication Society of Philadelphia, member of the board of governors of Hebrew Union College of Cincinnati, active in the work of the National Council for Jewish Education: indeed, he was interested in every activity tending to improve human welfare. He died after a very brief illness on September 23, 1934, at the age of 63.

JAMES HAUGHTON WOODS, Professor Emeritus of Philosophy at Harvard University, was a student and expounder of Oriental philosophies, had been chairman of the division of philosophy at Harvard, twice exchange professor at the Sorbonne. He was a member of many learned Societies and was known as author, translator, and editor. Died suddenly in Tokyo, January 14, 1935.

IRVING F. WOOD, teacher of Biblical literature, held positions in Jaffna College in Ceylon, the University of Chicago, and Smith College, and was visiting professor in institutions in China, Japan, and Palestine. His scholarly publications were primarily concerned with the literature of the Bible. Died August 29, 1934.

Upon motion the report of the Corresponding Secretary was accepted.

Tribute was paid to the late Mr. March by Professor Waterman.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

In the absence of the Treasurer, Professor John C. Archer, the Corresponding Secretary presented his report as follows:

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1934.

Receipts

Cash Balance, Jan. 1, 1934.....	\$14,904.18
Dues (from 461 members)....	2,560.63
Life Memberships (2).....	175.00
Sales: JOURNAL (net).....	470.46
American Oriental and Monograph Series	
(net).....	188.90
Library of Ancient Semitic Inscriptions	
(net).....	21.62
<i>Ibid.</i> , on acc't (Pfeiffer).....	500.00
Catalogues of Library.....	6.21
JOURNAL reprints.....	20.20
Author's corrections.....	21.25
Interest:	
Yale University (cash on deposit).....	579.51
Mortgage @ 6%.....	360.00
Minneapolis G. E. Co.....	50.00
Virginia Rys.....	50.00
Minn. G. E. Co. bond paid.....	1,000.00
Justin E. Abbott estate.....	637.50
	<hr/>
The Year's receipts.....	\$6,641.28
Grand Total.....	<hr/> \$21,545.46

Expenditures

The JOURNAL:

Printing	\$2,316.50
Paper, type, etc.....	190.59
Reprints	78.60
" additional.....	80.20
Corrections	71.21
Total.....	<hr/> \$2,737.10
Stock and clerical.....	136.22
Secretary's expenses.....	155.46
Editors' expenses.....	27.78
Dues, A. C. L. S.....	25.00
Committee on Arrangements, Philadelphia, 1934	37.75

Honoraria:

W. N. Brown.....	200.00
E. A. Speiser.....	200.00
J. K. Shryock.....	200.00
J. C. Archer.....	100.00
Vol. 4, A. O. Series.....	751.05
<i>Ibid.</i> , advertising.....	29.84
Vol. 5, A. O. Series.....	309.08

Grand Total..... \$ 4,909.28

BALANCE, JAN. 1, 1935..... 16,636.18

Grand Total..... \$21,545.46

MONOGRAPH ACCOUNT

<i>Receipts</i>		<i>Expenditures</i>	
Balance from A. C. Series	\$1,243.47	Vol. 4.....	\$ 780.89
Nies Income.....	4,145.83	Vol. 5.....	309.08
Sales	210.52	Balance, Jan. 1, '35.....	5,009.85
Cash on account.....	500.00		
Total.....	\$6,099.82		\$6,099.82

JOURNAL ACCOUNT

<i>Receipts</i>		<i>Expenditures</i>	
Appropriated for printing	\$2,650.00	Printing	\$2,316.50
Reprints	75.00	Paper, type, etc.....	190.59
Corrections	50.00	Reprints	78.60
Reviews	35.00	Additional	80.20
From authors, for reprints	20.20	Corrections	71.21
Corrections	21.25	Editors' expenses	27.78
Total.....	\$2,851.45	Balance, Jan. 1, '35.....	86.57
			\$2,851.45

BALANCE SHEET

<i>Assets</i>		<i>Liabilities</i>	
Mortgage	\$6,000.00	Capital Funds, Abbott...	\$6,187.50
Bond, Virginian Ry.....	1,000.00	Bradley	3,000.00
Stock, C., R. I. & P. Ry.	75.00	Casanowicz	150.00
Cash	16,636.18	Cotheal	1,500.00
		Whitney	1,000.00
		Life Memb.....	4,175.00
		Reserve	2,000.00
		Balance, Monograph Acct.	5,009.85
		Balance, JOURNAL Acct..	86.57
		Balance, Current Funds.	602.26
Total.....	\$23,711.18		\$23,711.18

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE

It is hereby certified that the accounts of the Treasurer have been examined, and have been found correct, and that the foregoing Report is in conformity with the accounts.

E. H. STURTEVANT,
K. S. LATOURETTE,
Auditing Committee.

Upon motion the reports of the Treasurer and the Auditing Committee were accepted.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

In the absence of the Librarian, Professor Andrew Keogh, the Corresponding Secretary presented his report, as follows:

During the year 1934/35, 165 volumes and 398 numbers of periodicals have been added to the Society's Library. Of the periodical numbers 375 were in continuation of sets already in the Library; 19 represent titles new to the Library. There have been three additions to the exchange list; al-Andalus, Journal of the West China Research Society, and Publications of the Indian Research Institute. With this year's \$100 appropriation for the Library, some greatly needed binding has been done, chiefly of current journals in frequent use; 68 of these volumes have been bound at a cost of approximately seventy-five dollars. The remaining sum of twenty-five dollars has been devoted to the buying of missing periodical numbers in order that the Library may have, if possible, complete files of the more important journals.

The cataloguing of books, pamphlets, and periodicals is up to date.

The following is a list of the accessions for the year: ¹

- Abegg, E. *Der Messiasglaube in Indien und Iran auf Grund der Quellen dargestellt.* 1928.
- Abu'l Hasan 'Alī ibn Nāṣir. *Akhbār'ud-Dawlat 'is-Saljūqiyya.* Ed. by Muhammad Iqbal. 1933. (Panjab university oriental publications)
- Adler, C. *Lectures, selected papers, addresses, collected and pub. by his colleagues and friends.* 1933.
- Ahmad Shawki. *Majnun Layla.* Tr. from the Arabic by A. J. Arberry. 1933.
- Akademiia nauk, Leningrad. *Sergeiū Fedorovichu Ol'denburgū, k piati-desiatiletiū nauchno-obshchestvennoi deiatel'nosti, 1882-1932.* Sbornik statei. 1934.

¹ The Editors again call attention to the fact that reference in this list constitutes acknowledgment of many of the books sent to the JOURNAL for review.

- Amaracandra Sūri. *Padmānanda mahākāvya* by Amaracandra Sūri. Ed. by H. R. Kāpadīā. 1932. (Gaekwad's oriental series, no. 58)
- American academy of political and social science, Philadelphia. *American policy in the Pacific*, ed. by E. M. Patterson. 1933. (*Its Annals*, v. 168)
- American society for the excavation of Sardis. *Sardis; publications of the American society for the excavation of Sardis*, v. 7. 1932.
- Amulyachandra Sen. *Schools and sects in Jaina Literature*. [1931] (*Visva-bharati studies*, no. 3)
- al-Andalus. *Revista de las escuelas de estudios árabes de Madrid y Granada*. v. 1, fasc. 1-2, 1933. 1933.
- Arden, A. H. *Progressive grammar of common Tamil*. 1910.
- *Progressive grammar of the Teluga language*. (3d ed.) 1921.
- [Āsvaghosa] *Nairātmyapariprechā*. Ed. by Sujitkumar Mukhopadhyaya. [1931] (*Visva-bharati studies*, no. 4)
- Banaji, D. R. *Slavery in British India*. [1933]
- Banerji, R. D. *Eastern Indian school of mediaeval sculpture*. 1933. (*India. Archaeol. survey. [Reports] New imperial series*, v. 47)
- Bardhē, F. i. *Le dictionnaire albanais de 1635*, ed. par M. Roques. I. *Dictionarius latino-epiroticum per R. D. F. Blanchum*. 1932. (*Bibliothèque de l'École nationale des langues orientales vivantes*)
- Belvalkar, S. K. *History of Indian philosophy*. v. 7. [*Indian mysticism: Mysticism in Maharashtra*] [1933]
- *Shree Gopal Basu Mallik lectures on Vedānta philosophy delivered (December, 1925) pt. 1: lectures 1-6*. 1929.
- Bhāsa. *Thirteen Trivandrum plays attributed to Bhasa translated into English by A. C. Woolner and Lakshman Sarup*. v. 1. 1930. (Panjab university oriental publications, no. 13)
- Bisheshwar Nath Reu. *History of the Rāshtrakūṭas (Rāṭhōḍas)*. 1933.
- Bloch, J. *La formation de la langue marathe*. 1920. (*Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes études. Sciences historiques et philologiques*. 215. fasc.)
- Bonneau, G. *L'expression poétique dans le folk-lore japonais*. 1933. 3v. (*Annales du Musée Guimet. Bibliothèque d'études*. t. 42-44)
- Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa. *Het Oud-Javaansche Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa, vertaald door dr. J. Gonda*. 1933. (*Bibliotheca Javanica*, 6)
- Breloer, B. *Alexanders Kampf gegen Poros. Ein Beitrag zur indischen Geschichte*. 1933. (*Bonner orientalistische Studien, Hft. 3*)
- Brown, W. N. *The swastika, a study of the Nazi claims of its Aryan origin*. [1933]
- Budge, E. A. W., tr. *The Alexander book in Ethiopia. The Ethiopic versions of Pseudo-Callisthenes, the chronicle of Al-Makin, the narrative of Joseph ben Gorion and a Christian romance of Alexander*. Tr. into English from mss. in the British museum and Bibliothèque nationale. 1933.
- *Legends of Our Lady Mary the perpetual virgin and her mother Hannā, tr. from Ethiopic mss.* 1933.

- Budge, E. A. W., *tr.* One hundred and ten miracles of Our Lady, *tr.* from Ethiopic mss. 1933.
- Cairo. Université égyptienne. Faculté des arts. Bulletin, v. 1, pt. 1-2. 1933.
- Calcutta oriental journal, ed. by Kshitish Chandra Chatterji. v. 2, no. 1-3. 1934.
- The Cambridge history of the British empire. v. 5. The Indian empire 1858-1918. With chapters on the development of administration 1818-1858. Ed. by H. H. Dodwell. 1932.
- Chicago. University. Oriental institute. Epigraphic and architectural survey. Medinet Habu. v. 3. Plates 131-192. The calendar, The "slaughterhouse" and minor records of Ramses III. 1934. (The University of Chicago oriental institute publications, v. 23)
- Chiera, E., *ed.* Sumerian epics and myths. [1934] (The University of Chicago oriental institute publications, v. XV. Cuneiform series, v. III)
- Sumerian texts of varied contents. [1934] (The University of Chicago oriental institute publications, v. XVI. Cuneiform series, v. IV)
- Christensen, A. Les types du premier homme et du premier roi dans l'histoire légendaire des Iraniens. 2. ptie. 1934. (Archives d'études orientales, v. 14: 2)
- Coomaraswamy, A. K. The technique and theory of Indian painting. 1934. ad-Dāraqūnī. Kitāb al-Askhiyā'. Ed. by S. Wajahat Husain. [1934]
- David, M. Vorm en wezen van de huwelijksluiting naar de oud-oostersche rechtsopvatting. 1934.
- Davies, N. de G. The tomb of Nefer-Hotep at Thebes. v. 2. Plates. 1933. (Metropolitan museum of art. Egyptian expedition. Publ., v. 9)
- Dawson, W. R. Charles Wycliffe Goodwin 1817-1878. A pioneer in egyptology. 1934.
- Delhi. Central Asian antiquities museum. Catalogue of wall-paintings from ancient shrines in Central Asia and Sistān. Recovered by Sir Aurel Stein. Described by F. H. Andrews. 1933.
- Dikshit, V. R. Ramachandra. The Mauryan polity. 1932. (Madras university historical series, no. VIII)
- Some aspects of the Vāyu purāṇa. 1933. (Bulletins of the Dept. of Indian history and archaeology, no. 1)
- Emmanuel, A. La Bible et l'Inde; clartés convergentes. Précédé du Message oriental par E. Zyromski. 1933.
- Fahlgren, K. Hj. Šedākā, nahestehende und entgegengesetzte Begriffe im Alten Testament. 1932.
- Fenicio, J. The Livro da seita dos Indios orientais (Brit. mus. ms. Sloane 1820). Ed. by J. Charpentier. [1933] (Arbeten utgivna med understöd av Vilhelm Ekmans universitets fond, 40)
- Ferdovski 1934-1934. [Collection of papers on Firdawsi, on the occasion of the 1000th anniversary of his birth] 1934.
- Fiesel, E. Etruskisch. 1931. (Geschichte der indogermanischen Sprachwissenschaft, hrsg. von W. Streitberg. II. Die Erforschung der indo-

- germanischen Sprachen. Bd. 5, Lfg. 4) Grundriss der indogermanischen Sprach- und Altertumskunde, 5, 4.
- Foucher, A. On the iconography of the Buddha's nativity. 1934. (India. Archaeol. survey. Memoirs, no. 46)
- Frankfort, H. The Indus civilization and the Near East [1932?]
- Friedrich, J. Hethitisch und "kleinasiatische" Sprachen. 1931. (Geschichte der indogermanischen Sprachwissenschaft, hrsg. von W. Streitberg. II. Die Erforschung der indogermanischen Sprachen. Bd. 5, Lfg. 1) Grundriss der indogermanischen Sprach und Altertumskunde, 5, 1.
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- Ḥasan-i-Rūmlū. A chronicle of the early Ṣafawīs, being the Aḥsanu't-Tawārikh of Ḥasan-i-Rūmlū. Vol. I (Persian text) Ed. by C. N. Seddon. 1931. (Gaekwad's oriental series, no. 57)
- Heimann, B. Studien zur Eigenart indischen Denkens. 1930.
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- Heras, H. The conversion policy of the Jesuits in India. 1933. (Studies in Indian history of the Indian historical research institute, St. Xavier's college, Bombay, no. 8)

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- Ibn Iyās, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad. Die Chronik des Ibn Ijās. In gemeinschaft mit Moritz Sobernheim hrsg. von P. Kahle und Muhammed Mustafa. 5. T. A. H. 922-928/A. D. 1516-1522. 1932. (Bibliotheca Islamica, Bd. 5e)
- Ingushskii nauchno-issledovatel'skii institut, Vladikavkaz. Izvestiia. 1-4^a. 1928-32.
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- Jackson, A. V. W. Researches in Manichaeism with special reference to the Turfan fragments. 1932. (Columbia university. Indo-Iranian series, v. 13)
- Jacob, G. Das chinesische Schattentheater. Bearb. von G. Jacob und H. Jensen. 1933. (Das Orientalische Schattentheater. Bd. 3)
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- Jayākhyasamhitā. Ed. by Embar Krishnamacharya. 1931. (Gaekwad's oriental series, no. 54)
- Johnson, S. [Copies of eight letters by Samuel Johnson, T. B. Chandler and Stephen Sewall, from Johnson's Letter books in Columbia university library]
- Jørgensen, H. J., ed. Vicitrakarṇikāvadānoddhṛta, a collection of Buddhist legends. Nevārī text. Edited and translated into English. 1931. (Oriental translation fund. New series, v. 31)
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- Nicolas, A. L. M. Qui est le successeur du Bab? 1933.
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- Suzuki, D. T. Essays in Zen Buddhism (third series) 1934.
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- Taittiriya-prātiśakhya with the Bhasya Padakramasādāna by Māhīṣeya. Critically ed. by V. Venkatarama Sharma Vidyabhushana. 1930. (Madras University Sanskrit series, no. 1)
- Tarapore, J. C., ed. Pahlavi Andarz-Nāmak containing Chitak Andarz i Pōryōtkāēshān; or, The selected admonitions of the Pōryōtkāēshān and five other Andarz texts. Transliteration and translation into English and Gujarati of the original Pahlavi texts with an introduction by J. C. Tarapore. 1933.
- Thackeray, H. St. J. Josephus, the man and the historian. 1929. (Hilda Stich Stroock lectures at the Jewish institute of religion)
- Thadani, N. V. The garden of the East. 1932.
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- Udbhaṭa. Kāvya-lāṅkārasāra-saṅgraha of Udbhaṭa, with the 'Vivṛti.' Critically ed. with introduction and indexes by K. S. Ramaswami Sastri Siromani. 1931. (Gaekwad's oriental series, no. 55)
- Uṇādisūtras. The Uṇādisūtras in various recensions. Ed. by T. R. Chintamani. 1933. 2v. (Madras university Sanskrit series, no. 7)
- Upanishads. The secret lore of India and the one perfect life for all; being a few main passages from the Upanishads put into English verse with an introduction & a conclusion by W. M. Teape. 1932.
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- Venkatasubbiah, A. Vedic studies. v. 1. 1932.
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- Whitney, W. D. Sanskrit grammar. 1891.
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On motion the report of the Librarian was accepted.

REPORT OF THE EDITORS OF THE JOURNAL

Since the last meeting of the Society the Editors have published Volume 54, parts 2, 3, and 4, and Volume 55, part 1. The total number of pages was 476 as compared with 416, the number of pages printed during the preceding year. There is still a large amount of material available, and incoming contributions of merit are on the increase. Because of a considerable reduction in the cost of printing of the JOURNAL, the Editors hope further to enlarge the JOURNAL in the course of the present year, either through an increase in the size of the individual issues or through the publication of occasional departmental supplements.

Two volumes have been added to the American Oriental Series. Volume 5 presents the work of Professor William F. Albright on *The Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography*. Volume 6, by Professor Robert H. Pfeiffer, deals with *The State Letters of Assyria*. Volume 7 will contain *A Union List of Printed Indic Texts and Translations in American Libraries*, by Dr. Murray B. Emeneau. The cost of the latter publication is borne by the American Council of Learned Societies, and the Editors take this opportunity to express to the Council their appreciation of this generous contribution to the cause of Indic studies. Lastly, the Editors have accepted for publication a study by Dr. Zellig S. Harris on the subject of

A Grammar of Phoenician. Attention is called to the fact that Members of the Society and Subscribing Libraries have the advantage of considerable reductions in price if these publications are ordered promptly and directly from the Editors.

W. NORMAN BROWN,
JOHN KNIGHT SHRYOCK,
E. A. SPEISER,
Editors.

On motion the report of the Editors was accepted.

On the motion of Professor Speiser it was voted to extend the hearty thanks of the Society to the American Council of Learned Societies for the generosity of the Council in aiding the Society in the publication of Dr. Emeneau's volume on *A Union List of Printed Indic Texts and Translations in American Libraries*.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Corresponding Secretary presented the report of the Executive Committee. The report referred to the election of members whose names are given below, and to other actions of the Committee, published in the JOURNAL 55. 113.

Upon motion the actions of the Committee were ratified.

ELECTION OF MEMBERS

The following forty-one persons recommended by the Directors were duly elected corporate members of the Society (the list including three who were elected at a later session) : *

Miss Adelaide A. Adams	Mr. R. M. Engberg
Mrs. R. Aga-Oglu	Dr. Nabih A. Faris
Mr. Francis O. Allen	Rabbi J. D. Folkman
Prof. S. Basare	Prof. Albrecht Götze
Dr. George Bechtel	Miss Helen Hall
Miss Joyce Black	Miss Isabel Hubbard
Dr. Meribeth Cameron	Prof. Isaac Husik
Mr. Douglas D. Crary	Mr. Harald William Jacobson
Mr. George B. Cressey	Hon. Nelson T. Johnson
Miss Dorothy Cross	Rev. W. P. Lemon
Dr. S. D. Davidson	Prof. Julius Levy
Prof. D. H. Davis	Rev. Herbert G. May

* The other persons whose names were published in the JOURNAL 55. 236 had been elected previously by the Executive Committee.

Prof. L. A. Mayer
 Mr. William S. McCullough
 Dr. Isaac Mendelsohn
 Mr. Pierre M. Purves
 Mrs. Diana J. Riesman
 Prof. Corwin C. Roach
 Prof. H. N. Rowley
 Mr. Joseph A. Russell

Miss Jeanette Shambaugh
 Mr. Carol E. Simcox
 Rev. Victor H. Sword
 Mr. Gordon R. Taylor
 Prof. Glenn T. Trewatha
 Prof. S. S. Van Valkenberg
 Mrs. Richard H. Webber
 Prof. Frederick V. Winnett

ELECTION OF OFFICERS

Professor N. Schmidt presented the report of the Committee on the Nomination of Officers for 1935-36 as follows:

President: Professor WILLIAM FOXWELL ALBRIGHT, of The Johns Hopkins University.

Vice-Presidents: Professor EDGAR H. STURTEVANT, of Yale University; Dr. CHARLES J. OGDEN, of New York; and Professor LEROY WATERMAN, of the University of Michigan.

Corresponding Secretary: Professor LEROY C. BARRET, of Trinity College, Hartford.

Recording Secretary: Dr. LUDLOW BULL, of the Metropolitan Museum, New York.

Treasurer: Professor JOHN C. ARCHER, of Yale University.

Librarian: Professor ANDREW KEOGH, of Yale University.

Editors of the JOURNAL: Professor W. NORMAN BROWN, of the University of Pennsylvania; Dr. JOHN K. SHRYOCK, of Philadelphia; and Professor EPHRAIM A. SPEISER, of the University of Pennsylvania.

Directors for the term ending 1938: Professor THEOPHILE J. MEEK, of the University of Toronto; Professor W. H. WORRELL, of the University of Michigan; and Dr. JAMES R. WARE, of the Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge.

NATHANIEL SCHMIDT, *Chairman*,
 PAUL EMILE DUMONT,
 JULIAN MORGENSTERN.

The officers thus nominated were duly elected.

ELECTION OF HONORARY MEMBER

On recommendation of the Directors, Dr. Antoine Meillet, Professor of Indo-European Comparative Philology at the Collège de France and the Ecole des Hautes Etudes, was unanimously elected an honorary member of the Society.

The president announced that the International Congress of Orientalists was to meet in Rome, Italy, in September 1935, and

asked that those members of the Society who expected to attend the Congress should notify the Corresponding Secretary.

At this point the President of the Middle West Branch of the Society, Professor Francis W. Buckler, announced that the annual business meeting of the Branch would be held on Friday morning at 9.15, and he announced the appointment of committees of the Branch.

The President of the Society appointed as a Committee on Resolutions, Professor Sturtevant and Messrs. Orlinsky and Winnett.

At this point the Corresponding Secretary was requested, by unanimous vote of those present to send telegrams of greeting from the Society to Professor Charles R. Lanman and Professor A. V. Williams Jackson.

The reading of papers was then begun.

Professor JULIUS LEWY, of the Jewish Theological Seminary: A new Version of Sennacherib's Campaigns.

Dr. JOHN K. SHRYOCK, of Philadelphia: A Chinese Machiavelli. Remarks by Prof. McGovern.

Professors L. WATERMAN and L. C. KARPINSKI, of the University of Michigan: The recently discovered revolutionary mathematical Attainments of the Babylonians. Remarks by Dr. Shryock and Professor Speiser.

After the session the members of the Society were the guests of the University of Michigan at luncheon at the Michigan Union, where President Ruthven of the University made a cordial address of welcome.

THE SECOND SESSION

The second session was called to order at 2.30 p. m. President Kent resigned the chair to Professor Francis W. Buckler, President of the Middle West Branch of the Society, and delivered his Presidential Address on "Linguistic Science and the Orientalist" (published JOURNAL 55. 115). President Kent then resumed the chair.

The following papers were then read:

Professor E. A. SPEISER, of the University of Pennsylvania: The Problem of Gender in the Semitic Languages. Remarks by Professor Kent.

Professor W. N. MCGOVERN, of Northwestern University: The Indo-Scythians.

Professor N. C. DEBEVOISE, of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago: Cicero, Cilicia, and the Parthians.

Professor A. T. OLMSTEAD, of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago: Oriental Science and Greek Philosophy. Remarks by President Morgenstern, Professor Bonner and Dr. Coomaraswamy.

Professor G. W. BRIGGS, of Drew University: Some Means of fixing Attention according to the Śiva Samhitā. Remarks by Dr. Coomaraswamy and Professor F. Edgerton.

Mr. Z. S. HARRIS, of the University of Pennsylvania: Some phonetic Deductions from Ras Shamra.

On Wednesday evening the members of the Society were entertained delightfully by President and Mrs. Ruthven of the University of Michigan at a reception at their house.

THE THIRD SESSION

The third session was called to order at 9.15 A. M. to hear the Presidential Address of the President of the Middle West Branch of the Society, Professor Francis W. Buckler of the Oberlin Graduate School of Theology, on "The Shāhnāmah and its Place in the Genealogia Regni Dei."

The meeting then divided into three sections.

THE SECTION FOR SEMITICS AND RELATED STUDIES

Professor Price presided at the section for Semitic and Related Studies. The following papers were read:

Professor W. F. EDGERTON, of the University of Chicago: On the Origin of certain Coptic verbal Forms. Remarks by Dr. Bull and Professors Speiser and Worrell.

Professor W. A. IRWIN, of the University of Chicago: Isaiah's Attitude in the Crisis of 701 B. C. Remarks by Professor Bittenwieser.

Professor NELSON GLUECK, of the Hebrew Union College: Israel in the Arabah. Remarks by Professors Meek and Speiser.

President JULIAN MORGENSTERN, of the Hebrew Union College: What happened to Jerusalem about 485 B. C. Remarks by Professor Irwin.

Rabbi SHELDON H. BLANK, of the Hebrew Union College: A Reexamination of some biblical Sources for the Relations between Israel and Edom.

Mr. F. V. WINNETT, of the University of Toronto: A new Thamudic Inscription (illustrated). Remarks by Professor Butin.

THE SECTION FOR INDO-IRANIAN AND RELATED STUDIES

Dr. Coomaraswamy presided at the section for Indo-Iranian and Related Studies. The following papers were read:

Professor TRUMAN H. MICHELSON, of George Washington University: *Anaptyxis in Middle Indo-Aryan*. Remarks by Professor F. Edgerton.

Professor FRANKLIN EDGERTON, of Yale University: *Meter in Buddhistic Sanskrit*. Remarks by Professor Kent.

Dr. M. B. EMENEAU, of Yale University: *The Causative in Dravidian*. Remarks by Professors Kent and Michelson, Miss Hahn, and Dr. Coomaraswamy.

Professor E. H. STURTEVANT, of Yale University: *Vowel Assimilation or Ablaut in certain Hittite Words*. Remarks by Professors Kent, Edgerton and Michelson.

Dr. A. K. COOMARASWAMY, of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: *The Darker Side of Dawn*.

Dr. G. V. BOBRINSKOY, of the University of Chicago: *A line of Brahmi-script in a Babylonian Contract Tablet*. Remarks by Professor Michelson, Dr. Bowman and Mr. Winnett.

THE SECTION FOR FAR EASTERN STUDIES

Mr. Graves presided at the section for Far Eastern Studies. The following papers were read:

Professor T. W. NAKARAI, of Butler University: *The Japanese Syllabaries*. Remarks by Professors McGovern and Elisséef.

Professor CHARLES S. BRADEN, of Northwestern University: *Konkokyo, a little known Japanese Sect*. Remarks by Professors Elisséef and McGovern.

Miss Ardella R. HALL, of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: *Chinese Art and Genius (illustrated)*. Remarks by Dr. Hummel.

Professor SERGE ELISSÉEF, of the Harvard-Yenching Institute: *An Abortive Proposal for Japanese Assistance to the last of the Ming Emperors*. Remarks by Dr. Hummel, and Professors Hamilton and McGovern.

After the session the members of the Society were generously entertained at luncheon at the Michigan Union by their fellow member Mr. Henry K. Schoch, of Detroit and of the University of Michigan.

THE FOURTH SESSION

The fourth session was called to order at 2.30 P. M. and the following papers were read:

Professor MOSES BUTTENWIESER, of the Hebrew Union College: *Psalms 137, 42-43, and 107A and the Spiritual Condition of Israel during the Exile*.

Mr. H. M. ORLINSKY, of Dropsie College: The columnar Order of the Hexapla. Remarks by Mr. Johnson.

Dr. W. E. STAPLES, of Victoria University: A persistent Mistranslation. Remarks by Professors Speiser and Meek, and President Morgenstern.

Professor N. SCHMIDT, of Cornell University: The Aramaic Origin of Gospels. Remarks by Professor Sanders.

Mr. W. H. DUBBERSTEIN, of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago: Materials for the History of Seleucid Babylonia.

Professor T. J. MEEK, of the University of Toronto: The Transliteration of Cuneiform. Remarks by Professors Olmstead, Sturtevant, Kent, Waterman, and Lewy, and Dr. Geers.

On Thursday evening the Annual Dinner of the Society took place at the Michigan Union.

THE FIFTH SESSION

The fifth session was called to order at 9.15 Friday morning.

Professor Watermann reported for the Committee on Arrangements.

THE NEXT ANNUAL MEETING

The Corresponding Secretary announced that the next annual meeting of the Society would be held, at the invitation of Yale University, at New Haven in the neighborhood of Easter 1936, the exact days to be fixed by the Executive Committee.

THE COMMITTEE FOR THE PROMOTION OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

In the absence of Professor Bender, chairman of the committee, the Corresponding Secretary read the following report of the Committee on the Promotion of Oriental Research:

The Standing Committee for the Promotion of Oriental Research, consisting of Professors Bender (chairman) and Montgomery, and Dr. Hummel, reported to the Directors of the Society at their meeting Tuesday evening, the 23rd of April 1935, on the first year of its work. The committee outlined its policy and reported in some detail on its activities in connection with various projects of research.

The committee voted to suggest to the Society, through its Directors, that it look forward constructively to a time and situation when the Society will make available or secure funds sufficient to permit the setting aside of a substantial sum each year for the support of research projects, on the ground that the Society should be able to offer some amount, however small, when it seeks support outside. In this connection, the committee offered its services in an advisory capacity.

The committee decided also to announce in the JOURNAL that members of the Society who have well planned projects or complete manuscripts are invited to submit them to the Society. Beyond this the committee does not plan, except by informal contacts, to make any effort to secure applications, the desire being to keep a high standard of applications. The committee will critically examine such matured projects, and, if it approves them, will assist in trying to secure funds for publication, providing there seems to be a reasonable prospect of securing such funds. The committee will not serve as a mere rubber stamp of approval.

During the past year seven projects were approved by the committee, and every effort was made to further them. Of this number three were carried, in cooperation with other agencies, to the point of appropriations involving many thousands of dollars. Three were definitely advanced with increased hope for the future, and one was rejected by the body to which application was made. But even for that single case another solution is likely to be found.

As regards many of these projects public announcement would be premature now, for one reason or another; but from time to time, as the situation may justify it, the committee will issue statements in the JOURNAL under the heading, "Notes of the Society."

REORGANIZATION OF THE SOCIETY

President Morgenstern reported for the Committee on the Reorganization of the Society. He announced that the committee, after long and careful consideration had proposed amendments to the Constitution and By-laws, which would be submitted to the members of the Society for their consideration (published JOURNAL 55. 226), and passed upon at the next Annual Meeting.

COMMITTEE ON A LAUFER MEMORIAL

The Corresponding Secretary reported that in pursuance of a vote of the Board of Directors the President had appointed a committee to consider plans for a permanent memorial of the late Dr. Berthold Laufer, consisting of Professor Clark, chairman, Professor Olmstead, and Dr. Shryock.

Professor Olmstead reported for the American schools of Oriental Research, and President Morgenstern spoke briefly on the Endowment Fund of the Schools.

REPORT OF DELEGATES TO THE COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES

Professor N. Schmidt read the following report for Dr. Shryock

and himself as Delegates to the American Council of Learned Societies.

The Council met in Boston, Massachusetts, in the House of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, on February 1st and 2nd, 1935. The organization of the Council had taken place in the same building fifteen years before, on September 19th, 1919.

The meetings were stimulating and fruitful. The Budget adopted for 1935 amounted to \$109,750.00, the funds being obtained chiefly from the Carnegie and Rockefeller Foundations. A number of important actions were taken which are of interest to this society.

The Council has adopted the following system of rendering assistance to publications: It will extend assistance to a limited number of works in the humanities by American scholars, normally in the form of a subvention to the sponsoring society. It invites its constituent societies to propose suitable works for assistance. The selection of works to be recommended is made by a jury consisting of the Advisory Board, and of not more than seven other members named by the Executive Committee. Works to be recommended should be complete works, preferably the results of constructive research. Assistance was voted to eight works, and the jury did not have sufficient information on seventeen titles to warrant making a decision. The editors of the JOURNAL did not make any request for funds this year.

The Committee on Far Eastern Studies reported the death of Dr. Berthold Laufer, expressed appreciation of his work, and recommended that a permanent memorial, in the form of a chair of sinology, a fellowship, or a memorial re-publication of his collected works, should be provided. The Training Center for Far Eastern Studies in the Library of Congress has increased its personnel. The work of translating the Han Dynastic History is proceeding satisfactorily under the direction of Dr. H. H. Dubs. A successful Summer Seminar was held in 1934 at the University of California, and Columbia University is planning to hold one in 1935. A number of grants have been made to individual scholars in this field, and the first volume of Studies in Chinese and Related Civilizations has been published, containing *The Literary Inquisition of Ch'ien-Lung*, by Dr. L. C. Goodrich.

The Committee on Indic and Iranian Studies reported that an American School of Indic and Iranian Studies had been incorporated, and that an archeological expedition to the Indus Valley was projected. The chairman of the committee, Professor Brown, has been in India endeavoring to make arrangements for this enterprise. The committee also reported on the work done during the year on the Census of Indic Manuscripts in the United States and Canada, and on the listing of Indic texts and translations.

In the summer of 1935, there will be held at Princeton University a Seminar in Arabic and Islamic Studies. Professor Hitti will be in charge of the Seminar, which is a new venture in this field. It is to be hoped that it will be very successful.

The Permanent Secretary, Mr. Leland, spoke on the death of Mgr. Lacombe, and there were a number of appreciations of his work.

Among those projects which were assisted, and which are of especial interest to the society, were the Preparation of Skeletal Remains at Haifa, by T. F. McCown, of the American School of Prehistoric Research; the Study of the Non-Aryan Languages of India; the Research in American Indian Law; and the Index to Tertullian. While not in the Oriental field, members of the society will be interested in the Descriptive Grammar of English, now being undertaken under the direction of Professor Sapir. An interesting outline of the work already accomplished was presented at the meeting.

Attention may once more be called to the Council's funds which are applied to research fellowships. At present these are sought chiefly for research in English and Romance philology and literature, but they should be more generally utilized by orientalists. The Rotograph Service of the Modern Language Association has now been extended into the other fields of the humanities. The project for Excavation at Tarsus in Cilicia, proposed by the Archeological Institute of America, was referred back to the Executive Committee. The American Society of International Law was admitted to representation on the Council.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Professor Sturtevant, for himself and his colleagues, Messrs. Orlinsky and Winnett, presented the following minute of the Committee on Resolutions:

The American Oriental Society, having held an unusually successful meeting at Ann Arbor, desires to thank its host, the University of Michigan, for the use of its buildings, for the privilege of viewing its museum exhibitions, for numerous courtesies on the part of the University Staff, and particularly for the luncheon given to the members of the Society. Our thanks go also to the Michigan Union, to the Michigan League, and to the University Club for putting at our disposal their facilities for comfortable and pleasant living. We thank President and Mrs. Ruthven for the delightful hospitality that we have experienced at their house; Mr. Henry K. Schoch, whose guest we have been at luncheon; and particularly the Committee on Arrangements for their efficient provision for all our needs.

Upon motion the minute was unanimously adopted by a rising vote.

APPOINTMENT OF STANDING COMMITTEES

The President announced that in pursuance of a vote of the Board of Directors he had appointed a Committee on Investments, consisting of the Treasurer, Professor Price and Dr. Ogden.

He also announced that the Committee to Nominate Officers in

1936 was to consist of Professor Olmstead, Mrs. DeWitt, and Professor Clark.

As auditors he appointed Professors Burrows and Torrey.

To the Committee on Arrangements he appointed Professor F. Edgerton, chairman, Professors Archer, Burrows, Kraeling, Sturtevant and Torrey, with the Corresponding Secretary *ex-officio*; the committee to have power to add to their number.

RESOLUTIONS REGARDING SYSTEMS OF TRANSLITERATION

On motion of Dr. Aga-Oglu it was voted that the Society should express to the international Congress of Orientalists the Society's desire for the adoption of an international system of transliterating Arabic, Iranic, and Turkish.

On motion of Professor Meek it was voted to make similar representations regarding the transliteration of cuneiform.

Remarks on the same subjects were made by President Morgestern and Professors Buckler, Bittenwieser, Sturtevant and Worrell.

BUSINESS SESSION OF THE MIDDLE WEST BRANCH

The Middle West Branch met in the Alumni Memorial Hall at 9.15 Friday morning with the President, Professor Francis W. Buckler, presiding.

The President announced the Committee on Nominations as Professor Olmstead, President Morgestern, and Professor Worrell.

Professor Sellers offered and the Branch accepted the following Treasurer's report:

Balance reported at last meeting.....	\$23.36
Expenditures—stamps and post cards.....	1.00
	<hr/>
Balance on hand.....	\$22.36

For the committee on nominations Professor Olmstead presented the following, who were elected unanimously:

President: Professor MARTIN SPRENGLING, of the University of Chicago.

Vice-President: Professor SHELDON BLANK, of Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati.

Secretary-Treasurer: Professor O. R. SELLERS, of the Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Chicago.

Members of the Executive Committee: Professor FRANCIS W. BUCKLER, of Oberlin Graduate School of Theology, and Professor C. L. PYATT, of the College of the Bible, Lexington, Kentucky.

The Branch voted to accept the invitation of the Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Chicago, for the next annual meeting, and set April 3-4, 1936, as the provisional date, with power to change if necessary left to the Executive Committee.

For the Resolutions Committee Professor Price offered the following resolutions, which were adopted:

We of the Middle-West Branch express our appreciation of the willingness of the parent society to bring its meeting this year as far West as Ann Arbor, and of the fact that so many members have attended.

We express our satisfaction also that so many members of the Middle-West Branch have been present and participated in the program.

IRA M. PRICE,
C. L. PYATT,
CHAS. S. BRADEN.

The session of the Branch adjourned at 9.27 A. M.

PAPERS READ AT THE FIFTH SESSION

The following papers were read:

Rev. S. E. JOHNSON, of the Seabury Western Theological Seminary: The "Septuagint" Translators of Amos.

Mr. R. M. ENGBERG, of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago: The Cultural Ties of Megiddo in the Hyksos Period. Remarks by Professor Speiser and Dr. Bull.

Professor O. R. SELLEBS, of the Presbyterian Theological Seminary: Optimistic Passages in Ecclesiastes.

Professor CAMPBELL BONNER, of the University of Michigan: Remarks on some Syrian and Palestinian Bronze Amulets. Remarks by Professors Kent and Irwin, Dr. Bull, President Morgenstern, and Miss Hahn.

Mr. W. S. McCULLOUGH, of the University of Toronto: A Mandaean Incantation Bowl (illustrated). Remarks by Professors Bonner, Speiser, Buckler, Olmstead, Meek, and Kent, and Dr. Debevoise.

Miss W. VAN INGEN, of the University of Michigan: Figurines from Seleucia on the Tigris and the Question of Parthian Art (illustrated). Remarks by Dr. Debevoise, Dr. Aga-Oglu, and Professors Meek, Olmstead, Speiser, Buckler, and Kent.

The following papers were read by title:

Professor W. F. ALBRIGHT, of the Johns Hopkins University: The Date of the Hebrew Conquest of Canaan.

Professor J. J. OBERMANN, of Yale University: New Light on the Semitic Background of the Greek Alphabet.

Dr. G. V. BOBRINSKOY, of the University of Chicago: The Sandhyā-worship.

Mr. ROSWELL S. BRITTON, of New York: Divination Relics in the Chalfant-Tooker Collection.

Dr. S. SAKANISHI and Dr. SWINGLE, of the Library of Congress: The Hyakumantō Dharani, earliest dated Specimen of the Printer's Art.

Professor N. J. REICH, of the Dropsie College: Archaic Demotic Papyri and the Demotic and Greek Mummy Tickets of the University of Michigan Collection.

Dr. WILLIAM ROSENAU, of the Johns Hopkins University: Maimonides as Lexicographer.

Professor F. R. BLAKE, of the Johns Hopkins University: (a) The Hebrew Imperfect and Perfect with *waw* Conversive. (b) The postpositive Particles of Reference in Maya.

Miss HELEN B. CHAPIN, of Mills College: An early Śaiva *mukhaliṅga* as a possible Prototype of Buddhist Stūpas representing the five Dhyāni Buddhas.

Professor KURT LEIDECKER, of the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute: A new psychological Approach to Upanishadic Thinking.

Rev. Dr. H. H. SPOER, of New York: (a) Arabic magic medicinal Bowls. (b) A *tāsa* of as-Sultān al-Malik al-Manṣūr 'Asad ad-Dīn Sirkūh.

Professor L. C. BARRET, of Trinity College: The Kashmirian Atharva Veda, Book Seventeen.

Mr. RICHARD T. HALLOCK, of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago: The Syllabary Text Rm 2,588.

Professor GEORGE A. CRESSEY, of Syracuse University: The Fenghsien Landscape.

Mr. CHARLES S. GARDNER, of Newtonville, Mass: (a) Religious Toleration in China under the early Manchu Emperors. (b) Recently discovered manuscript sources for Modern Chinese History.

Mr. ROBERT S. HARDY, of the University of Chicago: The Annunaki and Igigi, Gods of Earth and Heaven.

Miss A. RUDOLPH, of Columbia University: Seven Letters from the Samuel Johnson Correspondence. (Copies of these letters have been given to the Library of the Society.)

Dr. R. A. BOWMAN, of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago: The Development of the Aramaic Business Document in Assyria.

The session adjourned at 12 M.

ANGEL AND TITAN: AN ESSAY IN VEDIC ONTOLOGY

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Ekam vā idam vi babbhūva sarvam, RV. VIII. 58. 2.
Bhrātaram varuṇam agna ā vavṛtsva, RV. IV. 1. 2.
Sarpyā vā ādityāḥ, PB. XXV. 15. 4.¹

Introduction

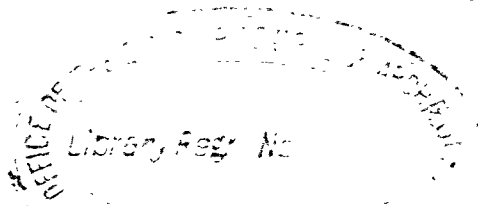
THE LEADING idea to be developed in the present article is that the Devas and Asuras, Angels and Titans, powers of Light and powers of Darkness in RV., although distinct and opposite in operation, are in essence consubstantial, their distinction being a matter

¹ "This One becomes the All;" "Turn hitherwards, O Agni, they brother Varuṇa" (that is, "Reveal thyself," since Agni is "Varuṇa's face," RV. VII. 88. 2, Sūrya the "face" of the Angels, Mitra, Varuṇa, Agni," I. 115. 1); "The Serpents are the Suns."

Abbreviations: RV., *Ṛg Veda Samhitā* (also to be understood where no indication is given; references to the eighth book follow the consecutive numbering, without separation of the Vāḷakhilya); TS., *Taittirīya Samhitā*; AV., *Atharva Veda Samhitā*; VS., *Vājasaneyi Samhitā*; MS., *Maitrāyaṇi Samhitā*; TB., *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*; AB., *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*; PB., *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*; KB., *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa*; ŚB., *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*; JB., *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*; JUB., *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa*; GB., *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*; AA., *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*; BrD., *Bṛhad Devatā*; N., *Yāska, Nirukta*; BU., *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*; ChU., *Chândogya Upaniṣad*; KU., *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*; TP., *Taittirīya Pratiśākhya*; Āp. Śr. S., *Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra*; Mbh., *Mahābhārata*; BG., *Bhagavad Gītā*; R., *Rāmāyaṇa*; BP., *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*; YS., *Yoga Sūtra*; D., *Dīgha Nikāya*; SP., *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka*; SBE., *Sacred Books of the East*; HOS., *Harvard Oriental Series*; JAOS., *Journal of the American Oriental Society*; WZKM., *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*; VM., *Macdonell, Vedic Mythology*.

Some of the problems discussed have been previously raised by Professor W. Norman Brown, "The Sources and Nature of *puruṣa* in the *Puruṣasūkta* (Rig Veda 10. 90)," JAOS. 51. 108-118, and "Proselyting the Asuras," JAOS. 39. 100-103. The present treatise is independent of Siecke, *Drachenkämpfe*, Leipzig, 1907, and Scharbau, *Die Idee der Schöpfung in der vedischen Literatur*, Stuttgart, 1933.

The following are invariable renderings: *deva*, "Angel;" *asura*, "Titan;" *ahi*, "Serpent" (*sarpa* also, "Serpent" or "serpent"); *vrtra*, "Dragon;" *māyā*, "Magic;" *māyin*, "Magician."



not of essence but of orientation, revolution, or transformation, as indicated by such express statements as "The Serpents are the Suns" in PB., and the constant employment of *vrt*, to "turn," "-vert," "-volve," etc. in RV. and Brāhmaṇas, in connection with the relations of Angels and Titans, passim. In this case, the Titan is potentially an Angel, the Angel still by nature a Titan; the Darkness in actu is Light, the Light in potentia Darkness; whence the designations Asura and Deva may be applied to one and the same "Person" according to the mode of operation, as in the case of Varuṇa, or alternatively, there may be a distinction of names in the same sense, as in RV. I. 163. 3, "Trita art thou (Agni) by interior operation" (*guhyaena vratena*). At the same time it is proposed to show that whereas the Angels are typically "men" or "birds," the Titans are typically theriomorphic and in particular ophidian (*sarpya*). These theses are of primary importance in the exegesis of iconography and that of "serpent-worship." The proposition as outlined above is summarized in the citations prefixed by way of "argument." In the present essay account is taken only of the masculine powers; in connection with the corresponding feminine powers, the matter of *sarpatva* has been discussed in "The Darker Side of Dawn," *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Publications*, vol. 94, no. 1; the two papers should be read together.

1. *Indra and Namuci*

The story of Indra and the Titan Namuci, "Holdfast," has been admirably discussed by Bloomfield.² Here we shall only refer

² "The Story of Indra and Namuci," JAOS. 15. 143 ff. I do not agree with Bloomfield that the "foam of the waters" used by Indra as his weapon necessarily means "lead." In ŚB. XII. 7. 3. 3 Indra's *vajra* is actually made of the foam of the waters. Or we might understand that Indra cut off Namuci's head with the foam "by way of *vajra*," following Mahidhara on VS. X. 33, and on the analogy of PB. XV. 5. 20, "with a reed by way of *vajra*" and JB. III. 266, "blade of grass into which Indra infused his *vajra*." In X. 61. 8 *phena* = *retas*. If then we correlate I. 103. 7 *vajreṇa* with II. 11. 2 *viryeṇa*, and recall that *virya* is not merely "bravery" but also "seed" (as rendered by Bühler in translation of Manu. I. 8), it is apparent in what sense, viz. by the "seminal virtue" as *vajra*, that Indra decapitated Namuci (and thus generated life); and this is confirmed by PB. XV. 5. 20 *iṣikām vajram*, if we equate *iṣikā* with *vetasa*, as employed significantly in X. 95. 4 *śnathita vaitasena*, cf. ŚB. IX. 1. 2. 22 where the bamboo (*vetasa*) is a kind of "water" symbolically

to what is pertinent for present purposes. Indra and Namuci, Titan and Magician, whose identity with Vṛtra is evident, had been boon companions, that is drinkers of soma together, ante principium. A compact is made that Indra shall not slay Namuci "with anything dry nor with anything wet, neither by day or night," that is, ostensibly, not under any circumstances whatever. There is indeed a marked reluctance on the part of either to slay the other; thus, in MS. IV. 3. 4 Namuci says "Let us twain be friends," Indra replying "I will not slay." This reluctance on the part of the Angels to injure the Titans, who are in fact their kinsmen, recurs throughout the traditional literature; cf. Mitra's similar reluctance to slay Soma, ŚB. IV. I. 4. 8, Arjuna's reluctance in BG. I. 26 f. ("I will not fight"; Arjuna's opponents, "ancestors, relatives, and friends," are in fact the Vedic Titans), and Indra's again in Jātaka, text I. pp. 202-203 (where "not for the sake of empire" parallels BG. I. 35 "not for the kingship of the three worlds," the dominion in question being in both cases that which is in fact reversed in RV. X. 124. 4, *pary āvard rāṣṭram*, and that which is ultimately won by the Pāṇḍavas in Mbh.).

Indra nevertheless finds means to slay Namuci, evading the conditions by a subterfuge. Namuci's severed head "rolls after" (*anvavarta*) Indra, bitterly reproaching him as the "betrayor of a friend" and "treacherous hero-slayer of the innocent" (TB. I. 7. 1. 7-8 and PB. XII. 6, cf. Mbh. IX. 2436). Indra atones by means of a sacrifice (no doubt a Pravargya ceremony, where the "head of the sacrifice" is symbolically restored) and an expiatory bath in the river Aruṇā.

In the RV. accounts Indra, "seeking a broadway for Manu, wrung off (*avartayah*) the head of Namuci . . . churned (*mathāyat*) Namuci's head, to wit the bright revolving gem" (*āsmānam cit svaryam vartamānam*, V. 30. 7-8); which "gem" is the Sun, cf. V. 47. 3 where Agni is *prśnir āsmā*, "variegated gem," and VII. 104. 19 *pra vartaya divo āsmānam*, "set Heaven's gem a-rolling," addressed to Indra as demon-slayer.

Notice should be taken here of the equivalence of *vṛt*, and *math* = "twirl"; the latter root is used in RV. passim with reference

used to "quench" (*śamayati*) the fierce interior aspect of Agni, i. e. to "set aside his scorching evil" (*śucam asya pāpmānam apahanti*, ib. 20), which is just what Indra does to Namuci.

(1) to the generation of Agni by Mātariṣvān (= Vāyu, Spiritus)³ in the beginning, or by sacrificers in the analogous rite, and (2) to the rape of Soma by the Hawk (*śyena* = Agni, as demonstrated by Bloomfield, JAOS. 16. 11 ff.). The nature of the movement implied in both cases is the same, viz. a turning round, hence our rendering "twirl," the significance "churning" being involved only in so far as the process is applied to a liquid, as in *samudra-mathana*. The most important passages for the production of Agni by "twirling" include I. 141. 3, where Mātariṣvān "twirls him from his ground (*budhnāt*), from the Buffalo's image (*varpasah*), when he lay hidden" (*guhā santam* = ab intra),⁴ who is thus "brought to us from the Supernal Father" (*pituh paramāt*); III. 9. 5, where Mātariṣvān brings "Agni hither from afar, who had been hidden (*tirohitam*) from us, brings from the Angels him that had been twirled" (*mathitam*); and VI. 16. 13 where Atharvan "twirled (*nir amanthat*) thee, Agni, from the lotus (*puṣkarāt* = *budhnāt*, above),⁵ from the head of *Viśva* (-*rūpa*), the

³ The "Windnatur" of Mātariṣvān (= Mātali) is discussed by Charpentier, *Kleine Beiträge zur indoiranischen Mythologie*, Uppsala, 1911, pp. 68-83; Charpentier concludes (in general agreement with the view of the Indian commentators) "Alles in allen kann ich nicht umhin die Windnatur des Mātariṣvān-Mātali für sekundär in Bezug auf seine Natur als Prometheus und einer der 'Vater' zu halten." Mātariṣvān is Vāta-Vāyu, the Gale, the Dawnwind (I. 122. 3 *vasarhā* . . . *vātaḥ*) who awakens Agni (*prabodhaya purandhim*, see Bloomfield in JAOS. 16. 18 f.), he fans the flame of Life (VI. 6. 3, where Agni is *vātajūtāsah*). Cf. the "Spirit," the "Wind," and the "East Wind" in Genesis I. 2 and VIII. 1, and Exodus XIV. 2. Reference to the dawn wind can be traced in almost all nativities, cf. the mediaeval German "Do in der Stäl kimt überall der kalte Wind herein."

⁴ *Varpas* = *rūpa* (Sāyaṇa); the manifested Agni is "The Father's own image abiding in himself (cf. PB. VII. 6. 2) . . . his image, that is to say, his Son" (Eckhart), cf. AV. X. 8. 28 (= JUB. III. 11), "Is he their eldest or their youngest? Is he their Son or their Father? Truly it is one Angel that has entered into intellect, erst was he born, and yet is even now in embryo," i. e. as in RV. III. 55. 7, "albeit he proceedeth foremost, still he stays within his ground."

⁵ It hardly needs to be demonstrated here (cf. my *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*, 1935, pp. 19-21) that Sāyaṇa correctly explains the lotus, *puṣkara*, as a designation of the ground of existence in any world. It may be added, however, in connection with the kenning *abja*, "born of water," equivalent to "lotus," *puṣkara*, that in VII. 34. 16 this epithet is applied to the Serpent, "I celebrate with litanies the Serpent water-born (*abjām* . . . *ahim*, cf. *apām napāt* = Agni), seated in the rivers' ground, the

priest" (*mūrdhno visvaśya vāghataḥ*). Those for the production of Soma by twirling are I. 93.6 where "the Hawk twirls (or 'grinds,' *amathnāt*) Soma from the Rock" (*pari śyeno adreḥ*), and IX. 77.2, Soma "whom the Hawk from Heaven wrung" (*yaṁ divas pari śyeno mathāyat*, cf. in V. 30.8 cited above, *śiro dāsasya namucer mathāyat*). The latter passages are especially intelligible in the light of the repeated "Vṛtra was Soma" in ŚB.

2. Makha

The references to a Titan Makha driven away by the Bhṛgu in RV. IX. 101.13, or whose head is cut off by Indra in X. 171.2, presupposes the Brāhmaṇa versions in which Makha's head becomes the Sun. In X. 171.2 Indra "lifts from his hide raging Makha's head" (*makhasya dodhataḥ śiro 'va tvaco bharaḥ*), anticipating the prayer in the fourth verse, to bring back from the West into the East "the Sun, Vaśa that had been hidden from the Angels"

“rivers' beds” (*budhne naḍinām rajaḥsu śīdan*—a little difficult, but evidently tantamount to *nadī-vṛtam* applied to Vṛtra elsewhere), who in the next verse is referred to more specifically as Ahi Budhnya. The consequent exegesis is very elegant; for we may say that just as Ahi is *abja*, not indeed as being a lotus, but like the lotus in this respect as well as in that he is Agni's source, so Agni born from the lotus is *abjaja*. In full agreement with this is a passage in which Agni is described as found “where he has crept up out of the waters onto the lotus-leaf” (*adbhya upodāsrptam puṣkaraparṇe*, ŚB. VII. 3. 2. 14), with which may be compared also the account of the procession of Arbuda Kādraveya (son of Kadru, i. e. of the Serpent Queen, and probably the same as Ahi, at least an *ahi*), “The Serpent Prophet had made an incantation, thereby he crept forth, and that, indeed, is called ‘Arbuda's creeping forth’” (*sarparṣi mantrakṛt yenopodāsarpat . . . arbudodāsarpani nāma*, AB. VI. 1, where also Arbuda is called a venomous serpent or basilisk, *āśiviṣaḥ*, the Skt. equivalent of Avestan *azhi-visha* in *Azhi-vishapa*; from PB. IX. 8. 7-8, cf. IV. 9. 4-6, it appears that the *mantra* alluded to is RV. X. 189, for here it is “by the *sarparājñyā* verse that Arbuda puts off his corrupted skin,” *mṛtām tvacam apāhata*).

For the lotus (= earth) as Agni's birthplace cf. also VIII. 72. 11, where soma is “poured in the lotus” (*niṣiktaṁ puṣkare*), and ŚB. VIII. 6. 3. 7, *yonir vai puṣkara-parṇam*. RV. VII. 33. 11, where Vasiṣṭha (Agni) *brahman . . . jātaḥ . . . puṣkare*, corresponds to GB. I. 16 *brahma ha vai brahmāṇaṁ puṣkare asṛje*. That Agni is said to creep up out of the waters onto the lotus corresponds to the Gnostic symbol of nymph and imago.

(*sūryam . . . devānām cit tiro vaśam*): "raging Makha's head" corresponding to "raging Vṛtra's head" severed by Indra with his hundred-jointed bolt in VIII. 6. 6 (*vi cid vṛtrasya dodhato vajreṇa śiro bibheda*); "Vaśa" to that "equine Vaśa" who is aided by the Aśvins in I. 112. 10, etc., and in VIII. 46. 33 is evidently the Sun; and the "hide" to the "black skin that Indra hates" (*indra-dviṣtām . . . tvacam asikṇim*, IX. 73. 5), the "Serpent's inveterated skin" of IX. 86. 44 where Soma "even as Ahi, creeps forward from the ancient skin" (*ahir na jūrṇām ati sarpati*), in harmony with PB. XXV. 15. 4 where the serpents "abandoning their inveterated skin (*hitvā jūrṇām tvacam*) creep forward (*atisarpanti*), put away Death, and become Ādityas." Somewhat to anticipate, we may remark that the bisection of the Serpent may be equated with the diremption of Heaven and Earth.

Turning now to the Brāhmaṇa versions, in PB. VII. 5. 6 Agni, Indra, Vāyu, and Makha, all desirous of glory (*yaśas*) take part in a sacrificial session. Makha obtains the glory, but as he leans on his bow, the end springs up, cutting off his head, and "this became the *pravargya*, for Makha is indeed the sacrifice." This *pravargya* (or *pravarga*) is also called in ritual the *mahāvira*, or *gharma*, and "the head of the sacrifice." In TA. V. 1. 1-5, Makha is called Vaiṣṇava (Saumya in ŚB. XIV. 1. 2. 17), the bow "spins up" (*udavartat*) the head, which circles about Heaven and Earth (*dyāvāprthivī anuprāvarata*, cf. RV. V. 30. 8, *vartamānaṁ rodasī*); and "that he turned forth" (*prāvarata*, i. e. 'proceeded,' cf. *pravṛtti*) is the origin of the term *pravargya*, that he was glowing that of the term *gharma*, that he had great heroism that of the term *mahāvira*." TB. II. 6. 13. 1, *sa bibheda valam magham*, cf. RV. III. 34. 10 *bibheda valam*, suggests the identity of the personified "Cavern," Vala (cf. *vara*, *varaṇa*, *varuṇa*, *vṛtra*, *varāha*) with Makha, but that the reading is *magham* and not *makham*, cf. IX. 20. 7 *kṛiṇur makho na mamhayuḥ pavitraṁ soma gacchasi*, "even as Makha, Soma," etc., emphasizes the indivisibility of reckless bravery, wealth, and generosity in the ideal hero. The account is fuller in ŚB. XIV. 1. 1; the Angels present are Indra, Agni, Soma, Makha, and Viṣṇu (perhaps we ought to read Soma-Makha or Makha-Viṣṇu); it is Viṣṇu's head that is severed by the bow, the string of which is gnawed by ants, and this head becomes "yonder Sun"; the rest of him lies outspread (*pravṛj*, whence ŚB. derives

pravargya, better than as in TA. cited above).⁶ Indra rushes up to the fallen "hero" (*mahāvira*) engulfs him (*taṁ paryagrṇāt*, in other words, swallows him up, or rather drinks him, who is really Soma), and thus "became *makhavat*, for *Makhavat* is he who is metaphysically (*parokṣeṇa*) *Maghavat*"; moreover, "*Makha* is the same as *Viṣṇu* . . . the Sacrifice."⁷ It is evident that an

⁶ In RV. V. 30. 15 the *gharma* is said to be heated *pravṛje*, "for the *Pravargya*." Closely related to *pravṛj* is Vedic *parā vṛj*, to "reject," "cast away," so often employed in connection with Agni RV. II. 13. 12; II. 15. 7; IV. 30. 16; and probably in the same connection in I. 112. 8). In I. 116. 24, Soma too is "like *Rebha*, *pravṛktam*"; while in X. 8. 9 *parā vṛj* in the form *parā vark* is used in connection with the decapitation of *Viśvarūpa*; whence it may be inferred that *parāvṛj*, *parāvṛkta*, applied to Agni and Soma are said with reference to the deposition of the body after decapitation. These terms occur in association with the expression "making the blind to see, the lame to walk," and if as we suppose this means "effecting the Sun's procession," who had been as it were a "blindworm," the connection of ideas is evident; for the Sun being *Varuṇa*'s "eye," passim, *Varuṇa* can only be thought of as blind while yet the Sun is *tamasā apagūlham*, *guhā nihitam*, etc., i. e. before the section of the Serpent's head, and as "crawling," which is expressed by saying that the Sun was originally "footless" (*apad*, often tantamount to "serpent," cf. ŚB. I. 6. 3. 9, "in that he, Soma, was footless, he was *Ahi*) and is footless until *Varuṇa* "makes feet for him, that he may proceed" (I. 24. 8); for the corresponding distinction of the "footless" and the "footed" aspects of the feminine principles, see *The Darker Side of Dawn*. For a fuller discussion cf. *vṛj* or *varj* on RV. see Bloomfield in JAOS. 35. 273 ff.; the primary sense is that of "do," and hence "do for," as in the expression "done for" = "ruined." *Parā vṛj* corresponds also to *parāsa* in IV. 18. 8 and *parāsyat* in X. 72. 8.

With reference to the designations of Agni as *prśnir aśmā* and of the Sun as *vartamānam aśmānam* previously cited (whence the use in ritual of a "variegated stone," *aśmānam prśnim*, representing "yonder Sun," ŚB. IX. 2. 3. 14), it may be observed that these formulations, taken in connection with the ophidian character of the deity ab intra, explain the origin of what is now (inasmuch as the significance has been forgotten) strictly speaking a superstition, the notion viz. that there is a jewel in a serpent's head.

⁷ By devouring, or as we must phrase it in the present connection, drinking *Makha*-Soma, Indra appropriates the fallen hero's desirable qualities by an incorporation that is at the same time sacrificial and Eucharistic, cf. John VI. 56, "He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him." This was, of course, the basic principle of cannibalism, and it is notable that it should have survived in both the Vedic and the Christian rituals of Communion.

expiation is required (the slaying of Vṛtra, parallel to that of Viśvarūpa, is indeed one of Indra's *kilbiṣāni*, AB. VII. 28; for which sins of Indra's see Bloomfield in JAOS. 19 (2). 118 f.). But only Dadhyañc Atharvan knows how the head of the sacrifice is to be put on again, and Indra, perfectly satisfied with what has been done, forbids him to reveal it.⁸ The Ásvins nevertheless, as also

The Brāhmaṇa accounts are clearly prefigured in the briefer Vedic references. That Makha is the sacrifice and cause of its efficacy is particularly clear in IX. 20. 7, "Thou, Soma, goest playfully (*krīḷuḥ*) unto the filter, even as Makha prodigal of gifts (*makho na mañhayuḥ*), lending the laud its heroic-virtue (*suviryam*)," where also it should be noted that *krīḷuḥ* (cf. the use of *krīḷ* elsewhere in RV.) implies the same as *līlāva-tārana*, or in other words, a willing sacrifice. In IX. 17. 6 Soma is the "head of the sacrifice" (*mūrdhan yajñasya*). In IX. 5-6 Soma is assimilated both to Indra and to Prajāpati explicitly, and by the expressions employed, to Agni as in I. 13. In I. 134. 1, VIII. 7. 27, and VIII. 46. 25 Vāyu alone or the Devas collectively are invited to "partake of Makha (*makhasya dāvane*, better perhaps, "to partake of the sacrifice"), and "to be lavish" (*dāvane*) in turn; and that all actually partake of Makha's virtue in this way may be inferred from the use of *makha*, "brave" (in battle, cf. *gigantomachy*) as an epithet not only of Indra himself (III. 34. 2) but also of Pūṣan, Savitr, Agni, Ásvins, and Maruts.

A pale reflection of the foregoing doctrine survives incidentally in Pali Buddhism, where it is explained that Indra is called Maghavā because as a man he had once been a brahman of that name" (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, 2, p. 297, citing S. I. 230 and J. IV. 403 = V. 137). *Makkha*, in Pali, is "wrath," "mercilessness," etc.

⁸ Dadhyañc himself is made to suffer decapitation, after which his head is replaced with that of a horse; a parallel to the decapitation not only of that by which the procession of Agni-Sūrya is effected, where there is a symbolic replacement in the ritual, but also to that of Gaṇeśa who in Śaiva mythology is related to Skanda Kumāra as is Agni to Indra in RV. (the relation of *brahma* to *kṣatra*), and losing his head, is given that of an elephant.

The "mystery," the "honey" i. e. "soma" (cf. X. 68. 8 *aśnāpīnaddham madhu*) doctrine is that of the true meaning of the sacrificial ritual, its significance as an act of expiation and reintegration, an undoing of the work of disintegration with which the world begins; which mystery, although outwardly enacted in the ritual, is even now by no means to be revealed to any but a qualified student (ŚB. *loc. cit.*).

The nature of the "sweet doctrine" is nevertheless sufficiently indicated in ŚB. XIV. 1. 2. 18, and more clearly than in TS. VII. 3. 1. 4; three Mahāvira pots have been made, one addressed with the formula "Makha's head art thou," and the other silently, and it is explained, "By whatever one does (*karoti*) with Yajus formula, by that one constitutes (*samskaroti*,

in RV. I. 116. 12, get the secret from him, and they instruct the Angels accordingly how by the proper use of the Mahāvīra vessel, "the head of the sacrifice is put on again, the sacrifice is made whole"; the Ásvins themselves are then admitted to a share in the sacrifice.⁹ ŚB. XIV. 1. 2. 17 gives formulæ for making the vessel, which has parts corresponding to those of a head, and when completed it is addressed with the words "Makha's head art thou," taken from VS. XXXVII. 8, ŚB. adding "for it is indeed the head of Makha Saumya," i. e. of that Makha who is or was really Soma, cf. "Now Vṛtra was Soma," cited below. In PB. VI. 5 the Sun is emanated (*asṛjyata*) from the head of Prajāpati, "he¹⁰ smote off his head" (*udahan* instead of the usual *udvavarta*), and "that became the *drona-kalaśa*," corresponding to ŚB. IV. 4. 3. 4 cited below. The identity of Makha-Saumya with Prajāpati is very

'integrates') that aspect (*rūpam*) of Prajāpati that is explicit and finite (*niruktaś ca parimitaś ca*), and by whatever one does silently (*tuṣṇim*) thereby one constitutes that aspect of him that is implicit and infinite," so that by doing in both ways one constitutes Prajāpati in his entirety (*sarvaṁ kṛtsnam*), and thus reintegrates himself. This explanation applies moreover to the practice of "silent recitation" elsewhere, e. g. *manasū stuvate* in TS. VII. 3. 1. 4, cf. ŚB. II. 1. 4. 29; cf. also the *orationes secretae* in the Christian sacrifice (the Mass). The principle of subtle (*sūkṣma*) as distinguished from gross (*sthūla*) worship in later practice is analogous.

As to the ritual itself, it should never be forgotten that "the observance of the rule thereof is the same as at the creation" (ŚB. XIV. 1. 2. 26 and 3. 1. 36, etc.); and inasmuch as the "creation" is strictly speaking eternal (see my "Eternal Creation in the Ṛg Veda" to appear in the Ramakrishna Memorial Number of the *Vedanta Kesari* in 1936), it may be said of the sacrifice as envisaged in the Brāhmaṇas, what has been affirmed of the Christian sacrifice, the Mass, that "it is not confined to, nor limited by, the conditions of time and space" (Bede Frost, *The Meaning of Mass*, Oxford, 1934, p. 63), and as to its efficacy, what is affirmed of the Hebrew sacrifice, that "the impulse of the sacrifice is the mainstay of the worlds" and that it is by the impulse of the smoke from below that "the lamp (i. e. the Sun) is kindled above" (Zohar, Vayehi section, II. 374 in the Sperling and Simon version). Here as elsewhere there is nothing whatever unique in the Vedic point of view.

* In which they originally had no part, as we know also in connection with the story of Cyavāna (PB. XIV. 6. 10; ŚB. IV. 1. 5; JB. III. 120 f., etc.), whom we identify with Prajāpati.

¹⁰ "He;" "Indra" must be supplied. In ŚB. IV. 4. 3. 4 (Kāva), *devāḥ . . . vyagr̥hṇata*, (Mādhyamdina) *udvavarta*.

evident also in ŚB. XIV. 1. 2, where both alike are the sacrifice; even apart from which the equivalence would be obvious, inasmuch as in both cases it is always a primary purpose of the ritual to reintegrate the creator, when he is disintegrated by the expression of creatures, has fallen down, and cannot rise (for Prajāpati, see ŚB. I. 6. 3. 35-37, PB. IV. 10. 1, VI. 5. 1, etc.).

3. *The Sacrifice of King Soma*

In ŚB. IV. 4. 3. 4 we find "Now Vṛtra was Soma."¹¹ When the Angels smote him, his head whirled up (*udvavarta*) and became the *drona-kalaśa*," i. e. the soma-vessel, cf. PB. VI. 5. 7 "the vessel of the Angels." That the head becomes a vessel explains the designation of certain vessels as *kapāla*, "skull-cup," in this and other ritual usage. "Vessel of the Angels" would appear to be the Sun, rather than the Moon, which would be the vessel of the Asuras.

The preparation of soma represented an actual sacrifice of King Soma, as is explicit in ŚB. IV. 3. 4. 1, cf. IV. 4. 5, 21-22, where the pressing of the stalks is called the slaying of Soma, and the dry stalks are symbolically rejuvenated by immersion in water, as tantamount to tincture (*rasa*), as an act of expiation; actual sacrifice is similarly indicated in the use of root *śam* in RV. V. 43. 4, *bāhū . . . somasya ye śamitārā*, "these arms that give Soma his quietus."

Recalling the equivalence of *vrt* and *math* it can be clearly seen how the grinding of the soma-stalks reflects the passion of Makha-Saumya or Vṛtra. That the obtaining of soma has also to be represented as a rape accomplished by the Hawk (Agni) on behalf of Indra, or as a theft on Indra's own part (another of his *kilbiṣāṇi*) depends of course, on the well known fact that whether as King or Tree, Soma was originally in possession of the Titans, and by them well guarded, cf. X. 97, where Soma is the king of the herbs, that were in being long prior to the being of the Angels themselves.¹²

¹¹ "Vṛtra was Soma" seems to render the text most literally, and better agrees with the sequence of events than does Eggeling's "Soma was Vṛtra."

¹² It is notorious that the Titans were the first possessors of Soma, mighty soma-drinkers before the nativity of any Angel; there "the Gandharva protects his (Soma's) seat," IX. 83. 4 etc., thence that the Hawk (Agni) brings it for Indra, or that Indra steals it for himself, RV. *passim*. Soma as a tree is the king of plants, the Tree of Life as

In connection with the idea of sacrifice it may be noted also that the designations *soma* and *puruṣa* are definitely assimilated in X. 51. 8, where "the Person of the herbs" whom Agni obtains when he accepts the priesthood can hardly be other than King Soma.

It is "as Ahi that he (Soma) creeps forth from his inveterated skin, and as a lusty glaucous courser that he runs and plays" (*ahir na jūrṇām ati sarpati tvacam atyo na krīḷann asarad vṛṣā hariḥ*, IX. 86. 44), tallying with "Vṛtra was Soma" cited above, cf. the designation of Soma as "Boar" (*varāha*, IX. 97. 7).

4. *Viśvarūpa and Vṛtra*

Viśvarūpa, "Omniform," occurs both as the name of a Titan, and as an epithet with application to his father Tvaṣṭṛ, the creator per artem. In RV. II. 11. 19, X. 8. 7-9, and X. 99. 6 (combining these accounts) we find that Trita Āptya (i. e. Agni, ab intra, eager to proceed) in alliance with Indra slaughters the three-headed,¹³ six-eyed, seven-rayed Viśvarūpa, wrenching away (*parā*

distinguished from the Tree of Death, cf. Genesis III. 22 "lest he take also of the tree of life, and eat, and live for ever." As a liquid, obtained when the "tree" is sacrificed, the soma is the sap (*rasa*), the blood of the tree, the Water of Life. On the other hand, the soma drunk in earthly rituals is never that very wine of life whereby the intoxicated Indra is enabled to overcome the Titans and to bring about the whole emanation, but only *rasa*, *amṛta*, analogically. Expressions such as *parvatāverdh*, IX. 46. 1 or *nābhā prthivyā giriṣu*, IX. 82. 3 (cf. V. 43. 4, IX. 72. 7, and Yaśna XLII. 5) are by no means in the beginning designations of a local habitat, the site of which may have been lost in later times; the soma is "lost" in quite another sense, "they fancy when the plant is pressed that they drink of the very soma, but of him the Brahmans understand as Soma, no one ever tastes, none tastes who dwells on earth," X. 85. 3-4. "What the Brahmans understand by 'Soma'" is not, of course, a physical entity. In this connection the explicit enunciation of a doctrine of transubstantiation in AB. VII. 31 is significant: "it is metaphysically (*parokṣeṇa*) that he obtains the drinking of soma, it is not literally (*pratyakṣam*) partaken of by him. The Nyagrodha is metaphysically King Soma; metaphysically the Kṣatriya obtains the semblance of the spiritual power (*brahmaṇo rūpam*), by means of the priest, the consecration, and the invocation, as it were." Soma, *amṛta*, is *divi* . . . *gūḷham*, RV. VI. 44. 23-24. Cf. ŚB. III. 6. 2. 10-11, where the only approach to Soma is by way of *dikṣā* and *tapas*.

¹³ The three heads of Viśvarūpa, like those of the Sun, may correspond to the three worlds, cf. JUB. III, 11-12, where it is "by three turns"

vark) or carrying off (*ava . . . bharat*) his heads and lifting his cattle. In II. 11. 19 Indra hands over Viśvarūpa to "Trita of our party," and it is to be inferred that a decapitation takes place, for in the next verse the Sun is set a-going (*avartayat sūryo na cakram*).¹⁴ In X. 99. 6 the epithets are unmistakable, but the *dāsa* is called the Boar (*varāha*), and not otherwise named.

(*āvṛdbhir*) of the Gāyatra (Sāman) that the Puruṣa conquers Heaven, Midhome, and This World, and all that is in them; the Gāyatra itself being *tryāvṛt*. The use of *āvṛt* here, answers to the use of root *vṛt* throughout, as well as to the special sense of *āvṛtta*, tantamount to *pravṛtta*, and meaning a coming into the worlds.

¹⁴ Indra's connection with the Sun has been sometimes misunderstood; his position is strictly speaking that of Lucifer before the Fall. Indra is never at war with his fellow-Angels. It is for them that he is besought to "pull the Sun's wheel towards us" (*pra sūraś cakram vṛhatād abhike*, IV. 16. 12), it is from the Titans and for Kutsa as he struggled that Indra "steals the solar wheel" (*cakram muṣāya . . . sūryam*, IV. 30. 4); just as he "fixes" (*ni khidat*) the wheel and "steals away" (*apa dhayi*) Life Universal (*viśvāyu*, i.e. Agni) from the Great Fiend (*maho druhaḥ*, IV. 28. 2), and entirely parallel to this is his abduction of the Word (*vācam muṣayati*, I. 130. 9), whose restoration is demanded and effected in X. 109. In X. 23. 5 where Indra "wins" (*jayat*) the Sun as if at a game of chance, it is from the Titans that he wins, not that "he vanquishes the Sun" as pretended in VM. p. 31.

Indra's great rebellion against the Father, by which the kingdom is overturned, takes place in the beginning. Nevertheless in RV. for the most part Indra observes the legitimate relations of *kṣatra* to *brahma*, he acts as Fidei Defensor (*vratapā*), his courage and loyalty to his companions are far from ignoble; the dual Indrāgnī even preserves the primordial coincidence of kingship and priesthood in one and the same person. But in the later literature (BrD. VII. 54-58) and especially in Buddhism, the possibilities inherent in the principle of temporal power are more fully developed; Indra becomes Mammon.

It must be realised, of course, that Indra, Lucifer and Satan, must not be confused with the "evil" power of Darkness, Death (*mṛtyu*, *māra*), the Godhead, the "unkindly Father" himself. The width of the entire universe divides the one from the other, divides the "outer darkness" from the Darkness ab intra, "impervious to all illumination and hidden from all knowledge" (Dionysius, *Ep. ad Caium Monach.*, cited St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.* III. 92. 1), but of which St. Thomas says that it is called "Darkness" "on account of its surpassing brightness," i.e. as being a blinding light. Indra, although like every other Angel of Titan birth, remains an Angel even in his pride, being like Satan "fallen not in nature, but in grace"; whereas the Dragon-Father never was nor ever can be natured. it is he that by his nature natures all things.

In the longer versions of TS. II. 4. 12 and 5. 1 ff. (cf. KB. XV. 2-3) Viśvarūpa is Tvaṣṭṛ's son by "a sister of the Titans," Viśvarūpa has already been slain, and Tvaṣṭṛ prepares a soma sacrifice, from which Indra is excluded. But Indra seizes the soma by force, as in so many other texts he is said to have done.¹⁵ Tvaṣṭṛ whirls (*avartayat*) the remainder of the soma upon the sacrificial fire, saying "Hail, wax great, as Indra's foe." It springs to life and is called Vṛtra, either because Tvaṣṭṛ "averted" it into the fire, or (more correctly) because it "envelopes" these worlds.¹⁶ This Vṛtra takes demoniac possession of Agni and Soma, who thus fall into the *asurya* power. Indra, and even Tvaṣṭṛ (as also in RV. I. 80. 14) are alarmed. Tvaṣṭṛ provides Indra with his bolt (as usual, e. g. RV. I. 85. 9, but in VI. 44. 22 Indu—i. e. Indra, as in II. 22—"steals his unkindly father's weapons and his magic") and Indra raises it to slay Vṛtra, but Agni and Soma cry out that they are "in him." Indra makes Vṛtra gape, and Agni and Soma escape from his mouth.¹⁷ Heaven and Earth are extracted by the promise of lights to the former, species (*rūpāṇi*) to

¹⁵ Another of Indra's many *kilbiṣāṇi*. In RV. III. 48. 4 "When at birth he had overcome (his father) Tvaṣṭṛ, Indra by main force stole (*āmuṣya*) the soma and drank it"; in VI. 44. 22 Indu (Indra, here as in II. 22) "steals the weapons (*ayudhāni*) and magic-arts (*māyāḥ*) of his unkindly father" (*pitur aśivasya*—mark the contrast in X. 124. 2-4, where Agni, although he chooses Indra and deserts the Father, calls himself unkind, the Father kind); in IV. 17. 12 "What recks Indra of his Mother, what of the Father Progenitor that begat him? (He recks only) of that which immediately whets his fury" (viz. the soma-draught). Indra's violent disruption of the preëxisting harmony, and brutal treatment of his parents, as in IV. 18, although really in accordance with the Supernal Father's providence (*dhītiṃ pitur . . . parasya*, X. 8. 7), becomes an occasion of reproach; for these and the other offences, although he acts by infallible necessity and "does what must be done," Indra is sometimes excluded from the sacrifice, e. g. in AB. VII. 28, where his tort against Bṛhaspati as well as Viśvarūpa is cited, and "because he stole the soma of Tvaṣṭṛ, even today the temporal power (*kṣatra*) is deprived of soma drinking." Agni, on the other hand, is the Redeemer (*kilbiṣasṛt*, X. 71. 10).

¹⁶ The derivation of Vṛtra, like that of Varuṇa, from *vr*, to "cover," "enclose," "hide away," would seem preferable to a derivation from *vrt*.

¹⁷ In X. 90. 13-14 it is Agni and Indra that proceed from the mouth of Puruṣa; the Puruṣa's head is "con-verted" (*sam avartata*) into Dyauh, here evidently the Sun.

the latter.¹⁸ Very significant is the remark addressed by Indra to Viṣṇu, "Come, let us grasp that by which he (Vṛtra) is these worlds" (*vo yena ayam idam*), cf. RV. X. 88. 9 where "in him (Agni) the Angels offered up the whole universe" (*yasmīn ājuhāvur bhuvanāni viśvā*). In ŚB. I. 6. 3 the course of events is similar; when the soma is cast into the fire "inasmuch as it was whirling (*vartamānaḥ*) it became the Dragon, inasmuch as it was footless (*apad*) it became the Serpent." All things, Angels, sciences, glory, food, and beauty come out of Vṛtra, who lies drained of his contents like an empty bag, "contracted and emptied out."¹⁹ Indra is about to slay him, but he says "Cast not, for thou art now what I (was erst); only dissever me."²⁰ Indra cuts him in two (*dvedhānavabhinat*), making the moon of that part of him in which the soma inhered, and of the other, titanic part, the belly in all creatures, whence men say that "Vṛtra is within us."²¹

In PB. VII. 5. 20 it is Uśanas Kāvya, "who was the priest of

¹⁸ Similarly in PB. XVIII. 9. 6, Heaven obtaining from Vṛtra her lights (*nakṣatrāṇi*) and Earth her diversified phenomena (*citrāṇi rūpāṇi*). *Rūpāṇi* in this connection we take to be "things in their kind," the "works of distinction and adornment"; cf. the *pururūpā vapūṃṣi* of Earth in RV. III. 55. 5, *viśvarūpāḥ paśuvaḥ* in VIII. 100. 11, *sarvāṇi rūpāṇi* in AB. V. 23 in connection with Earth as the Serpent Queen, and JB. I. 160, cf. TS. II. 4. 6, where the Earth is *citrā*. The partition of Vṛtra, of Puruṣa, of Prajāpati, is the act of creation involving the separation of Heaven and Earth; for the corresponding division of "lights" and "species," viz. of image-bearing and omniform light and of exemplified phenomena, see my "Vedic Doctrine of Exemplarism," to appear in the James Haughton Woods Memorial Volume.

¹⁹ We have pointed out in *The Darker Side of Dawn* that *apad* becomes a kenning for "snake," and the significance of *apad* as contrasted with *ekapad*, *padavi*, etc.

²⁰ That Vṛtra is "emptied out" corresponds to the expression *aricyata* employed in connection with Prajāpati when he has poured out creatures, e.g. PB. IV. 10. 1 *prajā asṛjata so 'ricyata*; and to Eckhart's words, "the whole of what he knows, the whole of what he can afford," that is of course his finite and presentable aspect, his "face," for it is but a "fourth" of his being that "becomes" (*ābhavat*, RV. X. 90. 3-4), "three fourths remain within" (*triṇi padāni nihitā guhā*, AV. II. 1. 2).

²¹ In most of the accounts it appears that the Dragon is wounded vitally and rendered impotent rather than slain; as holds also for Prajāpati, the Sacrifice, who "survives this passion" (*tām vā āyuṣārtim atyajivat*, PB. VI. 5).

the Titans" that is persuaded to come over to the side of the Angels, who are thus supported by the spiritual power,²² and this explains the allusion "when Uśanas reached you," in RV. V. 31. 8.²³ In JB. I. 125, Bṛhaspati (also son of Tvaṣṭṛ, RV. II. 23. 17) is the priest of the Angels, Uśanas Kāvyā of the Titans; the victory of the Angels is assured when the latter is won over. In the version of BP. VI. chs. 7-13, Vṛtra behaves with great nobility, but accuses Indra of Brahman-slaying, in that he killed his guru, Viśvarūpa, here Vṛtra's brother. It requires 360 days for Indra to cut off Vṛtra's head, that is evidently an aeonic "Year," during which Time is as it were gradually unrolled. This is in fact a repetition of the TS. account, in which Viśvarūpa is a Brahman, and Indra incurs the guilt of Brahman-slaying, which he bears for a "Year," i. e. until the end of an aeon, until the "Day of Judgment."

The version of Tvaṣṭṛ's sacrifice given in ŚB. II. 2. 4. 1-8 is of

²² Food is the *sine qua non* of ex-istence in any mode, the *anna-maya* being the support of all modality; hence in X. 90. 2 it is said of the Puruṣa as Lord of Life that he "rises up by food," food as in MU. VI. 11 being the premier manifestation of the Spirit, "by food the breath of life is mode-ified" (*-maya*).

That "Vṛtra is within us" not only answers to the concept of a digestive fire or combustion, but suggests an interesting parallel; for it is by the "stomach" that we are prompted to take "food" (as pointed out in ŚB. I. 6. 3. 17), and if the stomach be identified with the Dragon or Serpent, then we may say that when the "bird" eats of the sweet fruit of the fig (*svādu pippalam atti*, I. 164. 20) that "the Serpent tempted him"—as in Genesis, "The Serpent beguiled me, and I did eat"—and conversely it can be seen that fasting may be regarded, not as a moral exercise, but as a metaphysical rite, in imitation of that other "bird" that "does not eat of the tree" but merely regards it (*abhi cākaṣīti*, *ib.*). The designation "food" has of course a very wide application, covering all objects of desire, by the acquisition of which the individual functions as such. The identification of Vṛtra with the belly—the likeness of the bowels to a snake is obvious—corresponds to the conception widespread in antiquity, of the "bowels" as the seat of the emotions, i. e. of the will, in distinction from the "heart," in which the operation of the intellect takes place.

²³ The "persuasion" here, which persuasion is often a bribing, corresponds to the "con-version" accomplished elsewhere by more violent means; in RV. I. 148. 1 for example, it is Agni whom Mātariśvān "grasps and grinds" (*mathid yad im viṣṭaḥ*) to be the "multiform priest of all the Angels" (*hotāraṁ viśvāpsum viśvadevyam*, where *viśvāpsum* = *vaiśva-raupyam*). Cf. Agni as "Titan priest" in VII. 30. 3, the Sun as "Titan Priest of the Angels" in VIII. 101. 12.

particular interest and throws a clarifying light upon its significance as a creative act. Here the name of Prajāpati replaces that of Tvaṣṭṛ; i. e. the concept of creation by generation replaces that of creation per artem. Prajāpati is single in the beginning, he desires to be propagated; he breathes forth Agni, the sacrificial fire, as indeed might be expected of him who is really the Dragon. The Earth (*prthivī* = *urvarā*, hairless similarly in RV. VIII. 91. 5-6) is "bald," without vegetation. The Fire is a devourer. Prajāpati is afraid: therefore his Allmight (*mahimā*), his Word (*vāc*), departs (*apacakrāma*); in other words, the diremption of the First Principle, the division of Essence and Nature, Heaven and Earth, that had been conjunct (*parikṣitā*, *samokasā*, etc. in RV.) now takes place (as in BU. I. 4. 3, cf. 17, *ātmānam dvedhāpātayat*, JUB. I. 54, *te vyadravatām*, RV. X. 27. 23 *kṛntatrād eṣām*, etc.). Prajāpati "seeks to make an offering in himself" (*ātmann eva āhutim iṣe*); he "rubs up" (*udamṛṣṭa*, cf. RV. X. 167. 4, *stomam . . . un mṛje*, "I stirred up the hymn") and he rubbed his hands together so hard, that even now the palms are hairless. What he thus obtains (*viveda*, "found") is an offering of "milk" (*payas*), evidently the equivalent of soma in the TS. versions cited above. That "milk" he casts into the fire, and thence arise the plants. He rubs again, and obtains a second flow. He is in doubt whether or not to make an offering of this other milk (which corresponds to the "remnant of the soma" in the TS. versions). His own Allmight speaks out (*svo mahimābhyuvāda*), "Make thou the offering" (*juhudhi*). Again he casts the "milk" into the Fire; "and thereupon the Sun rose (*udiyāya*), the Gale sprang up (*prababhūva*), the Fire was averted" (*agniḥ parān paryāvartata*, the Fire that is thus "turned back away" being of course the "devouring Fire" against whom so many apotropaic incantations are employed in the Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas). Thus Prajāpati "propagates himself, he bears himself across from the Fire, from Death" (*prajāpatiḥ . . . agnir mṛtyor ātmānam atrāyata*), note the parallel in RV. X. 53. 8 (*atra jahāma ye asann aśevāḥ śivān-rayam uttarema*, where *atra* = *parān* in ŚB. cited above). Finally, this Resurrection of the Dying God (cf. PB. XXV. 17. 2-3, where Prajāpati when he is "stupified by eld," *jīryā mūraḥ*, by the performance the sacrifice once more comes into act as the quickening principle of all things, *sarvasya prasavam agacchat*) is for him who understands the promise of a like regeneration, "for when he dies,

and when they lay him in the fire, then is he born (again) of the fire (*agner adhi jāyate*), the fire consumes his body only" (ŚB. loc. cit. 8) all of which is in full agreement with the assumptions of the Funeral Hymns in RV., nor could any doctrine be more explicit.

Certain conspicuous common traits are to be remarked in Viśvarūpa and Agni, Sūrya, and other aspects of the primary proceeding power. In RV. I. 146. 1 Agni ab intra (*pitror upasthe*) is like Viśvarūpa triple-headed and seven-rayed; in II. 5. 2 Agni, and in VIII. 72. 16 the Sun are similarly seven-rayed; and "where those seven rays are, thither goeth back mine affinity (*nābhi*, navel), Trita Āptya knoweth that, who converseth with my kin," I. 105. 9, cf. X. 64. 13. In III. 38. 4 it is as the Sun that Viśvarūpa manifests himself, "When he (the Sun) upstood, all things him adorned, who moves self-luminous; that is the Bull's, the Titan's mighty figure, it is the Omniform who takes his stand upon his aeviternities" (*mahat tad vṛṣṇo asurasya nāmā, ā viśvarūpo amṛtāni tasthau*, cf. IX. 75. 2). In VS. V. 35, Agni is addressed as the "omniform light" (*jyotir asi viśvarūpam*).

5. The Boar, Varāha, Emuṣa

The Boar, in Pauranic mythology an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu, who lifts up Earth from the Waters in the beginning, is in RV. a hostile power who withholds the means of life from Angels and men, and is identified with Viśvarūpa (X. 99. 6) and with Vṛtra (I. 61. 6-8, and I. 121. 11, cf. I. 32 where Vṛtra is also Vyāmsa and the "first-born of serpents," *prathamajām ahinām*, IV. 1. 11 where Agni *jāyata prathamah . . . budhne . . . apād asirṣā guhamāno antā*, i. e. is Ahi Budhnya, and X. 90. 7 *puruṣam jātam agrataḥ*).

In two of the RV. texts Viṣṇu is associated with Indra in the slaying of the boar; in the first, I. 61. 7, where the theft at the soma-feast is mentioned, *viṣṇu* may be adjectival, qualifying Indra, in the second, VIII. 77. 10, it is explicitly Viṣṇu that "brings back the bacon." In general, the exploit is typically Indra's, though to Viṣṇu's advantage as in TS. II. 4. 12 cited above. In RV. I. 121. 11, for example, we find "Thou great one (Indra) didst with thy bolt put to sleep the Boar, the Dragon (*vṛtram . . . varāhum*) as he lay (*āśayamānam*) in the water-channels." In TS. VI. 2. 4. 2-3 the boar Emuṣa is said to have in keeping the

wealth of the Titans, beyond the seven mountains, that would be, apart from the seven worlds, and in accordance with the *asurya* possession of all things in the beginning; Indra, urged by Viṣṇu, pierces the mountains (cf. RV. VIII. 77. 6 and 96. 2) and both come into possession of the food and wealth, i. e. as in RV. VII. 5. 3 the Titans are made to relinquish their "delights" (*bhojanāni*). In TS. VII. 1. 5. 1 the Boar, who now raises the Earth from the Waters, is identified with Prajāpati; Prajāpati, who is the Sacrifice, also with Death and with the Year in ŚB. X. 4. 3. 1-3. That will no longer surprise us; nor can we wonder at the dual part played by the Boar or Viṣṇu, all such apparent contradictions being inevitable consequences of the opposing operations (*vivrata*, X. 23. 1, *virūpā kṛtāni*, III. 38. 9, etc.) and double seeming (*virūpa*, *viṣurūpa*, passim) of the deity who moves in opposite directions (*divivartani*, X. 61. 20, etc.), stands at the parting of the ways (*panthām visarge . . . tasthau*, X. 5. 6 = VS. XII. 66 *tasthau samare pathinām*), and changes his fashion as he will (*yathāvaśam = anu vratā*), from sterility to productivity (VII. 101. 3 as in ŚB. XII. 7. 2. 17).

6. *Ahi-Vṛtra*

We have already outlined certain versions of the story of Vṛtra; and there can be no doubt from RV. I. 32 and other texts of the identity of the Dragon, Vṛtra, with Ahi,²⁴ the Serpent. Decapita-

²⁴ Ahi corresponds to Avestan Azhi, known also as Vishapa, "of poisonous slaver," and also to Sumerian Mušhuššu, the seven-headed dragon slain by Ninurta, later Tiāmat bisected by Marduk, who makes Heaven of one of the parts; "it would be remarkable if this entire Indian and Iranian legend was not ultimately Sumerian" (Langdon, *Semitic Mythology*, p. 130, and fig. 57, which might well be described as a picture of Indra with his *vajra*, slaying Ahi-Vṛtra). The like considerations are put forward by Frankfort in "Gods and Myths in Sargonid Seals," *Iraq*, I, 1934, p. 19 in connection with his Pl. III, fig. h, cf. Pl. I, fig. a in the same journal, of which figures the same may be said as of Langdon's. It is also pointed out by Frankfort that the Sumerian seals are archetypal for the slaying of the many-headed Hydra by Herakles; it may be added that Zeus is represented in Greek mythology both as snake and bull, and that the conflict of Herakles with the Hydra is really that of son with father, cf. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, p. 495.

There can be no possible doubt of the correspondance of Vedic *ahi*, *sarpa*, and *prḍāku* with later *nāga*; this is not only apparent on ontological grounds (characteristic power of *nāgas* to appear either as "snakes" or

tion is indicated in I. 52. 10 "severed his head" (*abhinac chiraḥ*, cf. II. 11. 2 *ava abhinat*, II. 20. 6 *ava . . . śiro bharad dāsasya*, VIII. 6. 6 *śiro bibheda*), and recalling the equivalence of *śiras* and *sānu* (denoting the "head" of the Mahāvīra vessel respectively in ŚB. XIV. 1. 2. 17 and Āp. Śr. S. XV. 2. 14), the same is apparent in I. 32. 7, where a blow on the nape of the neck may be understood, and this is followed by a further dismemberment. In the texts to

as "men" at will, association of *nāgas* with Varuṇa, and the West, and waters generally, and the manner in which the *nāgas*, often seven-headed, are represented in iconography), but also in the significant designation *ahi-nāga* applied to the Serpent overcome by the Buddha in the fire temple, in *Mahāvagga* I. 15. 7 (P. T. S. *Vinaya Piṭaka*, I. 25).

As regards Varuṇa, the assimilation to Ahi-Vṛtra is developed in the following section. If he is not explicitly called a snake in RV. the later texts and iconography are unanimous in recognizing that such is his real nature. Varuṇa is an adder (*prḍāku*) in AV. XII. 3. 57, like the rivers ab intra, *prḍākvaḥ*, *ib.* I. 27. 1; *ib.* X. 4. 17, Indra overcomes both the male and female adders, i. e. purifies them as he does Apālā in RV. VIII. 91. Apotropaic texts respecting Varuṇa abound, e. g. RV. X. 97. 16, where Varuṇa is assimilated to Yama, and ŚB. XII. 7. 2. 17, where Varuṇa is "evil" (*pāpman*), the purpose of the offering being to convert him into Savitṛ in accordance with RV. VII. 101. 3. The three last cited texts are inseparably connected. Ocean, Varuṇa's express domain, is "abode of *nāgas*" (*nāgānām ālayam*, Mbh. I. 21. 6 and 25. 4), and *nāgas* are represented amongst the angels of the western quarter at Barhut (JRAS. 1928, p. 392). Varuṇa and Sagara are *nāgarājas* in the *Mahāvīratpatti*; Varuṇa-pāñcamī replaces the more usual expression Nāga-pāñcamī in the *Nīlamata Purāṇa*; in Nepal, a seven-hooded Varuṇa may occupy the centre of a *nāgamaṇḍala*. In Buddhist cosmology Virūpākṣa, who as Regent of the West corresponds to Varuṇa, is again a *nāgarāja*. It should be noted that *virūpa* cannot originally have meant "deformed," for which we have *duṣkṛta* in quite other connections; *virūpa* in RV. always implies a duality of aspect, i. e. an alternation of aspect in what is essentially the same or consubstantial, e. g. I. 95. 1, I. 122. 2, V. 1. 4, where Night and Dawn are *virūpā*, "of unlike aspect," VII. 103 where the Brahman frogs are similarly designated, and X. 95. 16 where Urvaśī dwells amongst mortals "in another aspect," *virūpā*. Virūpākṣa should therefore mean "having unlike eyes," which is appropriate for Varuṇa, whose "eyes" are the Sun and Moon.

The Buddha legend preserves a double version of Indra's (occasionally Agni's or Brhaspati's) battle with Ahi-Vṛtra, who is also Mr̥tyu, the principle of Death: first, in the Māra Dharṣaṇa, where may be noted Māra's (= Mr̥tyu's) use of weapons characteristic for Ahi, who likewise resorts to lightning, thunder, and rain of hail (RV. I. 32. 13), or for the Dāsa Namuci who "makes women his weapons" (RV. V. 30. 9), and also that the Buddha is deserted by the timorous Angels, just as in Indra in

be cited, it is this subdivision of an originally simple recumbent and sleeping principle that should be especially remarked. In IV. 19. 3 "Thou (Indra) didst dismember (*viṛṇā*) him, the impartite (*aparvan*) Serpent (*ahim* = *vṛtram* in verse 1), him the insatiate, who was unawakened (*abudhyam*), dormant (*abudhyamānam*), fast asleep (*śuśupānam*), outstretched (*viyatam*) lying (*āśayānam*) against the seven scarps" (*sapta prati pravataḥ*, cf. *varāham tiro adrim* in I. 67. 7, *saptānām giriṇām* in TS. VI. 2. 4. 3). In II. 11. 5 "Thou, Champion (Indra), hast smitten in thy manly might (*viryeṇa*) the Serpent (*ahim* = *vṛtram* in verse 9), the Magician, as he lurked obscured and hidden away in secret in the Waters (*guhā hitam guhyam gūlham apsv apivrtam māyinaṁ kṣiyantam*), him that held down the Waters and the Light of

RV. passim, e. g. IV. 18. 11, VIII. 93. 14-15, VIII. 96. 7 ("shrinking from the snort of Vṛtra, all the Angels, thy companions, left thee in the lurch"), and in AB. III. 20 and IV. 5; second, in the Conversion of the Jaṭilas (who are also Kaśyapas, "Tortoises," cf. RV. IX. 114. 2 and AV. passim where Kaśyapa is an, or the, Prajāpati, see MV. pp. 151, 153), on which occasion the Buddha spends the night in a fire-temple, the resort of the Nāga Ahi (*ahināgam* in *Mahāvagga*, I. 15. 17), and overcomes him, fighting fire with fire (*tejasū tejam*). In Jaina tradition the story survives in the episode of Mahāvīra's (a name significant of Indra in the Vedic formulations, e. g. I. 32. 6) conflict with an unnamed adversary who appears in the form of a serpent (Hemacandra, *Triṣaṣṭiśālākāpuruṣacaritra*, parva 10, see *MFA. Bulletin* No. 197, 1935, pp. 38, 39 with fig. 3 on p. 37); the serpent here, however, is elsewhere called Saṅgana, i. e. Yama (for fuller discussion see my "The Conqueror's Life in Jaina Painting," to appear immediately in *Journ. Ind. Soc. Or. Art.* The name of Jina, "Conqueror," applied to Mahāvīra, no less than that of Tirthamkara, is redolent of Vedic phraseology. There is in fact in the Indian tradition no aspect of the proceeding power that is not of necessity engaged in a mortal conflict with Death, in the beginning.

Finally, the whole problem of the Aryan or non-Aryan character of *nāgas* has been somewhat incorrectly stated, cf. Vogel, *Indian Serpent Lore*, pp. 32, 191, 225, 226. The serpents themselves are non-Aryan by definition, only becoming Aryans by "qualification" (*arhaṇa*) and by "creeping farther" (*atisarpaṇa*, whence the imitation of this motion in the sacrificial ritual); on the other hand, the doctrine about serpents is just as much an integral and indispensable part of the Vedic Aryan as it is of any non-Aryan, e. g. the Sumerian tradition. The tremendous emphasis laid on the dragon-slaying motif in all traditions can be readily understood when we realize that the dismemberment of the ophidian power is precisely the act of creation.

Heaven" (*apo dyām tastambhvānsam*,²⁵ where as in so many other texts, *dyu* is tantamount to "Sun"). The sequence is explicit in II. 19. 2-3, where "This mighty Indra, hewing apart the Serpent that withheld the flood (*arṇo vṛtam*),²⁶ propelled the flood of waters to the sea (of life), brought about the Sun's nativity (*ajanayat sūryam*), found the cattle, by means of night fulfilled the work of days," cf. I. 61. 10. Similarly II. 11. 18, "Thou clavest the spidery Vṛtra, son of Dānu"²⁷ (*vṛtram dānum aurnavābham*, Vṛtra being similarly Dānava in RV. I. 32. 9 and ŚB. I. 6. 3. 9), unveiled the Light for the Aryan-ilk (*apa avṛṇor jyotir*

²⁵ Root *stabh* is employed here not in the favorable sense of "support" but as in RV. VI. 44. 22, where Soma "pins down the miser" (*paṇim asthabhāyat*).

²⁶ *Vṛtam*, from root *vr*, to "invest," etc., and certainly with an implied *vṛtram*, as is explicit in I. 52. 2 and VIII. 12. 26, *vṛtram nadī-vṛtam*, "the Dragon that invests the rivers and will not let them go." In this connection, and without taking up at length the Qabbalistic exegesis of Genesis, and the correspondence of Pharaoh, Moses, Egyptians, and Israelites respectively to Vṛtra-Namuci, Indra, Asuras, and Aryans, may be remarked the notable text Ezekiel, XXIX. 3, "Behold, I am against thee, Pharaoh, king of Egypt, the great Dragon (*tanim* = Babylonian *tiāmat*) that lieth in the midst of his rivers, which hath said: My river is my own, and I have made it for myself."

²⁷ The names are confusing. In ŚB. loc. cit., Danu and Danāyū or Dānavī receive the stricken Vṛtra "as his mother and father." Danu does not occur in RV. Dānu in II. 11. 18 is evidently patronymic or matronymic, presumably the latter, in which case either Danu or Dānu could be assumed for the mother's name. In I. 32. 9 Dānu with *vṛtraputrā* must be the mother; that when Indra sinks them both, "Mother above and son below, there Dānu lay, like cow with calf" (*sahavatsā na dhenuḥ*), and that *dānu* is also "fluid," "moisture" or "mist" are perfectly consonant, for the floods are said to flow over Vṛtra's stricken body. "Cow with calf" suggest Aditi-Vāc and Agni (cf. I. 164. 17), here, of course, that Agni who takes refuge in the Waters (X. 51. 1 etc.); Dānu is in fact the consort of the Ādityas Mitrāvaruṇā (*dānunas pati* in I. 136. 3 and II. 41. 6) or of the Aśvins (*dānunas pati* in VIII. 8. 16), Ahi is born of the Waters (*abjā* in VII. 34. 16), Śuṣṇa son of the mist (*miho napāt*, V. 32. 4), Agni son of the Waters, passim, the "glittering (*dānucitrāḥ*) Waters" of V. 31. 6, the "Waters whose wealth" (*rādhasā dānuḥ*) flows for Indra in I. 54. 7. Dānu and Dānava discussed above are etymologically distinct from *dānu* and *dānava* derived from *dā* to "give" and meaning generous. Such complexities can only be understood in the light of the doctrine of dual operation (*civata*) which is so evidently assumed throughout RV., as it is also in every other body of traditional teaching.

āryāya), sank the Dasyu";²⁸ the following verse implying an identification of Viśvarūpa with Vṛtra, elsewhere his brother. The fullest and perhaps most interesting account occurs in RV. I. 32; here Indra dissevers Vyāmsa, "the most Vṛtra, firstborn of the Serpents, as a tree is cut up into logs, so that he lies emascuate (*vṛṣṇo vadhriḥ*),²⁹ divided into many parts" (*purutrā . . . vyastāḥ*).

²⁸ Ārya and Dāsa or Dasyu in RV. are synonymous with Deva and Manuṣya or Narya, and Asura respectively, the Aryans being those who cross the Waters and settle round the Light, a proposition discussed in my *Ṛg Veda as Land-Nāma-Bōk*. It is only by analogy that such terms have been applied to human societies; incidentally, the inconsequence of a racial discrimination based on the supposed existence of an ethnic Aryan type becomes apparent when we reflect that we are all Aryans by father-right and non-Aryans on the mother-side, for the feminine principle is always an Asuri in RV., we are children of day and night, of fire and water, our very existence derives from an exogamy and miscegenation, who inherit accordingly a bilateral symmetry, cf. the correlation of the right and left eyes with Indra and Indrāṇī in SB. X. 5. 2 and Upaniṣads; Eve, "the mother of all living," is drawn from Adam's *side*, cf. Parśu, the "Rib," daughter of Manu (X. 86. 23), who is the mother of the children of men (SB. I. 8. 1. 8-11); while in the Shah Nāmah, which Professor F. W. Buckler called "an epic of the genealogy of the kingdom of God on earth," the mother is always Turanian, and many an Indian dynasty traces its ancestry to a Nāginī; and in the Edda, the consorts of the Aesir are always of Wane or giant origin.

²⁹ "Emasculate," in line with the descriptions elsewhere of the deity ab intra as blind, halt, and ineffectual, and the designation of the feminine principle ab intra as Vadhriṃatī: "Now is he sterile, now progenitive, he shapes his fashion as he will" (*starir u tvad bhavati sūta u tvad, yathā-vaśam tanvaṃ cakra eṣaḥ*, RV. VII. 101. 3), corresponding on the one hand to AV. VI. 72. 1, "As by his titan magic the black (snake) extends himself, assuming forms (i.e. those of 'serpent' or those of 'man') at will" (*yathāsitāḥ prathayate vaśān anu vapūṃṣi kṛṇvann asurasya māyayā*), —*asita*, the "black" (snake, skin, or garment) referring to the ab intra aspect of Agni or the Sun, as in AV. XII. 3. 55 and TS. III. 2. 2. 2,—and on the other to RV. X. 168. 4 where "the Spirit of the Angels moves at will, so let us come unto this Gale with offering" (*ātmā devānām . . . yathā-vaśam carati . . . tasmai vātāya haviṣā vidhema*). The doctrine of the "impotence of the Godhead" is common to Vedic tradition and Christian exegesis (typically in Eckhart), but requires a longer and fuller discussion than can be undertaken here.

The assimilation of Vṛtra's fall to the felling and cutting up of a tree (cf. X. 89. 7) is itself significant in connection with the question asked in *brahmodya*, X. 31. 7 = X. 81. 4, "What was the wood, what the tree out of which they fashioned Heaven and Earth?", and with the customary designation of Agni and Soma as *vanaspati*.

In I. 61. 10 Indra cuts to pieces the scorching Vṛtra (*śuśantam* being tantamount to an identification with Śuśna, "Drought," as also in VIII. 6. 14-15); in VIII. 6. 13 "rends him joint from joint, and drives the Waters to the Sea," in I. 130. 4 "using his bolt (on Ahi) like a carving knife," while in VIII. 7. 23 it is Indra's allies the Maruts that "tear him joint from joint" (*vi vṛtram parvaśo yayuh*). It remains to note the conspicuous correspondences and contrasts. The consubstantiality of Agni with Ahi Budhnya is generally admitted (VM. p. 73); in I. 79. 1, Agni is a "raging serpent" (*ahir dhunir*, *dhuni* occurring also as the name of a Titan in VII. 19. 4 and X. 113. 9); AB. III. 36 employing a strictly technical terminology explains that Ahi Budhnya is invisibly (*parokṣena*) what Agni Gārhapatya is visibly (*pratyakṣa*), and VS. V. 33, where Ahi Budhnya and Aja Ekapad,³⁰ the Sun, are identified and the epithet "Waylord" (*adhvapati*) distinctive of Agni is used in the invocation. The language of II. 11. 5 cited above corresponds to terms that are characteristic for the hidden Sun, e. g. V. 40. 6 f. where when the Sun has been smitten with

³⁰ For the Sun as Ekapad, "One footed," see Dumont in JAOS. 53. 326 ff. The Sun is originally footless, Varuṇa gives him feet that he may proceed, RV. I. 24. 8; thus Varuṇa himself as Sun "with his bright foot ascends the vault of heaven (*arcinā padā nākam āruhat*, VIII. 41. 8. The Sun's feet are his rays; his one foot that is alternately dark and bright (Mbh. XII. 362. 7-8) is coincident with the axis of the universe (*skambhena vi rodasī ajo na dyām adhārayat*, VIII. 41. 10); that it is alternately dark and bright (*asita, śucina*, Mbh. XII. 362. 7-8) corresponds to RV. V. 62. 8 where the pillar that Varuṇa and Mitra mount is golden at dawn and bronze at sunset, what they see from above when the pillar is golden being the finite (*ditim*), and what they see when it is brazen is the infinite (*aditim*). The Sun has also, of course, a "thousand feet" (*sahasrapādam*, in VIII. 69. 16), i. e. indefinitely numerous rays, every one of which is from the standpoint of the corresponding individual the Sun's "one foot," and at the same time the pillar (*skambha* = stauros) or bridge (*setu* = cinvad, biföst, etc.) that at once connects and divides Heaven from Earth, the light from the darkness.

A further allusion to the Sun as *ekapad* occurs in VS. XXIII. 50, *ekena aṅgena paryemi*. The conception must at one time have been visually represented; for it has survived in folk art to the present day, see the two representations of the "Mansion of the Sun," reproduced from *alpōna drawings*, in A. N. Tagore, *Bāṅglar Vrata*, Calcutta, n. d., Pl. 99, where moreover the Sun's "one foot" is supported by a boat or swing (*nau* and *preṅkha* in RV. VII. 88. 3, cf. VI. 58. 3, golden *preṅkha* in VII. 87. 5, *naunagara* in JB. I. 125).

darkness by the titanic Svarbhānu, Atri "finds him, hidden by the darkness and inoperative" (*gūḷham sūryam tamasā apavratena . . . avindat*, where *apavrata* = *avrata*, "idle," a pejorative designation often applied to the non-Aryan aspect, and denoting the divine "idleness," here in other words denoting that the Sun does not shine, but is overcast, *apīvṛtam*, as in II. 11. 5); cf. I. 117. 4-5, where Rebha in need of aid is assimilated to the "hidden horse (*aśvaṁ na gūḷham*) . . . sleeping in Destruction's womb (*suṣup-vānsam na nirṛter upasthe*, cf. I. 164. 32), the Sun abiding in the Darkness" (*sūryam na tamasi kṣiyantam*, cf. *tamasi kṣesi* addressed to Agni, whose procession is delayed, in X. 51. 5, and *kṣeti budhnaḥ* applied to Agni as "remaining in his ground" even while he goes forth, in III. 55. 7).³¹

The designation *aurṇavābha*, patronymic or simply adjectival form of Ūrṇavābha, "thread-spinner," i. e. "Spider," is of no little interest. In RV. VIII. 77. 1-2 "the stark and far-famed Aurṇavābha and Ahīṣuva" are destined to be overthrown by Indra, as befalls in VIII. 32. 26, where *aurṇavābham* qualifies *vṛtram* as in II. 11. 18. In the Brāhmaṇas, Ūrṇāyu is a Gandharva. In RV. VI. 15. 16 the altar, Agni's birthplace, is "an anointed, downy nest" (*ūrṇāvantam yonim kulāyinaṁ ghṛtavantam*, where *ūrṇāvantam* may be regarded as synonymous with *aurṇavābham*, and there is also an allusion to the pubescent vulva, cf. Apālā's prayer in VIII. 91. 5 fulfilled in Romasā in I. 126. 7).³² In the same way

³¹ All the associations of Agni with the word *budhna* in RV. imply his *budhnya*, chthonic character; his terrestrial origin in the worlds being always analogous to this origination in the ground of the divine being. Further evidence of the consubstantiality of Agni with the Serpent ab intra may be cited in the identification of Mitra with the Titan Vamacitra or Vipracitti, the eldest son of Danu and father of Rahu or Namuci, as worked out by Przyluski, "Un Dieu Iranien dans l'Inde," in *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, VII.

In Apuleius, Psyche's husband, otherwise assimilable to the Indian Purūravas, is described in what purports to be a Miletian oracle as "no wight of humane seed, but Serpent dire and fierce as might be thought, who flies with wings . . . the rivers blacke and deadly floudes of paine, and darkness eke, as thrall to him remaine" (Adlington's version, 1639).

³² The same is implied in V. 5. 4 where the *barhis* or "strew" is addressed as "soft as down" (*ūrṇamradāḥ*), followed in the next verse by "Open yourselves, ye doors angelic, apt for advent" (*devīr dvāro vi śrayadhvaṁ supṛāyaṇāḥ*), an almost literal parallel to X. 18. 10-11 invoking "girlish Mother Earth to be as soft as down to him of the Guerdon"

I. 105. 9, "Where are those seven rays spun forth (*ātātāḥ*), there is my navel" (*nābhīḥ*, i. e. Agni's chthonic navel, *nābhīḥ prthivīyāḥ*, and the navel of aeviternity, *amṛtasya nābhīḥ*, passim). The latter passage is to be borne in mind in connection with the word *ūrṇanābhi*, the regular designation of the Spider in the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads: e. g. BU. II. 1. 20, where all things are said to proceed from their source "as a spider might ascend by means of

(*dakṣiṇāvate*, Dakṣiṇā being the Dawn as in I. 123. 1 and X. 107, mother of Agni as in III. 58. 1, likewise Indrāṇī as in II. 11. 21, and the Serpent Queen), followed by "Be opened up (*uc chvañcasva*), O Earth, hinder him not (*mā ni bādhatāḥ*), be apt for advent (*sūpāyanā*), wrap him in down (*abhi . . . ūrṇuhi*, from root *vr*, as in *ūrṇa*) as a mother wraps her skirt about her son," by which we understand indue him in the robe of light (*nirṇijam*, *drāpiṃ hiraṇyam*, etc.) that he puts on when he appears in the worlds; "Be opened up" implying, not "Open to receive," but "Open to give out." It would take overlong to discuss here the proposition that the application of the funeral hymns must be clearly distinguished from their wording, which has all to do with birth, and not with burial. Not that the theme of resurrection is any but fitting matter for a requiem; but rather and on the contrary, that the language of the funeral hymns implies the thought *Mors janua vitae*. That in general the *yogī* and *sannyasi* are not cremated, but thrown into water or simply buried is in accord with strictest logic, inasmuch as these have not desired a resurrection, but to be dead and buried in the Godhead.

To *ūrṇamradāḥ* (*barhis*) cited above from RV. V. 5. 4 corresponds exactly to ŚB. I. 3. 37 and BU. VI. 4. 3, *lomāni barhis*. It may be added that there can be no doubt of the identity of the *ūrṇāvantam yoniṃ kulāyinaṃ ghṛtavantaṃ savitre*, Agni's birthplace in RV. VI. 15. 16, cf. AB. I. 28 *savitre kulāyam . . . ūrṇāstukāḥ*, with the *viśvambhara kulāya*, "all supporting nest" in BU. I. 4. 7, rightly although not literally rendered by Hume (*Thirteen Principal Upanishads*, p. 82) as "fire-holder," i. e. fire-place or hearth. But this is not (as Hume surmises) the best source for the Vedantic simile "as fire is latent in fire-wood or in covered embers"; this simile derives far more directly from the familiar Vedic concept expressed in V. 11. 6 where the Angirases find Agni "lying hidden in every log" (*guhā hitam . . . śīśriyāṇam vanevane*, cf. X. 91. 2 and many similar passages).

The "Spider" imagery is the obvious source of the well-known *ūrṇā*, the brow-spot or tuft that is a constant *lakṣaṇa* of the Buddha as Mahāpurisa; which *ūrṇā*, especially in Japanese iconography, is often represented not merely as a mole, but as the source of radiating lines of light. That this *ūrṇā* is also in a certain sense an "eye," and is analogous to the third eye of Śiva, still more marks his solar kinship, who is called the "eye in the world (*cakḥum loke*), i. e. that "Eye," the Sun, which in RV. passim "surveys all things" (*viśvam abhi caṣṭe*).

its thread (*yathorṇanābhiś tantunocaret*), as sparks ascend from fire," and *Muṇḍaka Up*, I. 7, "Just as a spider emanates and withdraws (*srjate ghrṇate*, lit. 'pours out and dries up'), so all this comes into being from him who does not flow forth" (*akṣarāt sambhavati iha viśvam*). The Sun, as we have already seen, shines forth with seven rays; or alternatively, it is the co-creators (*kavayaḥ*) operating sacrificially as mediate causes, who "spin their seven threads to form the web" (*sapta tantūn vi tantīre kavaya otavai*, I. 164. 5); which "seven rays spun forth" (*sapta rasmayaś tatāḥ*) are proper to the Inductor of the Sacrifice (Agni or Sun) who as eighth Āditya "impels all things" (*viśvam invati*, II. 5. 2); and these seven rays as we have seen are also Viśvarūpa's.

A sacrificial *gāthā* quoted in KB. XIX. 3 explicitly refers to the Year, the Sun, as a spider. The "Spider," then, is Agni and/or the Sun, regarded as a Titan while the rays are hidden in his belly, as an Angel when he spins the web; each thread of which, for one that can pursue the clew, follow let us say the *via analogia*, unravelling the tissue, provides a pathway leading in again towards its source. Needless to say, the "Spider" image analysed above involves the well-known doctrine of the *sūtrātman*, as can be readily seen if we collate RV. X. 168. 4 where the Sun "is the spiration of the Angels" (*ātmā devānām*) with ŚB. VIII. 7. 3. 10 "Yonder Sun connects (*samāvayate*) these worlds by a thread (*sūtre*), and what that thread is is the Gale" (*vāyuh*), cf. also BG. VII. 7, "All this universe is strung on me like rows of jewels on a string" (*protam sūtre maṇigaṇā iva*). It may be added that the symbolism of the spider's web of which the threads are rays of light is but a special form of the more universal symbolism of spinning and weaving that is so commonly employed in the Vedic and in other forms of the universal tradition, cf. for example, Dante, *Paradiso*, XXX. 49-51, "living light . . . in such a web of its refulgence" (*luce viva . . . di tal velo di suo fulgor*).

In IV. 19. 3 cited above the terms *abudhyam*, *suśupānam*, and *āśayānam* are to be noted. All have a common implication, a shade of which can be recognized when we speak colloquially of the sun as "going to bed" at night; for he similarly "couches" in the night of time. *Abudhya* is primarily "unawakened," and secondarily "stupid," a wellknown characteristic of giants in all folklore, *suśupānam* and *āśayānam*, "sleepy and lying" correspond to the equally characteristic notion of "brooding" (over treasure).

It is significant that in I. 103. 7, Indra actually "awakens the inert Serpent with his bolt" (*sasantam vajreṇa abodhayo 'him*); for to be awake (*budh*, *jāgr*) is specific for the Angels in RV. passim, and above all for Agni, who is *uṣarbudh*, "awakened at dawn," awakening being the same as kindling, cf. V. 1. 1, *abodhy agniḥ samidhā . . . prati . . . uṣasam*, and in IV. 23. 7-8 the sequence "He smites the Indra-less destructive fiend" (*druham jighāṁsan dhvarasam anindrām*). . . . The radiant cosmic³³ laud pierces the deaf ears of Life, awakening him" (*ṛtasya śloko badhīrā tatarda karṇā budhānaḥ śucamāna āyoh*); in the latter passage Āyus is specifically Agni³⁴ (Bloomfield in JAOS. XX. 180) and we recognize the concept of him as a "deaf adder" ante principium. Alternatively, in I. 113. 4 it is Dawn that awakens the several worlds, or all beings (*ajigar bhuvanāni viśvā*). That Ahi is smitten and awakened is then the same as to say that the chthonic Serpent is con-verted (*samvṛt*) or extroverted (*pravṛt*), the Darkness literally up-turned (*udvṛt*) into Light. Thus *buddha*, "awakened," is also "illuminate." It is most interesting to observe that the original concept of the awakened serpent is clearly preserved in Buddhist thought, viz. in the Commentator's explanation of *budh* as "an uprising from the sleep of the kindred of the slime" (*bujjhatī kilesa-santāna-niddāya utthahati, Atthasālinī*, 464, text p. 217).

Āsayānam, "lying down," is specific for the deity ab intra, and contrasts with the act of procession, which is a being seated (*sad*), a standing up (*sthā*, generally with *urdhvā*, cf. Sāyana's *sthitam padārtham jātam*), and a motion (*car*, whence the *pañca jana* are sometimes referred to as *carṣanayaḥ*). To lie and to sleep, to stand up and to wake, are respectively coincident. From the *karmakāṇḍa* point of the latter condition is of course superior, though the former is logically prior; from the *jñānakāṇḍa* point of view, the reverse holds good, the well-known Indian saying "Better to stand than

³³ *Ṛtasya*, "cosmic," inasmuch as Greek Kosmos is precisely "Order."

³⁴ The designation Āyu is here applied to Agni ab intra; the Gandharva Ūrṇāyu within is Viśvāyu without: for the *raison d'être* of *ūrṇā*—here, see the discussion of the "Spider" symbolism, above, and for that of *-āyu*, "Life" cf. John, I. 3-4 "All things that have been made were Life (*vita* = *āyus*) in Him," and Col. I. 16, "In him (the Son) were created all things," cf. AV. XII. 3. 47 "a filial (*kaumāra*) world hath been born, a son."

walk, better to sit than stand, better to lie than sit" providing a good example of what is known as "inverse thinking" or "procedure upstream."

The divine procession involves an apparent partition; *krama* is *dvitva* (TP. XXI. 16). In the Vedic dragon-slaying texts, others as well as those cited above, nothing is more conspicuous than the emphasis laid on the scission or subdivision of the originally impartite (*aparvan*) ophidian principle. It is precisely in the same way, except that the strictly speaking mental character of the act is also indicated, that RV. describes the subdivision of That One (*tad ekam*, X. 129. 2) Integral Multiplicity (*viśvam ekam*, III. 54. 8—and a characteristic formula in Plotinus), the unity of the Person and the Word (*puruṣa, vāc*), which division is effected by the First Sacrifice. "It is by their wordings that the vibrant co-creators (*vipraḥ kavayaḥ*) conceive him to be manifold who abideth One" (*vacobhir ekam santam bahudhā kalpayanti*, X. 114. 5), "calling him manifold who is but One" (*ekam sad viprā bahudhā vadanty agnim . . .*, I. 164. 46), cf. Makha, whom "so long as he was one, the many did not overcome (*ekam santam bahuvo nābhyadhṛṣṇvan*, TA. V. 1. 3). Similarly as regards the feminine aspect: "By the sacrifice they followed up the footprint (*padaviyam = vestigium pedi*) of the Word, found her harboring in the Prophets, brought her forth, departed her distributively (*vy adadhuḥ purutrā*), the Seven Singers uttered her in concert everywhere (X. 71. 3), who says also of herself, "The Angels have departed me distributively" (*mā devā vy adadhuḥ purutrā*,³⁵ X. 125. 3).

It is equally significant that no essential value would be really changed in the *Puruṣasūkta* by a substitution of "Vṛtra" for "Puruṣa": here, X. 90. 11-14, the question is asked in *brahmodya* fashion, "When they divided up (*vy adadhuḥ*) the Person, how-many-fold did they think him out to be?" (*katidhā vy akalpayan*),

³⁵ *Vy adadhuḥ* amounts to "contracted and identified into variety." The use of *vad*, *kṛp* (as also in *samkalpa*, "notion," e.g. Kena Up. 29-30, where the notion formed of deity is contrasted with the blinding vision of the deity as he is in himself) must be understood in connection with the whole Vedic doctrine of creation by designation, *nāmadheya*, see my "Vedic Exemplarism" to appear in the *James Haughton Woods Memorial Volume*, and Scharbau, *Der Idee der Schöpfung in der vedischen Literatur*, pp. 123-132.

the answer following ending with the words "Thus they designed the worlds" (*lokān akalpayan*); a further correspondance being patent in verse 14, "from his head was Heaven adverted (*śiṛṣṇo dyauḥ sam avertata*), from his feet the Earth,"³⁶ whence however it is clear that the Puruṣa has already assumed a human aspect, ante principium, or rather does so in principio; "he shines upon the world as Person" (*puruṣarūpeṇa*, AA. II. 2. 1), for the Brahman-Yakṣa "chooses the Person for procession" (*puruṣaṁ prapapadanāye*, JUB. IV. 23-24), the Sacrifice is the Eternal Man, our Sire (*yaḥṇo manuḥ . . . naḥ pitā*, X. 100. 5), that is Agni ("Be Manu thou, beget the angelic kindred," *manur bhava janayā daivyaṁ janam*, X. 53. 6), and the Year (AB. II. 17, ŚB. X. 4. 3. 1-3, etc.). The Sacrifice is an eternal *puruṣa-medha*.

The expression "footless and handless" (*apād ahastah*)—a serpent kenning—applied in I. 32. 7 to Ahi-Vṛtra, in III. 30. 8 to Kuṇāru and Vṛtra,³⁷ represents the converse of what is applicable to the manifested Sun, Sun, Sūrya or Savitr, respectively "single-footed" and "golden-handed" (*ekapād*, *hiranyahastah*, passim) and the manifested Agni, "footed" or who is preeminently "footed (*padaviḥ*) waywise leader" (*vidvān pathaḥ puraeta*, V. 46. 1), "the herdsman never-falling as he goes about his ways" (*gopām anipadyamānam . . . pathibhiś carantam*, I. 164. 31), but "footless and headless, hiding both his ends (*apād aśiṛṣā guhamāno antā*, cf. X. 79. 2, *guhā siro nihitam ṛdhag akṣi*) when first born in the ground of space (*budhne rajasah*, i. e. born as Ahi Budhnya), in his matrix, in the Bull's nest" (*asya yonau . . . vṛṣabhasya nīle*, IV. 1. 11), i. e. ante principium, immediately antecedent to his kindling.

³⁶ As in the Edda, *Grimnismal*, 40, "From Ymir's flesh the Earth was shapen . . . and Heaven from his skull" (*ór hausi himinn*). The account of the Titan Ymir's prior being found in *Völuspá*, 3, *Ár vas alda þars ymir bygði . . . jörð fannsk áeva né upphiminn, gap vas ginnunga, en gras hvergi*, corresponds exactly to RV. I. 129. 1 and 3. Similarly in the Babylonian legend, Marduk bisects Tiāmat, the dragon-mother of the gods, and makes Heaven of her upper part, etc.

³⁷ In ŚB. I. 7. 1. 1 the soma-guardian (i. e. the Gandharva, whose consort Indra so often beguiles, e. g. in JB. I. 125, see Bloomfield in JAOS. XXVIII. 80 ff.) is similarly a "footless archer" (*apād astā*); the Gandharva, in other words, is the dragon or serpent guardian of the Tree of Life, as in all other mythologies.

7. *Procession is a sunwise turn*

In connection with the use of *vṛt*, it is to be observed that the "turn about" is always right handed, the powers of darkness being, as in other traditions, those of the left, the powers of light those of the right. The smitten Dasyu "sinks on Indra's left" (RV. II. 11. 18), "Indra with his left hand constrains the giants (*vrādhataḥ*, as in X. 49. 8, X. 69. 10), with his right lays hold upon his deeds" (*dakṣiṇe saṁ gr̥bhītā kṛtāni*). As Dakṣa is virtually the right hand of God, so Dakṣiṇā is "right lady," viz. in RV. primarily the Dawn, the milch-cow, and mother of Agni (I. 123. 1, III. 58. 1) and in TS. VI. 1. 3. 6 similarly of Indra, and it may be easily seen how the secondary meaning of *dakṣiṇā*, "sacrificial fee" is derived; for the First Sacrifice is always a *sattra* performed by the officiants on their own behalf, and wealthy Dawn with her abundant kine is their reward. On the other hand when the feminine principle is considered with respect to her origin, just as Heaven is "above" and Earth "below," so "he" is right and "she" left, as in ŚB. X. 5. 2. 9, BU. IV. 2. 2-3, and MU. VII. 11, where the "person" in the right eye is Indra, the "person" in the left Indrāṇī or Virāj, their conjunction taking place in the "heart," or ritually, within the veiled *sadas*. The sacrificer himself moves sunwise, "He makes a right turn (*prasa-lavyāvartayati*), thereby he turns yonder Sun to the right, and accordingly yonder Sun moves round these worlds from left to right" (ŚB. VII. 5. 1. 37); in the same way the hempen girdle is twisted sunwise, which is the "human" way, "and were it twisted widdershins, it would be sacred to the Fathers" (*ib.* III. 2. 1. 13, cf. also I. 2. 1. 12 with Eggeling's note).

The notion of a single principle that faces in two opposite directions, that namely of the Janus type in iconography, is thus extensively developed in RV., e. g. X. 5. 6, where Agni is stationed "at the parting of the ways" (*panthām visarge*), that is of course on the threshold of the gate of the worlds (*lokadvāra*). Amongst the consequences of such an opposite orientation of the light and dark worlds we may note, for example, "Those that come hitherward (*arvañc*) they call departing" (*parācaḥ*), RV. I. 164. 19, and "What incantation the Angels pronounce forwards (*avastāt*), that the Titans pronounce backwards" (*parastāt*), JB. I. 125, analogous to which is the pulling of the Devas and Asuras in

opposite direction at the Churning of the Ocean, and it should not be overlooked that such an opposition of the opposing principles is indispensable for creation. From the *karmakāṇḍa* and *kṣatriya* point of view, the auspicious motion is forwards in a rectilinear sense; but from the *jñānakāṇḍa* and *brāhmaṇa* point of view the auspicious direction is, not indeed backwards, but—in a sense to be explained—nevertheless an opposite one. Inevitably opposite, for when the forward steps have been taken, they must in some sense be retraced, whatever has been affirmed must also be denied, whatever has been stolen must be restored, if ever the Wayfarer is to reach That One “who never really rises nor sets.” For the extroverted consciousness, accordingly, an introversion is required, and this is what is alluded to in all such expressions as *pratyakcetanā*, “reverse thinking,” defined as follows by Maṇiprabhā on YS. I. 29, “Thought is said to be reversed (*pratyāñc*) when it turns (*añcati*) against the current” (*pratipam*), which as Bhoja adds, “is effected in the case of yogis.” The “upstream” imagery, which recurs also in the Pali Buddhist *uddhamsota*, “Upstreamer,” is first to my knowledge explicitly employed in TS. VII. 5. 7. 4, *pratikūla iva vā itaḥ svargo lokah*, “Heaven world is counter-current as it were from here,” cf. JB. III. 150 and PB. XXV. 10. 12-18. As a further example of “reverse thinking” may be cited BG. II. 69, “That which is the night of all beings is for the truly poor man (*saṁnyāsi*) the time of wakening; when other beings are awake, then it is night for the seeing Muni,” cf. “The light that is in you is darkness,” and the discussion of *suṣupānam* in section 6 above, recalling that *suṣupta*, “Deep Sleep,” is contrasted in the *jñānakāṇḍa* with the “Waking State” of consciousness, as superior to inferior.

It is important to observe, at the same time, that the “opposite direction” is not a backward one, but onward (TS. VII. 2. 1. 3 *prāñ iva hi suvargah*). The Wayfarer, whether he continues on the *devayāna* or lingers on the *pitryāna*, is always thought of as following up the circle of the Year, he does not turn about leftwise to go backwards (incantations are repeated backwards and widdershins movements made only in *black* magic); any such backsliding (*avasarpaṇa* as contrasted with *atīsarpaṇa*) would involve, not the desired integration (*saṁskaraṇa*) but a disintegration (*vikaraṇa*, *visraṇsaṇa*). It should be added that the circumambulation of the Year which represents the individual’s pilgrimage envisaged as if

taking place on a given level of reference, a single "world" (*loka*), can be regarded from another point of view as a movement outwards (*pravṛtti*) from the centre towards the circumference, and conversely (*nivṛtti*), this motion following first a downward and later an upward course on a continuous spiral centred about the axis of the universe; the points at which the spiral cuts successive levels of reference, and in particular those planes that represent the "seven worlds," representing the different stations that are occupied by this individual principle in the course of its transmigration (*paribhramāṇa*) and mode-ification (*vṛtti*). The Wayfarer in either case—when half the circle has been run, or when the spiral is reversed—moves now in a new and opposite direction, "counter-current." The turning point, so critical in the history of the individual, is referred to in religion as a repentance, or even more significantly as a conversion, while in metaphysics this is the "reversion of the spiritual power," *brahmaṇa āvartak* as cited above, of which dis-passion (*vairāgya*) is the sign. The pilgrimage is of significance for the pilgrim only until he reaches its end, until he "goes home" (*astam eti*), where none will ask him whence he came or whither he went; the pilgrimage begins with a gliding forth (*prasarpaṇa*, *upōdāsarpaṇa*, etc.) from the bonds of Varuṇa, of Death, which is coincident with the rising of the Sun, the "Light of them that sit in darkness" (*tamasi harmye*), summoning those asleep to take up their beds and walk, and ends in a "full-gliding" (*atisarpaṇa*) that is a full-release (*atimokṣa*) from "all the ills that follow in the bridesmaid's train" (X. 85. 31). That emancipation is a return to Varuṇa, to Death, no longer as prisoner, but as a friend, there the pilgrim once more sees his "Father and Mother" (I. 24. 1), Varuṇa and Aditi, Heaven and Earth, united in the common nest (X. 5. 2); Varuṇa is deathless (RV. I. 164. 38), "Death does not die" (ŚB. X. 5. 2. 3), the Comprehensor unified with Death "becomes the Single Angel, even Death, discards recurrent death, death gets him not" (BU. I. 2. 7). An understanding of the ontology and teleology thus formulated in RV. and later is indispensable for any valid interpretation of the texts themselves—*kas taṁ praveda . . . so asmin madeta* (AV. IX. 1. 6), or otherwise, *yas taṁ na veda kiṁ ṛcā kariṣyati* (RV. I. 164. 39).

8. Casting the snake-skin, or changing color or garment

The proposition that "The serpents are, that is, are consubstantial with, the Ādityas," the "Suns" or children of Aditi, already cited from PB., can be supported and amplified from many other texts. In RV. IX. 86. 44, for example, Soma "like Ahi, creeps forward out of his old skin" (*ahir na jūrṇām ati sarpati*); in IV. 13. 4 "Thou goest forth with mightiest steeds, discarding the black robe (*asitam* . . . *vasma*, cf. *asitaḥ* in AV. VI. 72. 1), the quivering rays of the Sun, as he extends his web (*tantum avavyayan* . . . *raśmayah*, involving the "spider" imagery), sink the darkness like a skin (*carmeṇa*) into the Waters," cf. VII. 63. 1; that is, "when man's libation calls me to the white-garment" (*nirṇije*, X. 49. 7), for indeed Varuṇa "changes the black robes into clean and white ones in his operation" (*anu vratā*, VIII. 41. 10, his operations being respectively interior, *guhya*, and exterior, *āvis*), "Agni now wields, now layeth down his tool (*vāśim*), as does the Titan his white garment" (VIII. 19. 23, cf. X. 20. 6 *agnim* . . . *vāśimantam*, "with the flaming sword"?); in X. 63. 4 the Ādityas "man-regarding, with ever open eyes, have won as Angels, won by their qualification (*arhaṇā*) a lofty aeviternity; driving in chariots of light (*jyotirathaḥ*, contrast the young streams that are still 'footless and carless' in X. 99. 4), having the serpents' magic but yet innocent (*ahimāyā anāgasah*, exact equivalent of Matt. X. 16, *prudentes sicut serpentes, et simplices sicut columbae*), have clothed them in a glorious heavenly garment." In JB. II. 134 "As Ahi casts his skin, as one would pull a blade of grass from its sheath, so he (Indra) is liberated from all evil" (*yathāhir ahi-cchavyai nirmucyeta* . . . *eva, sarvasmāt pāpmano nirmucyate*). In PB. XXV. 15. 4 "By that sacrificial session, the serpents conquered Death; he conquers Death who follows the same course. Thereby they shook off their old skin, and crept onwards, put away Death and conquered him. The serpents are the Ādityas. He who follows the same course shall shine with the Ādityas' glory." In ŚB. II. 3. 1. 3 and 6 the Sun, who when he sets enters as an embryo (*garbha*) into that womb that is Agni (*agnāv eva yonau*),³⁸ and is

³⁸ "The womb that is Agni," viz. the Agni that is hidden, ab intra, may seem to stand in need of explanation. The expression tallies with PB. XXV. 10. 10, where "This Mitra pours his seed into Varuṇa" (*retāḥ varuṇo siñcati*), ŚB. II. 2. 4. 5 (see p. 387, above) where the consuming

hidden by the night as embryos are hidden, now when he rises, "Even as Ahi, so does he free himself from his skin (*yathā ahiḥ tvaco nirmucyeta*), so does he free himself from night, from evil" (*pāpmanaḥ*, cf. AB. V. 25, where the Sun is called "that Angel who has most effectively smitten evil away"); and all this is imitated in the ritual when the officiating priests "creep" (*srp*, with *pra*, *prati*, *niḥ*, etc.) to or from the *sadas*, "Even as Ahi frees himself from his skin, even so do they free themselves from all

Agni, Vāc being absent, receives Prajāpati's seed, who thus reproduces himself (cf. AA. II. 3. 7 where the seed in man is proper to the Sun, the blood in woman proper to Agni, and also BU. VI. 4. 3, where in a sacramental interpretation of the sexual act, the place of Agni's kindling is analogically *madhyatas tau muṣkau*); and is likewise in agreement with BG. XIV. 3, "My womb (*yonī*) is the Great Brahman, therein I lay the embryo" (*garbham dadhāmi*, cf. RV. IX. 74. 5, where "Soma lays the embryo in Aditi's womb," *dadhāti garbham aditer upasthe*), this "Great Brahman" corresponding to the "Transcendental Nature" (*para prakṛti*) that is the "womb of all existences" (*etad yonīni bhūtāni sarvāṇi*, BG. VII. 5-6), "which Nature is mine own, and I when I resort to her, I pour forth at her will this whole body of being that hath no independent will" (ib. IX.) cf. Eckhart, "From the Father's embrace of his own nature comes the eternal playing (= *līlā*) of the Son"; or again, *Muṇḍaka Up.* III. 1. 3 where the Highest is referred to as "Creator, Lord, and Person, Brahma-womb" (*brahma-yonī*), cf. RV. X. 29. 14 where Agni "is born from the Titan's womb" (*asurasya jaṭharāt ajāyata*), and ŚB. VI. 1. 2. 6-9. where Prajāpati is "pregnant" (*garbhin*).

None of this is strange, even to Christian theology, but only unfamiliar: the Supreme Identity, *tad ekam*, is the unity of a conjoint principle, and were it otherwise the birth of the Son could not be called a vital operation (St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.* I. 27. 2). That Supreme Identity may be called by the names of either of its conjoint principles, i. e. may be spoken of as Varuṇa or Agni (usually m. but in the passages discussed semantically f.) or as Aditi or Virāj (both usually f. but often also m.), may in other words be thought of either as f. or m. or both at once. What may be said of the Virāj, whence all things milk their characteristic virtue, "Who knoweth her progenitive duality?" (*mithunatvam*, AV. VIII. 9. 10), cf. JUB. I. 54, where the conjoint principles Sāman and Rk., i. e. Heaven and Earth, "become Viraj," and—only thus in unity, within—"beget" (*tau virāj bhūtvā prājanayātām*) the Sun, after whose birth they are again divided, is also repeatedly affirmed in RV. e. g. X. 27. 23 *kṛnatrād eṣām uparā udāyan*, "at their diremption rose the latter."

That he who both "begets" and "brings forth"—we meet in Christian doctrine with such expressions as "the Father's child-bearing"—is a conjoint principle is to allude to his essence and his nature, which are one and the same in him, so that we speak indifferently of the "divine essence"

evil." To put off the snake skin corresponds, accordingly, to "putting off the old man."

To put off Death is to escape from Varuṇa, that is from the bonds of Varuṇa. Most of the difficulties that have been felt in the interpretation of Varuṇa, as "a god of Day" or as a "god of night," have arisen from a failure to observe that he is from the beginning both, now one and now the other "according to his operation" (*anu vratā*, VIII. 41. 10), although when contrasted with Mitra, as Titan with Angel, eternal with mortal, night with day, the non-proceeding Varuṇa is the power of darkness, the Father or Elder

and "divine nature"; he may as well be called a Mother as a Father, as in the expression "Natura naturans, Creatrix, Deus." The doctrine of the Son's eternal birth indeed implies not merely a temporal mother, but an eternal maternity in God, which is precisely that of the divine nature "by which the Father begets" (St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.* I. 41. 5, cf. Damascene, *de Fid. Orth.* I. 18 and Augustine, *de Trin.* XIV. 9). That God is thus the Father-Mother, or simply "Parents" (plu., du.) may be compared to the Vedic usage, in which the "Parents" are spoken of indifferently as "Mothers" (*mātarā*) or as "Fathers" (*pitarā*), Skr. having the advantage of recourse to grammatically dual forms which do not imply exactly what an "and" implies, but rather specify the dual aspect of a single substance, e.g. Mitravaruṇau, Indrāgni, in the first case the relation being that of Son-Father, in the second that of King-Priest. It must not be forgotten that from an Indian point of view the "seed" is consubstantial with him whose seed it is, and thus the father is the embryo, and reborn as the son, as for example in RV. VI. 70. 3 "He in his begotten is born again, by law" (*pra prajābhir jāyate dharmaṇas pari*). Note should be taken of this in connection with the often misinterpreted doctrine of reincarnation and common confusion of reincarnation with transmigration—the father as an individual principle *transmigrates*, and is thus reborn in another mode of being, but as father is *reproduced* in his son in that same mode of being in which the fact of paternity had been occasioned by the fact of filiation. The father, who sooner or later passes away—and this applies as much to *the* Father as to any individual principle, for "God comes and goes, God passes away" (Eckhart)—is resurrected in the son, who again as in this way bringing his father to birth, as well as inasmuch as filiation is the occasion of paternity, is called his "father's father." Resurrection and transmigration are Vedic doctrines, not so "reincarnation" in the supposedly Buddhist and in the Theosophical sense. Even in BG. II. 22 it is far from likely that the "body-dweller" (*dehī*) who abandons his inveterated bodies (*śarīrāṇi viḥāya jīrṇāṇi*, echoing PB. XXV. 15. 4 *hitvā jīrṇām tvacam*) does not imply the living principle in all things rather than any individual principle as such.

Brother ab intra (I. 164. 38, X. 85, 17-18,³⁹ X. 132. 4, and more explicitly in TS. II. 1. 7 and 9). In the same way Agni, "Varuṇa at birth, Mitra when kindled" (RV. V. 3. 1), "Varuṇa as Jāta-vedas, Mitra as priest and house-friend" (III. 5. 4), "Tanūnapāt as Titan embryo, the Praise of Men when born abroad" (III. 29. 11), is from the first point of view a man-devouring, flesh-eating power to be avoided by all means (X. 16. 9 etc.), and from the second the herald (*dūta*) of the Angels and Friend (*mitra*) and Guest (*atithi*) of man, just as his Nordic equivalent, Loki, is now the foe and now the ally of the Aesir. In general theology, these contrasted aspects of the deity are those respectively of Mercy and of Justice; in Islamic metaphysics, for example, Heaven is the reflection of his absolute Love, Hell of his absolute Majesty. Here we are concerned with Varuṇa in the latter aspect, that of the Varuṇa from whose justice the herbs are besought to deliver us⁴⁰—"Release me from the curse, to wit from that of Varuṇa, from Yama's hobble" (*muñcantu mā śapathyād atho varuṇyād uta, atho yamasya paḍbiśāt*, X. 97. 16, where may be noted the assimilation of Varuṇa to Yama, and that to be "tied by the foot," or "hobbled," is virtually to be "footless," cf. *paḍgrbhi*, "Foot-seizer," a demon in X. 49. 5).⁴¹

In X. 129. 1 the question is posed, "What covered up?" or "Who enveloped?" (*kim āvarivar*), i. e. when as yet there was no distinction of being and non-being, life and death, day and night; the most evident answers are to be found in VIII. 100. 7 "It was

³⁹ That in X. 85. 18 "he who orders the seasons and is born again" (*ṛtūnr anyo vi dadhāj jāyate punaḥ*) may not as Sāyaṇa says, be the Moon, but Agni or the Sun, may be seen by comparison with X. 72. 9 *prajāyai mṛtyave tvat punar mārtaṇḍam ābharat*, II. 38. 4 where Savitr *vi ṛtūnr adardhaḥ*, and X. 2. 1 and 3, where Agni is addressed, *vidvān ṛtūnr ṛtupate . . . ṛtūn kalpayāti*.

⁴⁰ "The herbs"—whose king is Soma—are invoked here, because it is by the soma-draught that Indra is inspired and empowered to release his friends.

⁴¹ As regards "release from Varuṇa," the inverse thought (*pratyakce-tanā*) should be noted in VII. 86. 2, *kadā nv antar varuṇe bhuvāni*, "When at last shall I come to be within Varuṇa?", i. e. "dead and buried in the Godhead," cf. VII. 88, where also Varuṇa is both loved and feared. It is indeed by Varuṇa himself, when he shows his face (Agni, VII. 88. 2), when he becomes Savitr (ŚB. XII. 2. 7. 17) that one is freed from Varuṇa's bonds; the Father as the Son is the redeemer from the Father's wrath.

Vṛtra that enveloped" (*yo vo avāvarit vṛtraḥ*), and X. 90. 1 where it is the Person (*puruṣa*), whose identity with Ahi-Vṛtra has already been deduced on other grounds, who "encloses Earth all round about, and overpasses the *daśāṅgulaṃ*" (*sa bhūmim viśvato vṛtvā aty atīṣṭhad daśāṅgulaṃ*—the meaning of the last word need not detain us); or again in TS. II. 4. 12 "Inasmuch as he enclosed these worlds, that is why he is 'Vṛtra'" (*yad imān lokān avṛṇot tad vṛtrasya vṛtratvam*)—this derivation from *vṛ* being etymologically preferable to that from *vṛt*, though from a *nairukta*, or hermeneutic, point of view, as well as the semantic (since both operations coincide in the referent), both derivations may be regarded as valid.

In any case, and apart from the evident functional equivalence, the common derivation of "Varuṇa" and "Vṛtra" from *vṛ* suggests that "That One" in whom and by whom all things are concealed while as yet he is "equally spirated, despirated" (*ānīd avātam*, X. 129. 2) must be as much Varuṇa as Vṛtra. That Varuṇa is indeed himself the "fence" (*varaṇa*) is indicated by the variant texts, *varaṇo vārayātai* in AV. VI. 85. 1 and X. 3. 5, and *varuṇo vārayāt* in TA. VI. 9. 2; cf. also "*vala*" = *vara*, and *varāha*, also from *vṛ*. GB. I. 7 takes up the words of RV. X. 90. 1 with slight variation; the timid waters choose the Brahman to be their king, and "inasmuch as he encompassed them, he was their de-fence (*yac ca vṛtvātiṣṭhaṅs tad varaṇo 'bhavat*), and being such a 'fence' he is also to be known as 'Varuṇa' (*taṁ vā etaṁ varaṇaṁ santaṁ varuṇa ity ācakṣate*), that is, metaphysically" (*parokṣeṇa*). Further, "In that he was separated from the sea (*samudrād amucyata*) he became 'Mucyu,' and this Mucyu is metaphysically known as 'Death' . . . Varuṇa, Mṛtyu, from all whose members as he strove and seethed (*srāntasya taptasya*) the tincture flowed as sweat (*raso 'kṣarat*, so '*ṅgaraso 'bhavantam*), and that '*aṅgarasa*' is metaphysically known as 'Aṅgirasas.'" The latter part of this relatively "late" text exactly corresponds to BU. I. 2. 2, but whether or not to be regarded as wholly explicit in RV., the exegesis is altogether correct. Mucyu is no doubt the same as the Buddhist Nāga Mucalinda or Mucilinda, cf. Mucukunda in Mbh. In any case, it is impossible to doubt the identity of Varuṇa ab intra with the Asura-piṭṛ, Ahi-Vṛtra, and Mṛtyu = Māra, nor his identity with the dreaded forms of Agni and Rudra—*Noster*

*Deus ignis consumens est.*⁴² Nor can it be denied that Mitra, the kindled Agni, is Varuṇa's "face," and Sūrya his "eye." The dual Mitrāvaruṇau is the unity of both in what from our point of view appears to be a dual operation, one of contrasted activity and idleness, productivity and impotence, mercy and judgment, duration and eternity, the *viṣurūpāṇi savratā* of VI. 70. 3. In this identity, the consubstantial or consanguineous pair, Mitra and Varuṇa, the one made manifest and subject to inveteration, the other unseen and eternal (I. 164. 38 and X. 85. 17-18), are respectively the *apara* and the *para* Brahman of the Upaniṣads, likewise mortal and immortal, in a likeness and not in any likeness (BU. II. 3).⁴³

⁴² This identity or coincidence was maintained by Bergaigne, but has been doubted by others, including Norman Brown (JAOS. 39. 108), who however informs me in correspondence that he does not absolutely deny its possibility. It is in fact only if we omit the qualifying *ab intra* from the proposition enunciated as above that "it requires a strong effort of will to identify two characters so extremely dissimilar in the Veda as are Varuṇa and Vṛtra" (Brown, loc. cit.). It may be observed also, that even for the scholar who is not a professed Christian, a modern Christian inheritance and "moralistic" preoccupation have made it difficult to accept the position of the older teaching, by no means unknown even to the Middle Ages in Europe, that "good" and "evil" have a valid significance only "under the sun" and "within the worlds," but in the Supreme Identity are coincident without opposition or composition.

⁴³ In the present article, references are drawn as far as possible from RV. rather than from "later" sources. At the same time, I am far more in agreement with Bloomfield, who argues that we must abandon the belief "that the allusions to the story which may be gathered from the scattered mantras are the only true material for its reconstruction" and like him am "more and more inclined to the belief that *mantra* and *brāhmaṇa* are for the least part chronological distinctions; that they represent two modes of literary activity, and two modes of literary speech, which are largely contemporaneous. . . . Both forms existed together, for aught we know, from the earliest times" (JAOS. 15. 144, cf. Eggeling in SBE. XII. xxiv, and Edgerton in JAOS. 36, 197), than with Brown who argues that "the later material is so liable to follow ideas not really contained in the Rigveda" (JAOS. 51. 108). Even in the Upaniṣads I do not see the development of any new doctrines, merely a certain distinction in phraseology and a difference of emphasis. For example, as to the identity of Varuṇa with Brahman: in the first place, as remarked by Grassmann, *Wörterbuch*, s. v. *brahman*, "die Keime der späteren Sonderung finden sich schon vereinzelt im RV." (a statement certainly erring on the side of moderation), and in the second, it would be very difficult to distinguish the conception of Mitrāvaruṇau, the latter the "immortal, uterine brother

9. The Endlessness of Agni

In RV. IV. 1. 11-12 cited above at the close of section 6, q. v., in a description of Agni, when "first born in his ground," *budhne*, i. e. as Ahi Budhnya, he is referred to as "footless and headless, hiding both his ends" (*apād aśirṣā guhamāno antā*). Evidently, *guhamāno antā* is tantamount to *ananta*, "endless," "infinite," "eternal," "without beginning or end," and also the name of the seven-headed *nāga*, Śeṣa, "Residue," who forms the couch (*śayana*) of Nārāyaṇa-Viṣṇu as the latter lies recumbent on the back of the

of the mortal; men mark the one and fail to mark the other" (RV. I. 164. 38, cf. X. 85. 17-18) from that of the two aspects of the Brahman, *para* and *apara*, respectively immortal and mortal, in a likeness and not in any likeness (BU. II. 3); in such a case it is the reference, and not the name that is significant, and in any case the distinction of *brahma* from *kṣatra*, as well as their coincidence, outwardly in the dual Indrāgni and inwardly in the Supreme Identity, are sufficiently explicit.

It is not, of course, intended to deny that there is a linguistic development in the Upaniṣads, when we compare them with RV., which denial would be absurd. But literary history and the history of metaphysics are two very different things, one might even say that the *philosophia perennis* has no history, and cannot have a history, which was also Augustine's view. What then do we understand by Bloomfield's "two modes of literary expression (belonging to) the same cycle of thought" (loc. cit.)? Certainly not his "lyric" and "epic-didactic" modes; for RV. is no more "lyrical" in our sense than it is in any part whatever "satirical," and if the Brāhmaṇas are in parts didactic (and we should describe them rather as technical and exegetical), they are certainly not "epic" in any literary sense. The contrasted modes are those of liturgy on the one hand and initiatory teaching on the other: the exegetical parts of the Brāhmaṇas, and the Upaniṣads in general, are primarily concerned with *jātavidyā*, *bhūavṛtta*, or "Genesis," that kind of knowledge, viz. which is ascribed to and expected of the Brahman par excellence, that priest viz. who does not himself take an active part in the ritual, but *jātavidyām vadati* (X. 71. 11), he in other words who on the proper occasions, that would be either in the colloquies of Brahmins or in giving instruction to a qualified pupil, gives the answers to all those questions that are posed in the *brahmodya* hymns, such questions for example as *kim āvarivar* in X. 129. 1.

Otherwise expressed, the *karmakāṇḍa*, sanctioning and enjoining action, represents that part of the Vedas proper to the *kṣatra* or temporal power; the *jñanakāṇḍa*, theoretical in the strict sense of the word, that part proper to the *brahma* or spiritual power. Nothing forbids us to suppose that the latter part was not originally "published," nor in fact "published" until later, when a linguistic development had already taken

primordial Waters at the dawn of creation, the beginning of an aeon (Mbh. I. 36. 24, etc.). *Guhamāno antā* furthermore implies a conjunction of extremities, the converse of the separation of the Puruṣa's head and feet in RV. X. 90. 14,⁴⁴ wherewith the creation is initiated; implies, in other words, such a conjunction of extremities as is represented by the ancient and well-known symbol of the serpent with its tail in its mouth, or such strapwork motifs in art as are represented in their simplest form by the familiar symbol ∞ denoting mathematical infinity. It is then by no means surprising that in the ritual, the primary significance of which is a symbolic reintegration of the divided principle and therewith of the

place. Reasons for such a publication at this later time may be connected with the *kṣatriya* reaction against the spiritual power, involving in the first place the claim to an intellectual equality or even a superiority, and leading finally to a heterodox development in Buddhism and Jainism.

However this may be, we could not expect to find in a liturgy also a doctrinal exposition, where it would be out of place. It is true that the material is so extensive, and so infallibly consistent with itself ("its every part seems to be conscious of and assimilated to every other part, Bloomfield in JAOS. XXIX. 288), and we may add with traditional metaphysical doctrines preserved by other than Indian cultures, that it is by no means impossible to extract from the mantras the doctrines assumed in them, just as it would be possible to deduce the implied doctrine from the Psalms or the mediaeval Latin hymns; what in fact the consistency proves is that those who composed the mantras, whether human or super-human beings, must have been fully aware of all their implications, or if not it would be as if we had come upon a series of elegant mathematical formulae, and yet believed that they had been written down blindly, which is as much as to say under verbal as well as theoretical inspiration; whereas it is impossible to suppose that the Veda in its present form could have antedated, let us say, a knowledge of carpentry, which means that the *ipssissima verba* of the Veda, as distinct from their references, must be thought of as in some sense of human and temporal origin. It is not with respect to the words in which it is recorded that the *sanātana dharma* is eternal; the "eternity" of tradition has nothing to do with the possible "dating" of a given scripture as late as the first millennium B. C.

⁴⁴That in X. 90. 1 the Puruṣa, in the beginning, is said to have a thousand heads, a thousand eyes, a thousand feet, cannot be taken literally; the sense is rather that all these are latent in him, who is omniform or protean, i. e. as in VS. XIII. 41, where the Solar embryo (i. e. *ab intra*, "at night," see ŚB. 3. 1. 3 cited in section 8) is called "the omniform likeness of a thousand" (*saahasasya pratimāṁ viśvarūpam*), the manifested Sun being accordingly "thousand-footed" (*saahasapad*, VIII. 69. 16).

officiant himself, there should be so much stress laid on the putting together again of the two ends, for example, the ends of the Year or beginning and end of the Sāman, which ends are divided in the worlds, as Heaven from Earth, or Sun from Moon. In this connection the ritual texts are of the highest interest both with respect to the doctrine involved and also, what amounts to the same thing, as affording an intelligible and authoritative explanation of the meaning of symbols and the content of traditional arts.

In AB. III. 43, for example, we find: "The Agniṣṭoma is (outwardly a rite, but) metaphysically Agni. . . . Again, in that they praised him as the Head (*mūrdhnam santam*) and as having become Light (*jyotis*),⁴⁵ the Agniṣṭoma being the praise of light, they

⁴⁵ *Mūrdhnam santam jyotir bhūtam*; in agreement with all that has already been cited respecting the transformation of the serpent's head into the Sun or Heaven, and more exactly with RV. X. 88. 6 "At night Agni is the Head of being (*mūrdhā bhuvo bhavati naktam agniḥ*), thence in the morning he is born as the rising Sun" (*tataḥ sūryo jāyate prātar udyan*); which text also makes it clear that the so-called Brāhmaṇa doctrine, which is also Sāyaṇa's (on I. 103. 1), viz. that at night the Sun enters into Agni, is not a new one. Cf. also X. 8. 6 "to Heaven thou (Agni) liftest up thy radiant Head."

These doctrines about the "Head" are paralleled in Gnostic formulations, cf. the Syriac Valentinian hymn included in the *Panarion* of Epiphanius, verse 5, reading "From the Head he proclaimed tidings about the Father," as to which W. R. Newbold (JAOS. 38. 15) remarks "The 'Head' is the first emanation of the Abyss, usually called Noûs or *Μονογενής*, but often *Πατήρ* or *Ἀρχή*. . . . It was 'from the Head' that the Light proclaimed tidings, for being himself an emanation of Noûs, who alone knew the Father, he derived from him all that he proclaimed to the Aeons." In the same way the subdivision of the One, which we have recognized to be the sacrificial act of creation—self-sacrificial in that He lends himself to this division, a suffered passion in that it is by "man" that He is mentally outstretched on the Procrustean bed of time and space in cosmic crucifixion—is also Gnostic doctrine, e.g. in the "Untitled Apocalypse" (Bruce Codex), "He it is whose limbs (or members) make many a myriad of myriad of powers, each of which comes from Him." The gnostic character of the Indian doctrine of Sacrifice was remarked upon by Eggeling in SBE. XLIII. xvii. That the teachings of Plotinus are hardly distinguishable from those of the Upaniṣads has often been recognized. The latter problem has too often been discussed (e.g. by Keith, in *Indian Culture*, II. 135 ff.) as though the only alternatives were those of borrowing or of independent origination. It is not thus, however, that the similarities, often amounting to identity in the scriptures of widely separated cultures, are envisaged by those who speak of

call it Jyotiṣṭoma, or 'Light-laud' metaphysically. . . . This is the sacrificial pattern (*yajñakratuh*) without beginning or end (*apūrvo anaparah*, cf. Dante's *nè prima nè poscia*, *Paradiso*, XXIX, 20); the Agniṣṭoma is like a chariot wheel, endless (*ananta*),⁴⁶ as is its coming forth so is its onward course (*yatheva prāyaṇam yathodayanam*). As to this a sacrificial verse (*yajñagāthā*) is sung:⁴⁷ 'That which is its beginning is also its end (*yad asya pūrvam aparam tad asya*), that again which is its end is also its beginning';⁴⁸ like the gliding of a serpent (*aher iva sarpaṇam*) is that of the Śākala,⁴⁹ they do not discriminate which of the two

the "Ancient Wisdom"—an expression which, however it may have been abused, is far from meaningless. The true explanation is to be found in the integrity of what has been called "the universal and unanimous tradition": "Die Menschheitsbildung ist ein einheitliches Ganzes, und in den verschiedenen Kulturen findet man die Dialekte der einen Geistesprache" (Jeremias, *Altorientalischen Geisteskultur*, Vorwort); "Eine grosse Weltlinie der Metaphysik zieht sich durch aller Völker hindurch" (Sauter, in *Archiv für Rechts- und Sozialphilosophie*, Oct. 1934, p. 9). Even apart from any comparisons of wordings, this should be self-evident to every student of the history of symbols; visual symbols being essentially the language of metaphysics, as words are of philosophy.

⁴⁶ Cf. RV. V. 58. 5 and VIII. 20. 14, "spokes where none is last in order."

⁴⁷ The source of this *gāthā* is unknown, but Sāyaṇa says "it is chanted everywhere."

⁴⁸ Cf. Boethius, *de Cons.* I, prose 6, "Is it possible that you who know the beginning of all things (Skr. *jātavidyā*) should not also know their end"; similar St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, I. 103. 2c; Eckhart, I. 224 (Evans ed.) "*In principio* (Skt. *agre*) signifies, in the beginning of all things. It also means the end of all things, since the first beginning is because of the last end. . . . What is the last end? It is the mystery of the darkness of the eternal Godhead which is unknown (Skr. *anirukta*, etc.) and never has been known and never shall be known"; Jeremias, *Der Antichrist in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 1930, p. 4, "Der Abendländer denkt linienhaft in die Ferne, darum mechanisch, areligios, faustisch. . . . Das Morgenland und die Bibel (and might have been added, the Edda) denken nicht linienhaft, sondern zeitraumlich, spiralisch, kreislaufig. Das Weltgeschehen geht in Spiralen, die sich bis in die Vollendung fortsetzen. . . . Das grossartige Symbol der Schlange, die sich in den eigenen Schwanz beisst, stellt den Äon dar." The circumference of a circle is at the same time "endless," and wholly constituted of coincident beginnings and ends.

⁴⁹ Sāyaṇa says that Śākala is a "name of Ahi." That is hardly, as Keith calls it, "absurd"; it is none the less likely enough that *śākala* also designated a particular "serpentine" ritual, of such a sort for

(ends) is anterior" (*na vi jānanti yatarat parastāt*, cf. Dante's *senza distinzione nell' esordire*, *Paradiso*, XXIX, 30).

In JUB. I. 35 "The Year is in the Sāman. . . . The Year is endless (*ananta*), its two ends (*antau*) are Winter and Spring; after (*anu*) this it is that the two ends of a village are united, after this that the two ends of a necklet meet, after this that the Serpent lies wrapping round about his coils (*etad anv ahir bhogān paryāhṛtya śaye*), truly like a necklace laid end to end about (*samantam . . . abhiparyakta*) the neck, so is the Endless Chant" (*anantaṁ sāma*). In JUB. I. 2, again, it is prescribed that the Gāyatra Sāman should be sung "according to the course of the Gale and the Waters" (*vāyoś ca apāñ cānu vartma geyam*), which course is, with respect to the Gale, "from all quarters together, winding itself in so as to generate a whirlwind" (*reṣ-mānañ janamāno niveṣtamānaḥ*), and as to the Waters, "making bends, winding themselves in, flowing in eddies" (*anḱāñsi kurvāṇā niveṣtamānā āvartān*⁵⁰ *srjamānāḥ*), and with respect to both, in this way at the same time fontal and inflowing (cf. TS. III. 2. 2, verses), "not straight away (*parāñ*), lest there be a loss" (*kṣayād eva bibhyāt*, cf. RV. VIII. 7. 16, *utsaṁ duhanto akṣitam*). Similarly in AB. V. 2, "they proceed in sets of three days without a break (*samtatais tryahair avyavachinnair yanti*), and ib. III. 44, where it is laid down that the Agniṣṭoma should be celebrated "without haste," and in accordance with motion of the Sun "who never really sets nor rises" (*nā kadācanāstam eti noḍeti*), but only "inverts himself" (*viparyasyate*, cf. PB. VII. 10. 3, and *ā vavṛtsva* in RV. IV. 1. 2), "indeed he never sets" (*na ha vai nimrocati*),⁵¹

example as the Prṣṭhya Ṣaḍaha described in AB. V. 22, where the Serpent Queen is lauded.

⁵⁰ Cf. RV. X. 30. 10, *āvarvṛtatīḥ . . . dvidhārāḥ*; JUB. III. 33, where when "breath turns resounding up and up" (*prānas svarya upary upari vartate*) this is called the "re-turn of the spiritual power" (*brahmaṇa āvartakḥ*); and the value attached to "auspicious curls" (*nandyāvarta*, etc.) in the later iconography.

⁵¹ Echoed in ChU. III. 11. 3 "He indeed neither rises nor sets, and for him that understandeth this, it is evermore high noon, such is the interpretation of the incantation" (*na ha vā asmā udeti na nimlocati sakṛd divā haivāsmāi bhavati, ya etām evaṁ brahmōpaniṣadam veda*, where *nimlocati* replaces the Brāhmaṇa *nimrocati*, in accordance with a familiar change (cf. *jaṭhara* and *jaṭhala* in RV.) and there is no necessity either for Böhtlingk's emendation *nimumloca*, or for Hume's designation of *na*

and "he who comprehendeth this (*ya evaṃ veda*) attains to conjunction, likeness, and same-worldness with Him" (*sāyujyam sārūpatām salokyatām*). In RV. I. 115. 5 the shining of the Sun, although alternately radiant or dark, is called "endless" (*ananta*).

The endless continuity of the divine act of being is emphasized, indeed, throughout RV. For example, I. 164. 51, "One and the same does this Water rise and fall as day succeeds day" (*samānam etad udakam uc caity ava cāhabhiḥ*); I. 123. 8, the Dawns, "Each like other, today, tomorrow, following Varuṇa's lengthy pathway" (*sadrśir adya sadrśir . . . śvo dīrgham sacante varuṇasya dhāma . . . trimśatam yojanāni*, the *trimśad dhāma* of X. 189. 3, all day and night); I. 124. 3 "straight she followeth the cosmic path" (*ṛtasya panthām anv eti sādhu*); I. 160. 1, where the Sun "proceeds by Law" (*iyate dharmaṇā*, cf. in IV. 18. 1 "the ancient pathway found of old," and the survival of the same conception and almost the same phrasing in the Buddhist account of the Nativity, D. XIV. 1. 21 f. where in connection with every detail it is repeated, *ayam ettha dhammatā*); IV. 18. 6, where the Rivers of Life "flow cosmic-orderly" (*arṣanti ṛtavari*) and IV. 19. 7 where these young maidens are "cognizant of Order" (*ṛtajñāḥ*, i. e. foreknow their way).⁵² In I. 113. 3 the paths of Day and Night are "endless (*adhvā anantaḥ*)"; in V. 47. 2 the motion of Heaven and Earth is on "paths without end" (*anantāsaḥ . . . panthāḥ*); in AV. X. 7. 42 the tissue woven by Day and Night "shall never undo nor come to an end" (*nāpa vṛṇjāte na gamāto antam*, cf. Dante's "such a withy as shall never be unwithied," *Paradiso*, XXIX. 36). This is all summed up in the beautiful verses of TS. III. 2. 2. RV. affirms with no uncertain voice, but

nimloca(ti) as "impossible" (*Thirteen Principal Upanishads*, p. 207). *Nimlocan* (*jaghanārdḍhaḥ*) occurs in the sense of "West" in BU. I. 1. 1, *nimlocanī* in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* with reference to Varuṇa's Western Paradise.

⁵² Plotinus offers a striking parallel to the Vedic concept of the Fountain of Life (*utsa*, etc.) with its inexhaustible ever-flowing streams of living water or milk (*utsaṁ duhanto akṣitam*, VIII. 7. 16, *avatam akṣitam*, VIII. 72. 10): "Imagine a spring that has no source outside itself; it gives itself to all the rivers, yet is never exhausted by what they take, but remains always integrally as it was; the tides that proceed from it are at one within it before they run their several ways, yet all, in some sense, know beforehand down what channels they will pour their streams" (*Enneads*, III. 8. 10).

rather with Hers who in X. 125. 5 "utters what is most felicitous alike to Angels and to men": *Sicut erat in principio, est nunc et semper erit, in saecula saeculorum.*

10. The trace of "endlessness" in art

In connection with JUB. I. 35, cited above, we have pointed out elsewhere in what manner such a passage illustrates the concept of art as an imitation of heavenly "forms," as enunciated for example in AB. VI. 27. We have also repeatedly shown, and once more above in section 6 in connection with the *ūrṇā*, that the symbolism and iconography of Indian art can almost always be referred to Vedic formulations, and that apart from these sources, the symbolism and iconography cannot be explained, but only described. Some further illustrations of this may be given in connection with the concept of endlessness discussed above. If the Vedic chant was in fact of such a sort as the Brāhmaṇas indicate, we might well expect to find some traces of a similar quality in the Indian music of much later periods. Indian music is in fact of a kind that has been preserved in Europe only in connection with the Gregorian chant, which in its turn represents a "style" of great antiquity, and may have Babylonian sources (Lachmann, *Musik des Orients*, 1929, p. 9). We find in fact that European auditors have repeatedly remarked upon the unbroken sequences and absence of crisis and finale in Indian music: for example, Keyserling, *Travel Diary*, III. 30, "It is not easy to explain in words what Indian music means . . . no beginning, no end; it is the undulation and the sway of the eternally flowing stream of life," and Fox-Strangways, *Music of Hindustan*, p. 2, "We do not know what to make of music which is dilatory without being sentimental, and utters passion without vehemence." Not long ago an American child of five, hearing phonograph records of Indian music, remarked in my hearing "That kind of music goes round and round, this way and that way and then comes back." These are precisely those formal qualities which are ascribed by the Brāhmaṇas to the Vedic *sāman*.

If again the *philosophia perennis* has come down to us in "spiralisch" terms, such as are so often employed in connection with the eddyings of inexhaustible waters, the possibilities of being, stirred into life by the dawn winds of creation and the light of the

risen Sun, it may well be assumed that spirals and maeanders wherever they occur in primitive art, that is to say in the ideological art of a time when man was thinking in far more abstract terms than any to which we are now accustomed, are the signs and symbols of these waters. Notions of endlessness, eternity, recurrence, surely underlie not only the well-known symbol of the serpent with its tail in its mouth, and in this sense "endless," but also all those Indian or other ancient motifs of interlacing serpent and dragon forms in which beginnings and ends are confused, and those well-known designs of "strapwork" and "knots" of which the component bands have neither beginning nor end.⁵³

11. Conclusion

It has, we think, been shown beyond all question that the Father and the Son, Dragon and Solar Hero, although in outward opposition, are secretly at one, are one and consubstantial. What must be regarded from without and logically as a dual operation of alternate sleep and waking, potentiality and act, is inwardly and really the mere and simple nature of the Supreme Identity (*tad ekam, sadasat*). This Identity, being of conjoint principles, the same equations hold when the problem is approached on the feminine side, as has been done in *The Darker Side of Dawn*. In the course of the analysis it has been brought out that neither the Vedic ontology nor the formulae in which it is communicated are peculiar to RV., but can as well be recognized in all the extra-

⁵³ In Chinese art the *tao t'ieh* motif which whether with or without buffalo horns seems to represent a jawless dragon's head (e. g. *Eumorfopolos Cat. I*, Pl. XX, A, 26); we find examples of the dragon biting its own tail (*Relics of Han and pre-Han Dynasties*, Tokyo, 1932, Pl. LXI, fig. 4, and Pelliot, *Judes Archaiques de Chine*, 1925, Pl. XVII), or chains of dragons similarly disposed (*Eumorfopolos Cat. I*, Pl. LI, A, 72); and if the dragon form is again and again represented against a background of spirals or maeanders, what else can these maeanders represent but the watery abode of these sons of the mist?

On Chinese dragons see also de Visser, *The Dragon in China and Japan*, 1913; Werner, *Dictionary of Chinese Mythology*, 1932, s. v. *lung*; Mackenzie, *The Migration of Symbols*, 1928, where should be noted also, in connection with what has been said above regarding Pharaoh, numerous Egyptian representations of serpents beleaguering waters. On spirals and dragons see again Mackenzie, and for the importance of the spiral problem in art, cf. Cook, *The Curves of Life*, 1914.

Indian forms of the "universal and unanimous tradition." At the same time, the consistency and continuity of the tradition transmitted in Indian literature and art has been suggested; the tradition is expanded rather than deformed in the Epics, Purāṇas, and Tantras; the name "Vyāsa," that of the "author" of the Mbh. denoting indeed not "Compiler," but "Expander," *vyāsatas* signifying "in great detail," "with prolixity," or "diffusely." In the matter of iconography, more could have been said as to the meaning of the Nāga types in Indian and other arts, but this can be readily deduced by the reader for himself; the well-known motif of paired and interlacing Nāgas (as seen on Nāgakals and at Koṇārak) representing, for example, the co-habitation of the conjoint principles *ab intra*; that of the enmity of Phoenix (*garuḍa*) and Nāga reflecting the outward opposition of the separated principles.⁵⁴ Indications have been given of the significance of certain well recognized characteristics of Indian music, of the use of spiral forms in "ornament," and of the *ūrṇā* as a *lakṣaṇa* of the Mahāpuruṣa; in the latter connection it may be observed that while the Mahāpuruṣa, as the Supernal Sun, thus appropriately wears the solar image on his brow, Śiva, who is the power *ab intra*, as is also indicated by his *nāga*-ornaments, wears the Moon.

⁵⁴ In this connection attention may be called to the well-known Etruscan painting in the Grotta dell' Orco (fourth century B. C.) depicting a winged "demon" with a serpent, or to speak in Indian terms, a Garuḍa and Nāga. In this representation, reproduced and discussed by Evans, *Palace of Minos*, Vol. IV, pp. 188-190, not only are there to be seen two serpent heads rising from the bird-like head of the winged "Phoenix," but as remarked by Evans, the pattern of the wings displays "the same 'wave and dot' pattern as the adders of the Minoan (snake-) Goddess, and clearly represent a similar viperine breed." The ophidian source of the solar power, who at the same time brandishes the Serpent as immediate "Avenger," could not have been more clearly indicated in art. The two serpents heads recalled the *prḍāku-sānu* form of Indra represented in the well-known Mathurā image discussed in *The Darker Side of Dawn*, note 25 (we have called attention above to the equivalence of *sānu* and *śira*). Sir Arthur Evans assumes an ultimately western Asiatic origin of the form.

THE HORSES OF T'ANG T'AI TSUNG AND THE STELE OF YU

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SINCE THE publication in 1918 by Mr. C. W. Bishop of the stone reliefs of the famous horses of T'ang T'ai Tsung, and in particular of the two which came to the University Museum in Philadelphia¹ at that time, a great deal of additional information has been gathered about them and some of the related monuments. But there have also arisen certain doubts about these horses and certain misconceptions and false inferences have been drawn. In view of the confusion that seems to exist in regard both to the horses and to various documents relating to them, I feel that the time has come to make a few definite and clear statements as to what we know and what we do not know about these horses.

There are four questions which I shall attempt to answer briefly in this paper:

1. Are the two reliefs in the University Museum the originals made for T'ang T'ai Tsung in 637, or the copies said to have been made by Yu Shih-hsiung in 1089?
2. Do the so-called "large rubbings" prove the existence of the copies?
3. Is there conclusive evidence for the existence of a set of horse tablets in miniature?
4. What is the Stele of Yu and what evidence does it present in regard to these questions?

It would seem hardly necessary to answer the first question, "Are the two reliefs in the University Museum the originals," were it not that the question continues to be asked and a statement is therefore in order. Yes, they are the originals. That can be proved by comparing them with the photographs taken by Chavannes about 1909 when he visited the Chao Ling, which was the royal burial ground of T'ai Tsung up in the mountains five

¹ See Bishop, *The Museum Journal*, Vol. IX, Nos. 3 and 4, Sept.-Dec., 1918.

miles north of the town of Li Ch'üan. These photographs were later published in "*Mission Archéologique*," unfortunately without text, but with captions under the pictures stating that they were taken in the Chao Ling, and indeed the general view of the site shows that it was up in the mountains.²

The fact which settles the question of the two reliefs now in the University Museum is that they show the same injuries and breaks as those photographed by Chavannes in situ. In Chavannes's photograph of the horse "Curly" (Fig. 1) note the great diagonal cracks clear across the tablet and especially the ragged breaks of the raised forelegs and of both hind legs. The tablet in the Museum shows precisely the same breaks and injuries (Fig. 2). The Museum photographer has thrown a strong oblique light upon it which makes the relief seem higher and brings out mutilated portions in greater prominence than does the diffuse outdoor light of Chavannes's picture.³ Nevertheless a careful comparison will show that the two photographs are of the same sculpture. Likewise, notice the tablet of the horse "Autumn Dew," or "Sudden Dew," as the name is literally (Fig. 3). This is Chavannes's picture taken at the Chao Ling. The injuries to the legs and to the General's right arm enable us to identify without question the relief in the Museum (Fig. 4), which shows the identical breaks, besides, I grieve to say, a few additional ones which it has suffered since 1909. It is possible to copy sculpture exactly, but it is not possible to make it break in the same way as the original. The reliefs in the University Museum are therefore the original sculptures from the Chao Ling.

Now as to the second point. There are in existence authentic rubbings which have been taken from these sculptures, but there is also a series of large so-called "rubbings"⁴ which, though they agree in size and general appearance with the original stones, yet show certain differences. On the original tablet of the horse "Autumn Dew" (Fig. 4) both horse and man are in profile. All four feet of the horse rest upon the ground line. The man's face is practically in outline. Note the pose of his head on his shoulders;

² See *Mission Archéologique*, Pl. CCLVII, No. 438.

³ Chavannes's photograph, moreover, appears to have been slightly retouched where the legs are broken.

⁴ See Ferguson, *Eastern Art*, Vol. III, Figs. 1-6.

the nearly straight line of his belt. And there are the breaks in the tablet. In this so-called "rubbing" (Fig. 5) no breaks are evident and the whole picture is distorted. The horse stands almost at a three-quarter angle, with its hind hoofs out of line above the ground. The General's belt is curved and tips up behind, his head is turned half way toward the front and is set upon his shoulders quite differently from the head of the figure on the tablet. Certain scholars have thought this distortion was due to an attempt to take a rubbing from a high relief. This would distort some details, but should not disturb the relative positions of the main features. For instance, it could not turn a horse or a man's head partly around. Others have assumed, again, that these differences were due to the fact that the "rubblings" were supposedly taken from copies of the tablets which Governor Yu Shih-hsiung in his inscription of 1089 says he had made for T'ang T'ai Tsung's Miao,⁵ or memorial temple, at the West gate of Li Ch'üan, and which were to save sight-seers a trip to the Chao Ling. These authorities have been convinced that these "rubblings" prove the existence of Yu's copies. Unfortunately they do not prove anything. They are not even rubblings. They never saw a stone. Two methods of manufacture appear to have been used, both employing stencils for the various parts. The technique in the one case is a perfectly familiar one; I have often used it in making biological charts. There is a stencil for each detail, body, head, legs, saddle, etc. The operator lays one on the paper at the desired angle and blows ink over it with an atomizer. Then he arranges the next stencil, and so on. An expert does not even need the stencil—pieces of paper with the desired curve of the edge will protect the part which is not to be shaded and give a sharp edge. The softest effects of shading may be obtained by this method. The other method is a sort of printing within the stencil by means of an inked pad and in this case the textile imprint is evident. The rubblings which I have examined show that an outline of the whole horse was first drawn in pencil as a guide to laying on the stencils. Placing of the framework varied. Details were touched up with a brush. In other words, these pictures are simply made up,—not out of "whole cloth," I admit, because the purpose of making them was to sell "representations" of well-known works of antiquity. As accurate docu-

⁵ See Ferguson, *Eastern Art*, Vol. III, p. 64.

ments, however, these so-called "rubblings" are worthless and prove nothing. They certainly do not prove that Yu's copies exist, or ever existed. The distortions are due to the method used, and to the carelessness of the man who blew the atomizer or placed the stencil.

It has hitherto been assumed that Yu's copies were made in stone like the originals. But Yu does not say that this was the case. He says only that the copies he ordered were to be *chên su* (眞塑), accurate, or "true models," and the character used for models, *su* (塑) means primarily to *model in clay*. If copies were actually made, it is possible that they were not of stone but of some more perishable material. So far as we have learned, there are no records to show that anyone ever saw these copies. Only an examination of the site will reveal whether or not they were ever made.

The chief document in regard to the stone horses of T'ang T'ai Tsung, aside from the great tablets themselves, is the stele set up by Yu Shih-hsiung, Governor of Li Ch'üan in the last half of the 11th century. Rubbings of the inscription on his stele are known and the inscription is quoted in all the local gazetteers of the region. It was apparently from the printed quotation in one of the gazetteers that Mr. Waley made his discovery that the figure of a man standing in front of "Autumn Dew" represented the famous T'ang General Ch'iu Hsing-kung.⁶ And it was from the gazetteer of Li Ch'üan Hsien that Dr. Ferguson got the text of Yu's inscription which he published and translated in *Eastern Art*, Vol. III, thus making a great contribution to the knowledge of these sculptures. It would seem almost too obvious to suggest that this inscription comes from the top of the stele which bore the outline pictures of the horses, a rubbing of which was illustrated in Bushell's *Chinese Art* (Vol. I, fig. 18). It showed only the horses and Bushell apparently thought it a stele of the T'ang period. But the Li Ch'üan Hsien Chih, after quoting Yu's inscription, adds a note which reads, "Below are the pictures and the eulogies." I therefore concluded that Yu's inscription belonged at the top of Dr. Bushell's rubbing and I began to search for a rubbing which would include both. With the kind aid of Mr. C. T. Loo a rubbing of the nearly complete stele was found. So far as I know, no one

⁶ Waley in *Burlington Magazine*, September, 1923.

has hitherto actually stated that the inscription and the horses are from one and the same stele. Therefore I now present the more complete picture (Fig. 7), which is important for my next point.

This inscription of Yu Shih-hsiung's, as has been shown by Dr. Ferguson, speaks of *three monuments* or *sets of monuments* to the memory of the horses. First, there were the great reliefs in stone, tablets 5 feet x 6, which T'ai Tsung had had made and set up at the Chao Ling 450 years before Yu's time. Second, Yu had ordered models of these to be made which were to be exact copies, and these were for T'ai Tsung's Miao at the west gate of the town. Third, there was another undertaking of Yu's which has been interpreted as a third set of tablets, only in miniature, with drawings of the horses engraved on them, and these were to be put in the same Miao on the walls of the Wu, the Wu being lateral shelters, or covered walks, at the sides of one of the courtyards.

Let us examine the evidence for such a set of tablets in miniature. First there are the often cited "small rubbings" of the horses, of which a set was loaned me by Miss Bragg, Director of the Berkshire Museum, and of which Figure 6 is one. These average ten inches in height and there is no border to indicate the edge of a tablet. But, sad to relate, these little pictures are made by the same methods as the full-size ones.⁷ There is even a third method used, that of printing with wood blocks. Therefore, they too are false rubbings and, as proof of anything, are worthless. Again we may assume, however, that something well known is represented by them. They may be merely reductions of the large set to a more convenient and less expensive size. I think it more likely, however, though I cannot yet prove it, that this small set had its origin in the outline drawings of the horses on the stele of Yu Shih-hsiung which we have just examined. Chang Ch'ao, who visited the Chao Ling and T'ai Tsung's Miao in 1611, records that he found the *Six Horse Pictures Stele* in the Miao and said that the horses engraved on it were about seven inches high, which in Chinese measure of that time would equal about ten inches of our modern measure. This, and the fact that as a rule no tablet edge is indicated, lead me to believe that this small set *may* have been inspired by the pictures on the stele. But since these are not rubbings at all, they cannot be accepted as documents.

⁷ Miss Bragg wrote me of the technique, having arrived at the same conclusions I had reached in regard to the method used.

Secondly, does the text of Yu Shih-hsiung's inscription necessarily imply that he had a set of horse tablets made in miniature? Mr. Waley, in his article in the *Burlington Magazine*, tells of the modeled copies and continues, "In the same place he (Yu) set up incised slabs representing the design of the reliefs." Evidently

功	其	別	毛	廟	行	官	徑	
游	傳	為	不	廷	恭	傲	峭	
師	焉	繪	差	高	真	其	險	自
雄	元	圖	以	庫	塑	石	欲	山
景	祐	刻	便	豐	於	像	登	下
叔	四	石	往	約	邑	帶	者	往
題	年	於	來	洪	西	箭	難	返
	端	廡	觀	纖	門	之	之	四
	午	下	覽	寸	外	狀	因	十
	日	以	者	尺	太	并	諭	里
	武	廣	又	毫	宗	邱	邑	品

Fig. 8a. Portion of the text of the Inscription on Yu's Stele.

Mr. Waley interpreted the text as meaning another set of tablets, though he does not say they were in miniature. Dr. Ferguson's actual translation, "stone engravings of these figures shall also be placed in the covered passageways"⁸ does not commit him to the theory of tablets, but he proceeds, seemingly misled by the set of

⁸ Ferguson, *Eastern Art*, Vol. III, p. 64.

"small rubbings," to conclude that it means a set of stone tablets of the horses in miniature.

Let us look at that portion of the text of Yu's inscription which relates to this matter. (Fig. 8, 16th to 22nd lines inclusive, and text Fig. 8a.) Yu tells us that he had copies of the Chao Ling tablets *accurately modeled* for the audience hall of T'ai Tsung's Miao. The dimensions of the tablets, the delicacy of execution, nothing should *differ by an atom or a hair's breadth* (from the originals). This would *make it convenient for the going-and-coming-to-see-worthy-ones*. 又 ALSO | 別 ANOTHER (or, OTHERS) (*pieh*) | 爲 TO BE MADE (or, WHICH WERE) | 繪 DRAWN-IN-OUTLINE | 圖 PICTURES | 刻 CUT (or, ENGRAVED) | 石 on STONE | 於 PUT IN | 廡 THE CLOISTERS (*wu*) | 下 UNDER (the roof) | 以 IN ORDER TO | 廣 SPREAD WIDELY (the fame) | 其 of THOSE | 傳 HANDED-DOWN (things). The solution hinges on what Yu, the author of the inscription, meant by *pieh*. Another? Other? Other what? Other slabs? Another what? Another monument to the fame of the horses? Another set of horses? *Pieh*, which by itself means merely *another* or *others*, doubtless refers back in this case to the character *su* (copies), and should therefore be translated OTHER COPIES (of the horses). A free translation of the above passage should read as follows: "I also had other (copies) made, outline pictures (which were then) engraved on stone and placed under the cloister (roof), in order to spread widely (the fame) of those (which had been) handed down." With due respect to the authorities mentioned there does not seem to be here proof that there was a set of tablets in miniature, or even a set of tablets. What monument, other than the set of big copies, did Yu have erected at this time? What object had pictures engraved on it which would add to the fame of these horses? Doubtless the stele itself. Below the inscription is another set of the horses, in outline pictures engraved on stone. Moreover, this was set up in T'ai Tsung's Miao, where Chang Ch'ao saw it in 1611, with the Chao Ling Map Stele, erected by Yu four years later, standing opposite it. And so I am inclined to doubt the existence of any third set of tablets, whether in miniature or not, and to consider that the text which has been commonly thought to

refer to them refers rather to the engravings on the stele below the text; that is, to the stele of Yu Shih-hsiung itself.

A note must be added on the drawings of the horses which appear on this stele. It is evident that they have not been drawn by a master. Yu says in his inscription above that he had seen the painting of the horses said to be by the brush of Yen Li-pên. It is possible that we have here a reflection of that painting, for the pictures, although following the designs of the tablets, do not suggest the monumental quality of the slabs of the Chao Ling, but seem to point to a pictorial ancestor. This is, however, supposition. In the lower left corner of the stele may be seen a signature. It reads "Wu Tsung-tao engraved (it)." Wu Tsung-tao was a famous artist who is supposed to have flourished about 1010 and was already a noted painter at that time. He must have been a very old man if he cut these pictures in 1089. Or, the evidence of this tablet may prove to be earlier and more reliable than sources which have been used hitherto in dating this artist. But that is another problem.

Finally, may I call attention to two points in regard to the great tablets of the horses. First, they were certainly not in their original positions when Chavannes photographed them. Their positions in 1089 are definitely established by the labels on Yu's stele. "Autumn Dew," "Curly" and "White-Footed Crow" were then all on the west side. When Chavannes saw them they were on the east and the *other three* were on the west.⁹ In addition, "Blue Piebald" and "Shih-Destroying-Red" had changed places. Additional evidence that they were not in original position when Chavannes saw them is the fact that the left end of the slab picturing "Autumn Dew" was pushed up against the corner of the brick building so that it was completely hidden and covered by the wall (Fig. 3). It is to this fact, however, that we owe the preservation of a beautiful and typical T'ang design in flat relief, which ornaments that end of the slab (Fig. 9a). The presence of such a design means that this end of the tablet was intended to be seen and that, therefore, the tablet must originally have been placed in a different position, so that it would show. The narrow design (Fig. 9b) is from the face of the tablet in the lower left corner and is the only remaining portion of a delicate pattern in flat relief which decorated the raised border around the horse.

⁹ See *Mission Archéologique*, Pl. CCLVII, No. 439.

The second point, which I hope to enlarge upon some other time, is that originally the tablets were almost certainly painted. When I first began to study them about ten years ago, there were then definite traces of paint on the two in the museum, and I have some evidence which suggests that the poems composed by Tai Tsung were put on the squares intended for them—put on in paint, over characters cut in as low relief as this delicate border design.



Fig. 1. Tablet of the Horse "Curly" as found by M. Chavannes in situ in the Chao Ling.



Fig. 2. The Tablet of the Horse "Curly" as it appears now in the University Museum.

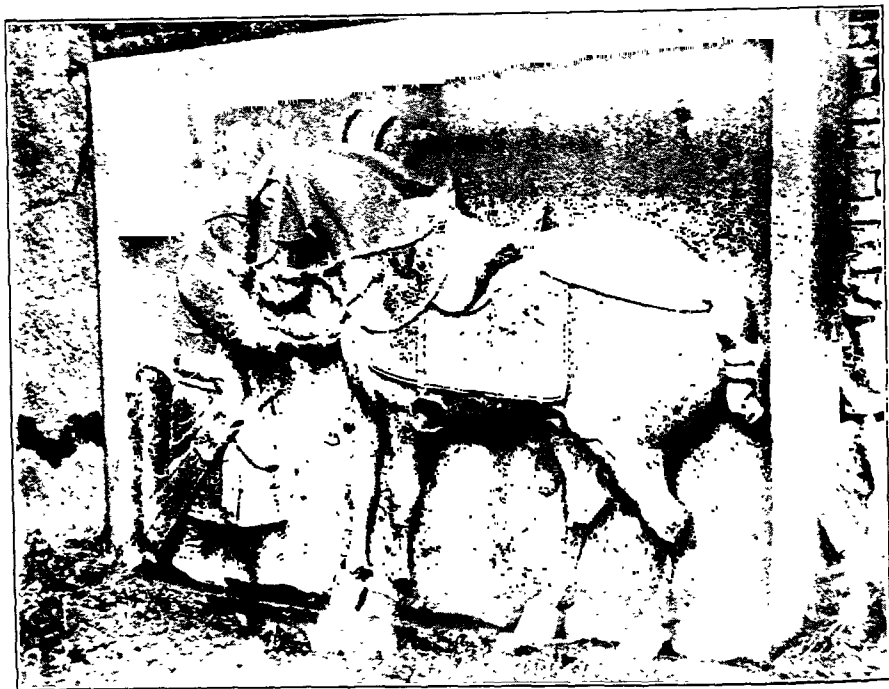


Fig. 3. Tablet of the Horse "Autumn Dew " as found by M. Chavannes in situ in Chao Ling.



Fig. 4. The Tablet of the Horse "Autumn Dew " as it appears now in the University Museum.



Fig. 5. So-called "large rubbing" of the Horse "Autumn Dew," with the General Chiu Hsing-kung.

From Ferguson *Eastern Art*, vol III

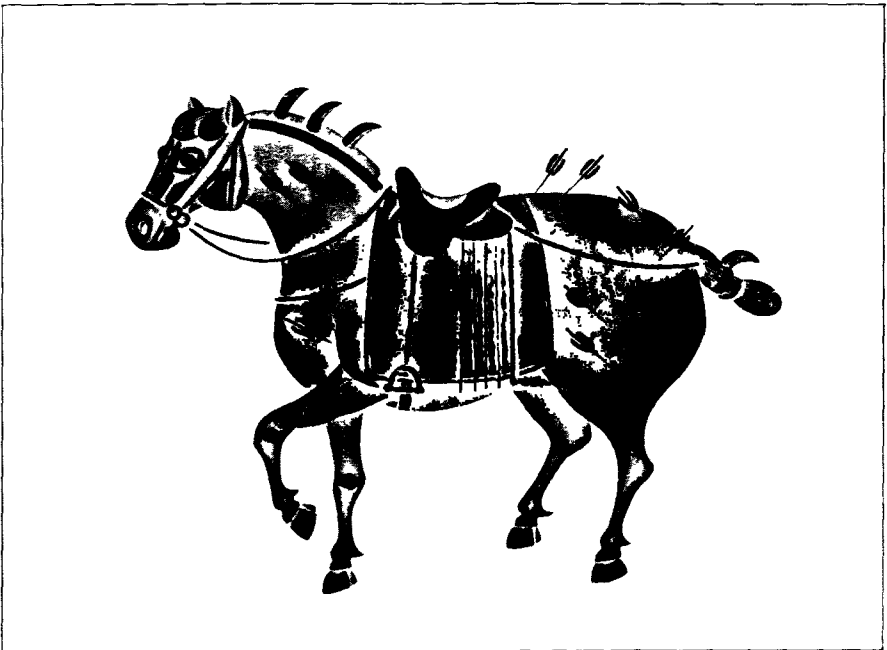


Fig. 6. So-called "small-rubbing" of the Horse "Curly."

From an original owned by Miss Bragg.



Fig. 7. The Stele of Yu Shih-hsiung. From a Rubbing showing the Engravings of the Horses with the long inscription above them.



Fig. 8. A Detail of the Stele of Yu containing that part of the Inscription relating to the pictures incised on stone.



Fig. 9.

- a. Rubbing (intensified) of the low relief remaining on the left end of the stone slab of "Autumn Dew."
- b. Rubbing (intensified) of the border design on the frame of "Autumn Dew," trace of which remains in lower left corner of the slab.

NEW NUZI TEXTS AND A NEW METHOD OF COPYING CUNEIFORM TABLETS

E. R. LACHEMAN

AUBURN, R. I.

(with 6 plates)

WHEN DR. S. N. KRAMER was preparing the publication of the *Sumerian Hymns and Epics*,¹ which the late Dr. Chiera had copied, he asked me to copy the reverse of one tablet, the text of which had been left out. At the suggestion of Professor A. Poebel I used an enlarged photograph of the tablet in question, tracing the signs on it; the photograph was then bleached so that the signs stood out. This gave me the idea of employing the same method in copying the Nuzi tablets of the Harvard Semitic Museum as well as the remaining unpublished Nuzi material which the American School of Oriental Research in Baghdad had loaned to the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. The method of "inking photographs" is not new in itself, having been used with marked success in the field of Egyptology; but no one had applied the process, so far as I know, to cuneiform texts. In this field one may speak of various "schools of copyists." While all aim at a faithful reproduction of the signs, the degree of accuracy depends largely on the copyist's drawing ability and on the sharpness of his eye. Moreover, few attempt to show the shape of the tablet and the exact position of the signs, not to speak of cracks and breaks. There have been notable exceptions, but the time and trouble required have caused many to resort to more or less conventionalized copies. They might thus succeed in making the reading easier, but they overlook the important fact that publications of ancient texts should present the material as it actually is.

Photography alone, however, cannot be sufficient. Most tablets are curved and the writing goes over to the reverse, and no photograph, however excellent, can give the whole text at a glance. Composite photographs are often necessary and the prints must be given special treatment.

The method that I have followed consists, briefly, in taking a good photograph of the tablet, making an enlargement of it, tracing

¹ *Oriental Institute Publications* XV.

the signs on the print, and bleaching it until the signs alone remain. My equipment includes a double-extension, 9 by 12 cm. Royal camera, supplied with a double anastigmat, helioplan lense, 1: 4.5, F 13.5 cm., set on a special stand. The tablet is placed on a glass plate resting on two horizontal rods which are about two feet apart and one foot from the ground. A white sheet of carboard is placed on the floor under the plate. In this way the shadows cast by the tablet are carried off the field and a white background is provided for the photograph. The light is at about three feet and at 45 degrees from the upper left-hand corner of the tablet. The angle of the light will depend largely on the curvature of the tablet. In order to give even light to the edges of the tablet adjusted mirrors are used. With a 100 watt bulb, the shutter closed down to F 12.5, on an Eastman Commercial cut film, the average exposure is 35 seconds; more if the tablet is dark and less if it is of a light color.

The photographs are then enlarged to twice the linear size of the tablet. When the cut is made for final reproduction, it is reduced (as in the present instance) to one-half of the photograph, so that the true size of the characters is indicated.² When the writing goes over the edge to the reverse, the signs are traced on the photograph of the right edge and on a duplicate of the reverse. and after bleaching each line is cut off separately and glued in place on the obverse.

After the signs have been copied the print is bleached in the potassium iodide-iodine bleacher and fixed in hyposulphite.³

The texts discussed below have been reproduced by the above method.⁴

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After the death of Dr. Chiera I undertook to copy the remaining Nuzi tablets discovered during the first campaign, which Dr. Chiera

² After two years of experimenting I have found that Gevaert Novabrom No. 1 (dead matte) extra-vigorous paper is best suited for enlarging. It gives very good contrasts and absorbs the ink easily.

³ I wish to take this opportunity to express my deepest gratitude to P. M. Bardin and H. P. Burtseh, preparators at the Oriental Institute, for their invaluable technical advice.

⁴ The photographs of Text No. 4 (see below) were taken by Mr. L. W. Hough, staff photographer of the Oriental Institute, to whom and to Dr. Boyes, Secretary of the Museum, I hereby express my thanks.

had brought with him to Chicago on loan from the Baghdad School.⁵ Three of these texts are presented below. The new texts are numbered respectively *JENu* 1023 (1), 921 (2), and 4 (3). While engaged in this task I found a number of undeciphered fragments which I was able, with the aid of the Assyrian Dictionary, to fit on to texts previously copied. As an example of this latter group I have included in the present article a restored text (4) consisting of *JENu* 630 + *JEN* 363 + an unnumbered fragment.

Text 1 is a slavery document concerning two Ḫabiru women from the land of Akkad. "Of their own free will" they enter the house of Tehiptilla. Their (previous) owner, Dûr-Ilishu, is responsible for them. The price set for them is forty shekels (SU).⁶ The colophon states that "if the women break the contract and say, 'We are not slavewomen,' they shall pay a certain amount of gold as fine."

Text 2 is a lawsuit between Huite and Naniya, arising from an earlier mortgage (*titennûtu*). Of particular interest is the mention of the *maiuru*-field in an actual context instead of the usual stereotyped clause. Huite is declared winner and awarded the field with its newly planted seeds.

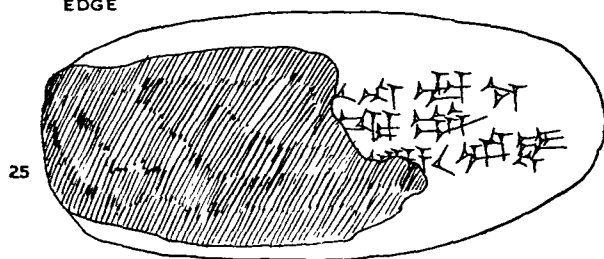
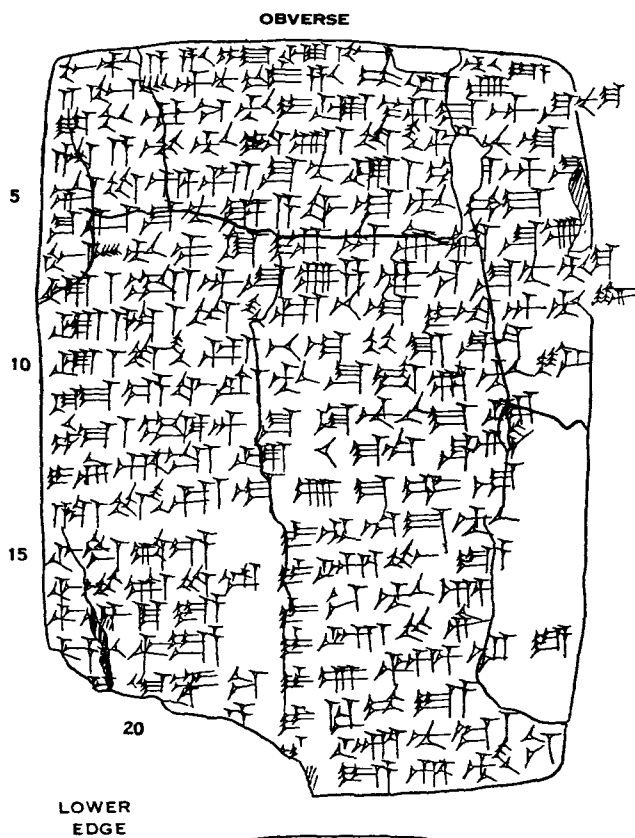
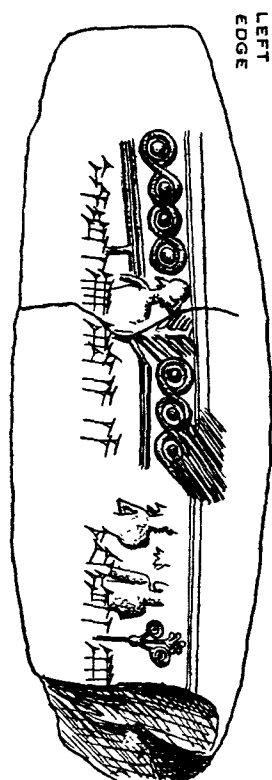
Text 3 concerns the same Huite and deals with a certain field twice mortgaged. The document refers to the same parties as *JEN* 491, and both tablets correspond in shape and share the same scribe.

The measurements of the texts published below are as follows:

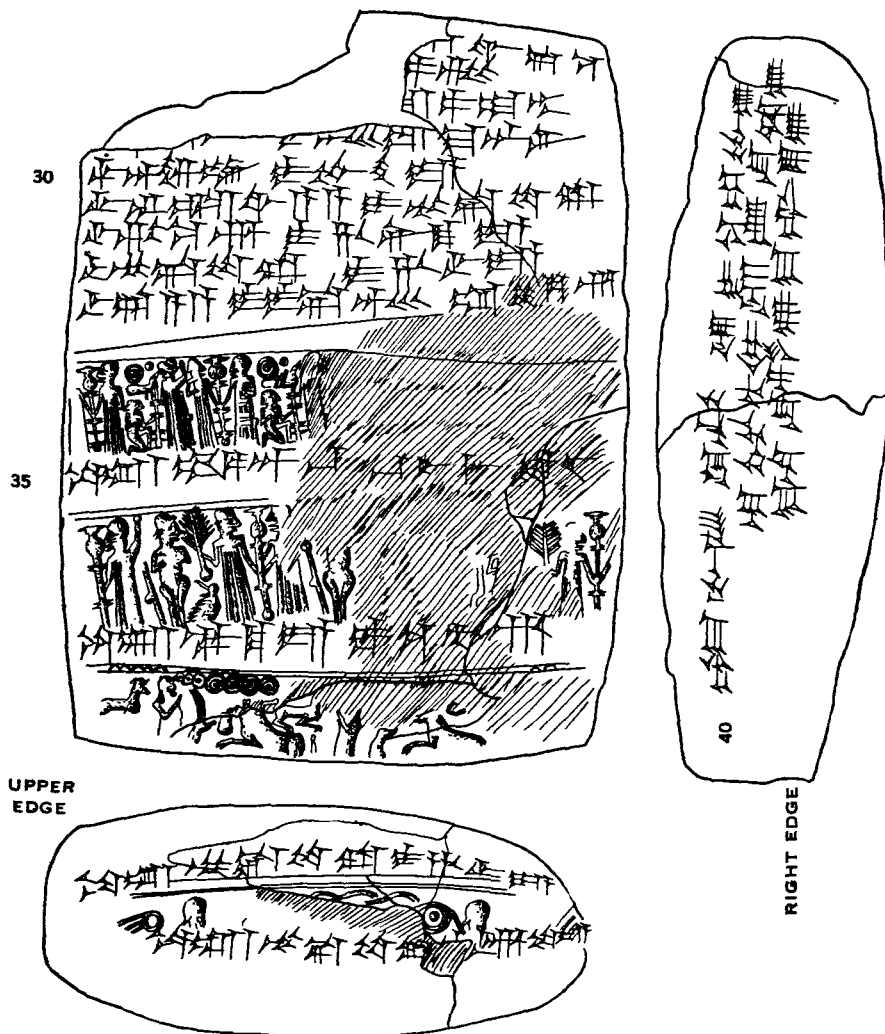
- 1 (unbaked)—98 x 70 x 31 mm. 2 (unbaked)—83 x 65 x 30 mm.
3 (baked)—77 x 62 x 31 mm. 4 (unbaked)—110 x 66 x 33 mm.

⁵ The unpublished texts are cited as *JENu*, those previously published (*Joined Expedition at Nuzi*, vols. I-V) as *JEN*.

⁶ Two unpublished tablets in the Harvard Semitic Museum give the important equation of *šiqīu* with *SU*.



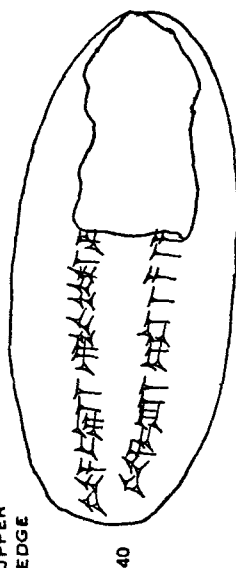
REVERSE



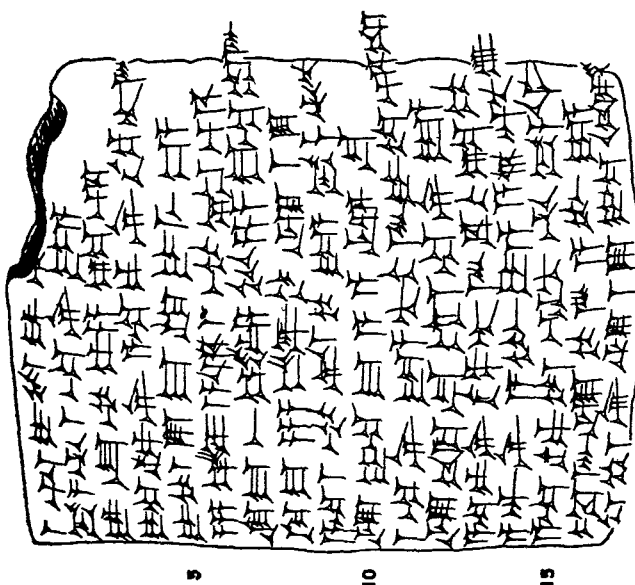
REVERSE



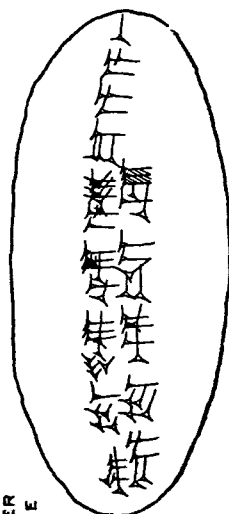
UPPER
EDGE



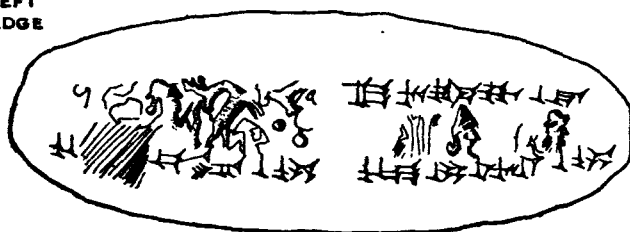
OBVERSE

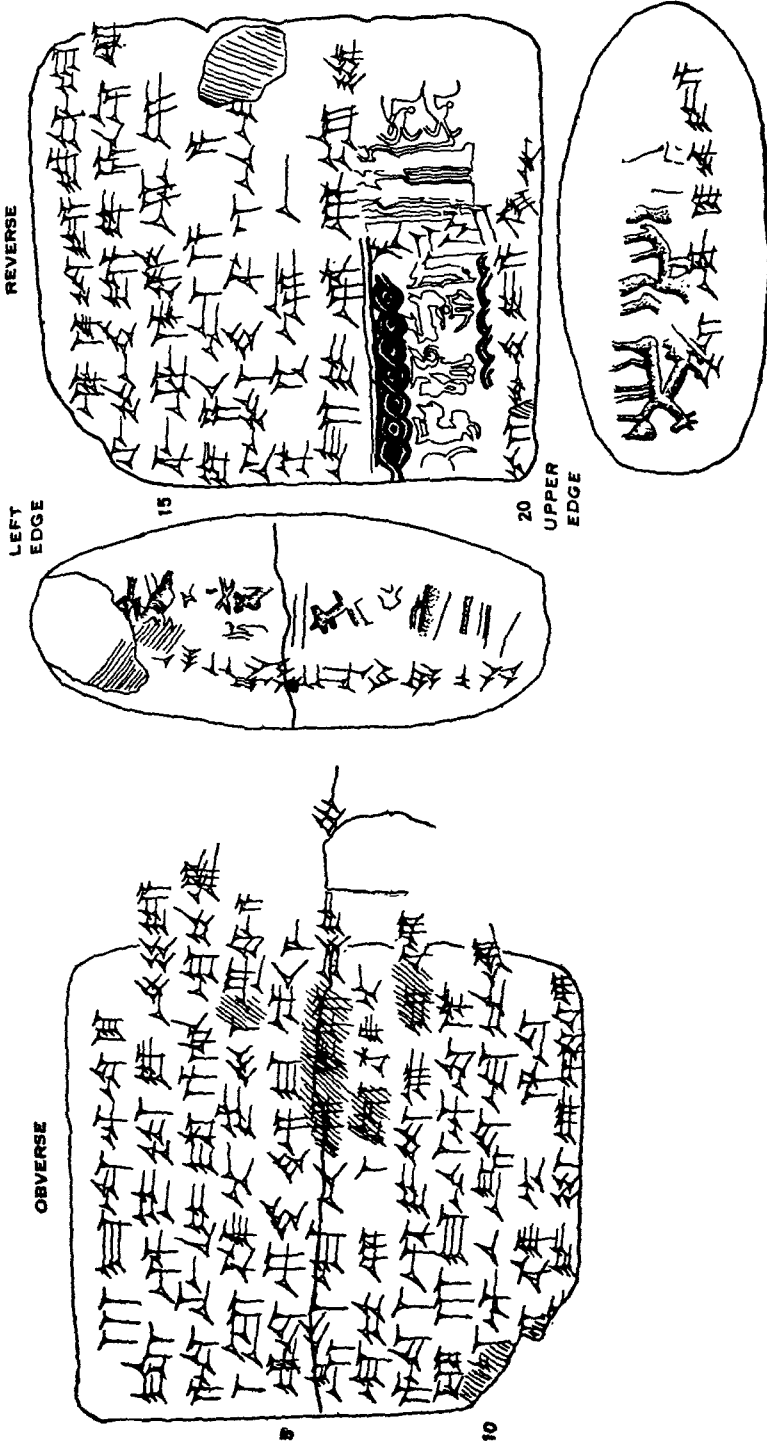


LOWER
EDGE

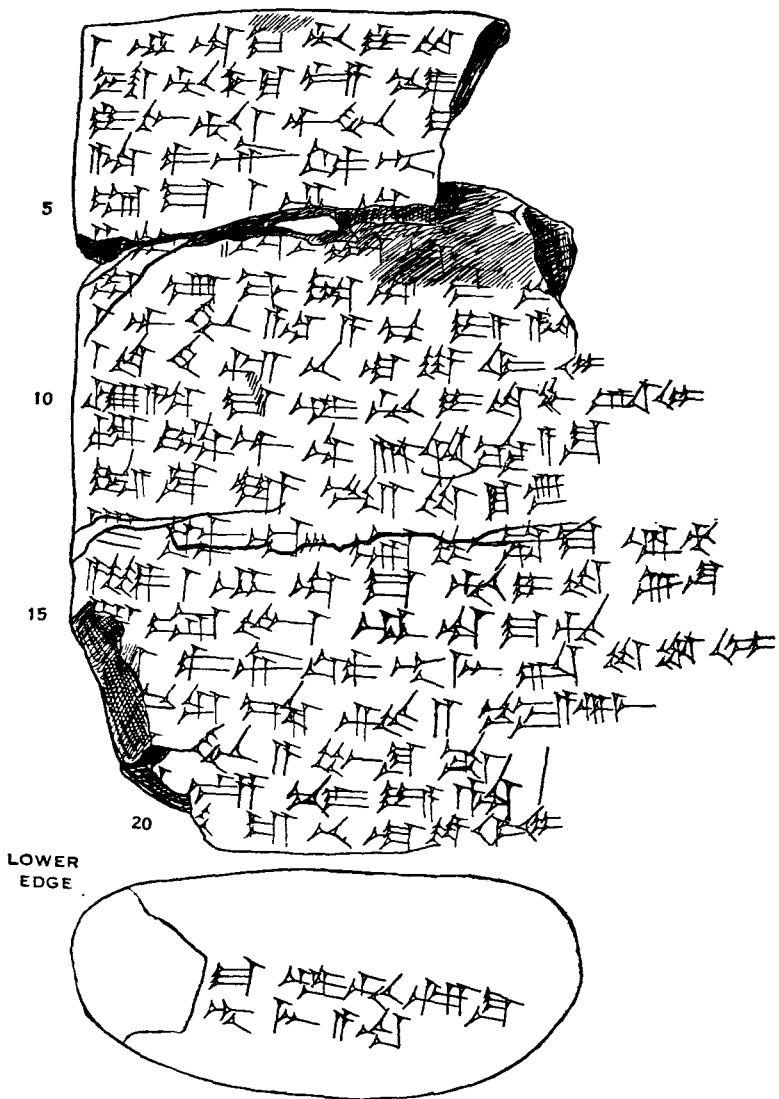


LEFT
EDGE





OBVERSE



REVERSE

LEFT
EDGE

25

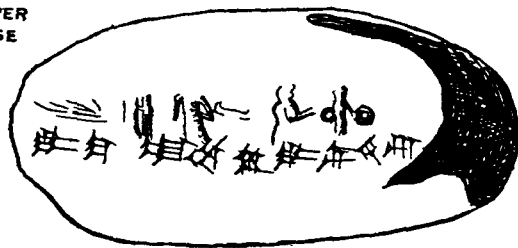
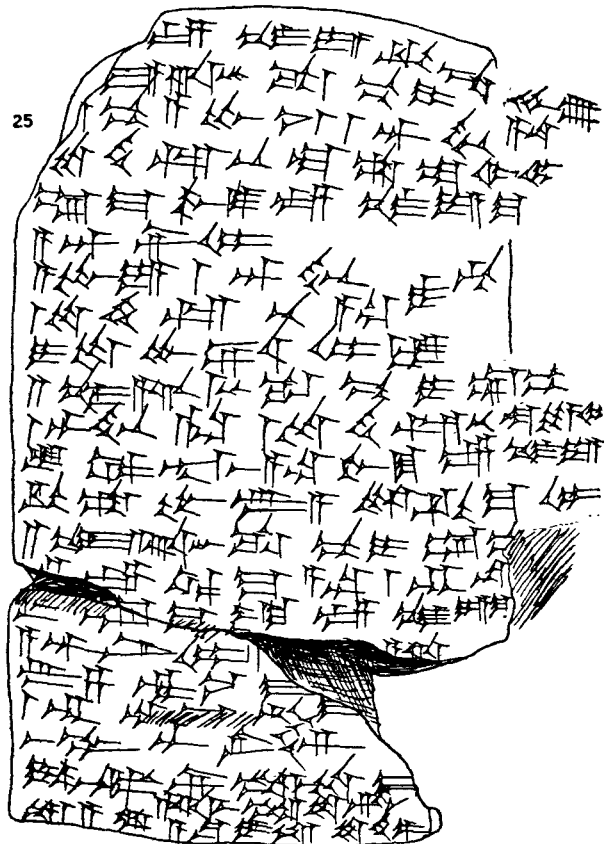
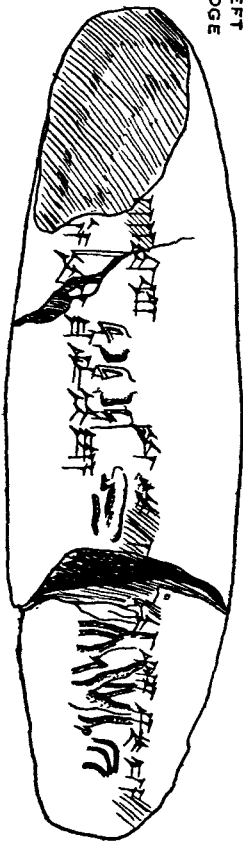
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UPPER
EDGE

45



NOTES TO RECENTLY PUBLISHED NUZI TEXTS

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IT HAS justly been remarked that no site in Western Asia compares with ancient Nuzi in the wealth and variety of legal material preserved in private family archives.¹ The importance of the Nuzi records for the study of the legal practices, the social and economic conditions, and the cultural background of this out-of-the-way district in the East-Tigris area is self-evident and not unexpected. But local considerations barely begin to reflect the full significance of these documents. Composed in a Hurrian settlement, they shed brilliant light on the life of a group whose amazing record of migrations throughout the length and breadth of the Near East has contributed, within the last decade or so, a fascinating chapter to the history of the second millennium B. C.² Nuzi was thus an interested witness of the Amarna age; by reason of its eccentric location it was also, fortunately, a reasonably objective one. Its documents allow us to judge the impact of the civilizations of Babylon and of Ashur upon the heterogeneous traditions of the recently settled Hurrians.³ The original background of these newcomers is thereby brought into sharper relief. We note the ever-recurring reminders of the westward orientation of the Hurrians, and the biblical parallels, whose number is constantly increasing, now find a ready historical explanation.⁴ Finally, an extremely valuable feature of the Nuzi documents is the wealth of their onomastic material. We have here a larger group of personal

¹ Cf. Koschaker, *Keilschriftrecht* 6 f. (reprinted from *ZDMG* 89).

² For the older literature on the subject cf. *Annual Amer. Sch. Or. Res.* (*AASOR*) VI. 75 ff.; Gadd, *Tablets from Kirkuk*, *RA* XXIII. 49-161 (abbr. Gadd); Koschaker, *Neue Keilschriftliche Rechtsurkunden aus der el-Amarna-Zeit* (*NKRA*). Further references will be found in *JOURNAL* 52. 350. n. 1 and *RA* XXXI. 54. n. 1. The texts are cited as follows: JEN—Chiera, *Joint Expedition at Nuzi* (5 vols.); HSS—*Harvard Semitic Series* (V by Chiera, IX by Pfeiffer, and X by Meek). Other titles are given in full.

³ For the problem of the Hurrians see *AASOR* XIII. 13 ff. (= Speiser, *Ethnic Movements in the Near East*, ASOR Offprint Series 1).

⁴ *Ibid.* 44, and Gordon, *Revue Biblique* 1935. 1 ff. Gordon's first example (p. 2) is anticipated in *AASOR* XIII. 44.

names of both the Hurrians and the Habiru⁵ than has been contributed by all the other ancient sites put together, although Nuzi lay far from the center of either group. This welcome surprise must be ascribed to accidents of discovery.

The study of the Nuzi texts (including a number from the city of Arrapha) may be said to have begun in the year 1926,⁶ for prior to that date only a few scattered specimens of this family had been made known. So young a discipline will naturally teem with unsolved problems. For answers we must look to further publications. The total number of documents unearthed runs into several thousands, but until last year only some 600 of these had been published. A year ago the American School of Oriental Research in Baghdad brought out two further volumes of the texts which the late Dr. Chiera had dug up in 1925.⁷ Copied by the discoverer and prepared for publication by Drs. Gelb and Lacheman, these new texts constitute Nos. 321-559 of the yield of Chiera's initial campaign. Three additional documents from the same collection are presented by Dr. Lacheman in the current issue of the *JOURNAL* together with a republished and supplemented older text (*JEN* 363).⁸ Lastly, Dr. Meek has just contributed to the *Harvard Semitic Series* a volume of texts from the same site, consisting of 231 splendidly autographed documents accompanied by a valuable introduction and indices of proper names.⁹ The total number of published Nuzi texts is thus now well over a thousand. But with one clear exception (No. 231) Meek's texts do not come from the Hurrian level at Nuzi. Dug up for the most part during the season 1930-31, they represent older strata, the majority coming from the Old Akkadian occupation at which time the city bore the name of Gasur.¹⁰ Since the present notes are concerned with the output of the Hurrian period, I shall confine my remarks to the material of Chiera and Lacheman and the last document in Meek's work. Obviously, only a few topics can be touched upon in this general survey. My principal object is to indicate a few of the many aspects on which the new texts throw fresh light. I shall begin

⁵ For the latter see Chiera, *AJSL* XLIX. 115 ff.

⁶ Gadd, *op. cit.*, and Contenau, *Babyloniaca* IX. Nos. 2-4.

⁷ *JEN* IV-V, Philadelphia, 1934.

⁸ See above, pp. 429-31.

⁹ *HSS* X, Harvard University Press, 1935.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. x.

with Lacheman's Text 1, which is sufficiently important to be given in transliteration and translation.¹¹

(1) ^{1d}Ištar¹-a-ḥa-at ù ¹[A-ḥa]-ti-ia (2) 2 awêlâtî¹² an-nu-tu₄ Ḥa-bi-ru-ú (3) ša mât¹Aq-qa-ti-i ù ra-ma-an-šu-nu-ma (4) a-na a-mu-ti i-na bīt ¹Te-ḥi-ip-til-la (5) uš-te-ri-ib-šu-nu ù ¹Dûr-ili-šu (6) šu-ur-šu-nu ša a-we-la-ti šum-ma (7) awêlâtî¹² pa-qí-ra-na ir-ta-šu-ú (8) ù ¹Dûr-ili-šu ú-za-ak-ka₄-šu-nu-ti-ma (9) ù a-na ¹Te-ḥi-ip-til-la i-na-an-dì-in (10) ù ¹Te-ḥi-ip-til-la 40 SU kaspā (11) ki-ma e-wu-ru-ti-šu it-ta-dì-in (12) šum-ma ¹Dûr-ili-šu ibbalkat³-ma ù (13) i-ir-ri-iš ù 10 MA.NA ḥurāša (14) a-na ¹Te-ḥi-ip-til-la ú-ma-al-la (there follows a list of 19 witnesses—34) IGI ¹Ta-a-a mār Apil¹-dSin ṭupšar-ri (35) aban¹kunuk ¹Dûr-ili-šu ⁴awêlâtî iddin^{nu} (ll. 36-39 contain other seals—40) šum-ma awêlâtî¹² ibbalkat³ ù i-qa-ab-bu-ú (41) la GÌM-nu-mi ù ú-šu-ru-ú (42) MA.NA ḥurāša ú-ma-al-lu-ú

¹U. ²SAL.MEŠ, cf. l. 6. ³KI.BAL. ⁴The sign may have been šu (=šú), or ša, perhaps the latter in view of the final vowel of iddinu.

(Translation:) Ishtar-ahat and Ahatiya, these two Habiru women from the land of Akkad, now themselves for slavery into the house of Tehip-Tilla (5) they have caused to enter. And Dûr-ilishu is the šu-ru of the women. Given that the women have a claimant, then Dûr-ilishu shall clear them and furnish them to Tehip-Tilla. (10) And Tehip-Tilla 40 shekels of silver as his ewurātu has paid. Given that Dûr-ilishu breaks the agreement and demands (them back), then ten minas of gold to Tehip-Tilla he shall pay as fine. (List of 19 witnesses and scribe—35) Seal of Dûr-ilishu who the women has sold. (Other seals—40) Given that the women break the contract and say, "We are not slave-women," a tenfold mina of gold they shall pay as fine.

The text is of unusual interest for a number of reasons. It presents several philological peculiarities and two hapax legomena. Its chief claim upon our attention rests, however, upon its illustrative value as regards the status of the Habiru. This fact was recognized by Chiera who excerpted the above text in his article on the "Habiru and the Hebrews."¹² The publication of the docu-

¹¹Thureau-Dangin's system (*Le Syllabaire Accadien*) is employed below except in the case of proper names where the primary value of each sign has been used in order not to prejudice the issues involved.

¹²AJSL XLIX. 119 f.

ment enables us now to check Chiera's conclusions and to modify his original interpretation. But before this is attempted, a few philological notes will be in order.

L. 2. The application of the term *awêlâti* (spelled out in l. 6) to slave-women is rather startling. But the scribe betrays his inadequate knowledge of Akkadian idiom in other instances as well; cf., e.g., his use of the masculine pl. form *Ha-bi-ru-û* instead of the correct feminine form of the ethnicon, which is found in JEN 453. 11.

L. 6. For *šu-ur-šu-nu* (and *e-wu-ru-ti-šu*, l. 11) see below.

L. 10. For the equation of SU with *šiglu* see above, p. 430 n. 6.

L. 13. For *i-ir-ri-iš* (not *i-ni-ri-iš* as indicated by Chiera, *AJSL* XLIX. 120) in the sense of demanding the return of lost property cf., e.g., JEN 530. 10.

L. 14. The translation of *umalla*, "shall pay as fine" is based on the value of *mullû* "fine," which is normal in these texts.

L. 41. *GÎM-nu* stands apparently for *amtânû*, which may be termed a pseudo-permansive. The form *û-šu-ru-û* is based clearly on the adjectival type *quttulu*, with the final vowel lengthened as in *ešrû*. The same fine is specified in l. 13, where the amount is indicated ideographically. This particular value for 10 is new.

But the key words for the proper understanding of the text are *šu-ur-šu-nu* (l. 6) and *ki-ma e-wu-ru-ti-šu* (l. 11). Although the women are said to have entered of their own will, *Dûr-ilishu* is paid on their account 40 shekels of silver for his *ewurûtu*, and he is entitled to the payment by reason of being their *šu-ru*. This latter word is taken by Chiera (*op. cit.* 119) to mean "owner," though the appended question mark admits this translation to be a guess. It would be idle to speculate on which of the several values applicable to this form (which could be connected with *šuru*, *šûru*, or *šu'ru*) would be most suitable in the present context. The safest method is to proceed from the internal evidence of the document itself, and the clue must be sought therefore in *ewurûtu*.

That *ewuru* signifies "heir" was first suggested by Koschaker.¹³ Since that suggestion was made (1928) the number of references has increased considerably and a closer study of the term is possible. The basic form (*ewuru*) is found in Gadd 5. 50, JEN 333. 74, 76 (in the latter instance miswritten *ta-aš-ru*),¹⁴ 392. 14, and HSS V. 60. 10. The phrase *ewurumma eppuš* (*itepuš*) "shall become *ewuru*" (note the intransitive use of the verb!) is found in Gadd

¹³ *NKRA* 14 f.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 15 (pointed out by Landsberger).

51.9, JEN 513.7, and HSS V. 67.15. In all passages where sufficient data are available the term is applied to adopted sons, with the single exception of JEN 392 where the party in question is the *ewuru* of his elder brother. Particularly illuminating is HSS V. 67.8 ff.: "Given that there is a son (by marriage) of Shurihil (the testator and adoptive parent in this case), he shall be the principal son (*rabû*) and shall receive a double share; in that case (*ù*) Shennima (the person adopted) shall be next in order (*terdennu*),¹⁵ according to his (proper secondary) share (*kî šêpi*-¹⁶ *šu-ma*) he shall inherit. . . . When Shurihil dies, Shennima shall become *ewuru*." It would appear, then, that *ewuru* is applied to specifically designated heirs rather than to direct heirs; hence the term may be used for adopted children, and for next of kin (brother, JEN 392); presumably it could also be applied to special grants made by a father to his daughters.¹⁷

The abstract noun *ewurûtu*, which occurs in our text for the first time, can mean nothing else than *ewuru*-rights. Dûr-ilishu cedes these rights to Têhip-Tilla for the sum of forty shekels. His claim to such authority is based on his being the *šu-ru* of the women.

¹⁵ On this term see now Koschaker, *Fratriarchat, Hausgemeinschaft und Mutterrecht in Keilschriftrechten* 35 ff. (reprinted from *ZA NF. VII*).

¹⁶ My previous reading of the ideogram GÎR as *emâqu* (instead of *šêpu*, cf. *AASOR X. 2*. line 11) has proved to be erroneous.

¹⁷ For this latter possibility there is no illustration in the Nuzi documents, but there may be one in the Hittite texts. The decision hinges on the interpretation of the Hittite legal institution called *ıwaru*. The meanings established for this term are "share of father's estate given in his lifetime" (Sturtevant, *Hittite Glossary* 30), "dowry" (*ibid.* 82), and in general "inherited feudal property" (Götze, *Kleinasien* 97, where the full literature is cited). The basic connection between the *ıwaru*-institution and the Nuzi system of land tenure is recognized by Götze (*loc. cit.*). But now that we have been able to narrow down the meaning of *ewuru* to something like "heir by decree" as contrasted with "direct, automatic heir," the possibility of an etymological connection between the Hittite and Nuzi terms is worth considering. To be sure, there is the difference in the respective medial vowels. The interchange of *a* and *u*, however, is not new at Nuzi; see below (p. 442) for *Zi-la-ka-pi/Zi-la-gu-pi*, and note, e.g., Nuzi *Kušû-hai* and Babylonian *Kaššû*. More probable would be the assumption that the difference is morphological. For whereas *ıwaru* is the object, *ewuru* is the subject of the institution in question. Bearing in mind this fundamental distinction, the Hittite denominative *ıwaruwâ* (*i*) "give an *ıwaru*" (cf. Friedrich, *ZA NF. 2*. 48. n. 1, and Sturtevant, *op. cit.* 30) may be contrasted tentatively with Nuzian *ewurumma epêšu*.

This term can now be interpreted as "next of kin," normalized as *šu'ru*, and equated with *šêru* in the sense of Hebrew *š'er* "kinsman, kinswoman" (cf. Lev. 18:12, 20:19). The name Dûr-ilishu, good Semitic ("Akkadian," cf. l. 3) like that of the two women, helps to confirm this identification.

As to the actual status of the Habiru as implied in this document, two points receive a certain amount of illumination. In the first place, the payment involved is one-half of the average price for a bride and two-thirds of the usual amount paid for slaves in an ordinary transaction. This lower rate must be somehow interconnected with the other feature of the contract, the so-called self-enslavement. It is plain, of course, that the phrase *ramânšunu-ma uštêribšunu* cannot be taken in its strict literal meaning. It has a bearing on the ultimate status of the "enterers" after the completion of the transaction rather than on their frame of mind prior to it. But a more precise definition of the underlying legal matters will have to await the decision of a jurist.

Before we leave this valuable document, attention may be called to a term which resembles in sound the *ewuru* discussed above. Among the recently published alphabetic texts from Ras Shamra there is a letter of one 'wr-žr, which has attracted much notice and has led to considerable discussion.¹⁸ With the controversial problems of interpretation we are not concerned at present. What matters just now is the name of the writer, first read 'Ur-shar, but subsequently found by several scholars to be Hurrian; the first element is now commonly read Ewiri-. That this Hurrian word has nothing to do with our *ewuru* is plain from the fact that the former has the value EN "master, king."¹⁹ The point that I wish to make is that the middle vowel of *e-wi-ri* is inorganic, the correct form being *ewri*. To be sure, the full name is once spelled out *E-wi-ri-šar-ri*.²⁰ By its side we have, however, *ib-ri*²¹ as a name element in the Tunip letter, and independently in the letter of Tushratta.²² Moreover, the same word is common in the Nuzi dialect as *irwi*, particularly in the name of *Irwi-šarri*, an exact

¹⁸ Published by Dhorme in *Syria* XIV. 235 ff. and discussed in particular by Ginsberg and Maisler, *Journal Pal. Or. Soc.* 1934. 243 ff., and *ibid.* 1935. 181 ff. Cf. also Albright, *BASOR* 54. 26; Thureau-Dangin, *Syria* XII. 254; Montgomery, *JOURNAL* 55. 94; Harris, *ibid.* 95 ff.

¹⁹ Cf. *Syria* XI. 313. 44. ²⁰ *Ibid.* ²¹ Knudtzon, *Amarna* 17. 47.

²² *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler* XII. 2. No. 200. IV. 127 (p. 55).

counterpart of the above Ras Shamra name except for the metathesis of *w* and *r*.²³ Now it is the very fact of this metathesis that precludes the existence of an intervening vowel. Apart from this transposition, the disparity between *ewiri* and *irwi* must be graphic and not phonetic; it is due to the shortcomings of the cuneiform syllabary which was equipped to represent *irwi*, but not *ewri*. To express the latter it was necessary to resort to writings like *ib-ri*, or else *e-wi-ri*, with the medial vowel understood as silent. When we find a form like *e-wi-ir-ni*, the *r* is obviously syllabic (*ewrni*).^{23a} The transcription of the western form (Ras Shamra, Tushratta letter, Boghazköi)²⁴ should be therefore *ewri*, the eastern (Nuzi) *i/erwi*. The latter is, of course, in no danger of being confused with *ewuru*, owing to metathesis of the postconsonantal liquid in this particular dialect.

Turning now from Lacheman's texts to the two handsome volumes from the matchless hand of Chiera, we note first the difference in the reproduction of the characters. Lacheman's copies are properly tracings, giving an absolutely faithful picture of the originals, including seal impressions, the precise location of the breaks, and the like. Chiera's autographs are, on the other hand, inevitably conventionalized to a certain extent. One cannot imitate very well the calligraphy of scores of scribes. When the copyist is as reliable as Chiera was, there is little danger of wrong readings. But only tracings will reproduce all the graphic mannerisms of numerous scribes. In the last analysis it becomes a question of cost. When inked photographs can be afforded they are to be preferred to autographed copies.

With the exception of a few *mârûtu* fill-ups (JEN 400 ff.) the entire fourth volume of JEN is given up to proceedings in court. The value of these texts for our knowledge of East Hurrian legal procedure cannot be overestimated. From this long series of actual cases it is possible to reconstruct a considerable portion of the underlying law code and to obtain a reasonably complete picture of the basic legal machinery. While a full discussion will doubtless be

²³ Speiser, *Mesopotamian Origins* 145. n. 90.

[^{23a} See now Friedrich, *Analecta Orientalia* 12 (Festschrift Deimel) 124, who also regards the *r* as syllabic.]

²⁴ Cf. now Brandenstein, *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi* (KUB) XXVII. 38. IV. 13 [and add Friedrich, *loc. cit.*].

forthcoming from Koschaker and his able disciples, a few gleanings may be presented in this rapid survey.

JEN 333, to which I have had occasion to refer above, is a remarkably lucid account of a lengthy law-suit. A tentative translation of this text was given by Chiera and myself eight years ago (JOURNAL 47. 50 ff.), which was subsequently modified and corrected by Koschaker and Landsberger.²⁵ The publication of the text itself makes possible further corrections and additions. In line 38, end, the reader will reconstruct *ši-mu-[ma]-ki* "of the will." In line 76 the *ta* of *ta-aš-ru* should be provided with a sic!, for the reading is clearly *e-wu-ru*, as was first suggested by Landsberger.²⁶ For the present I wish to draw attention to the phrase [*la*] *bêl zitti la bêl pû-ú-ri à la m[i]-im-ma a-na-ku-mi* "I am not owner by inheritance, nor owner by lot, nor anything" (ll. 12-13). The witness conveys in this quaint manner that he cannot be the proper defendant in this suit about a certain piece of land, having acted merely for a third party who claims to be the real owner. The phrase throws some light on the question of land tenure not only in Nuzi, but also in Canaan. Possession of land could be obtained through *zittu* (inheritance share), *pûru* (lot), or by other means such as mortgage, etc. (*mimma* "anything"). According to the Middle Assyrian law *zittu* was the preferred share of the eldest son, while the remaining shares were divided by lot (*pûru*).²⁷ Whether the same practices obtained in Nuzi is doubtful, but allotment played an important part in any case. This helps to illustrate the biblical use of נפל "fall" (i.e. "by lot," usually with נחלה "share")²⁸ when taking possession of land is indicated. The

²⁵ NKRA 15, 75 f.

²⁶ Ibid. 15.

²⁷ Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts (KAV) 2. II. 14. For *pûru* cf. NKRA 25. n. 3, and Driver and Miles, *The Assyrian Laws* 497, 501 f.

²⁸ Cf. Judges 18: 1; Psalms 16: 6, and in the causative with גרל "lot."

Closer connection with the Middle Assyrian laws may be indicated in two Nuzi passages. In JEN 196. 8 f. a field is granted *ana GI.GAG.TAG. GA Suišpati* "as arrows of the quiver" (cf. Koschaker, *OLZ* 1932. 405), and in JEN 519. 6-7 we have *GI.MEŠ.GAG.TAG.GA ina libbibi iš(!)pati* [both times with the verb *nadû* "cast," as recognized by my student, Mr. M. Berkooz]. It would appear that we have here the mechanics of the *pûru* usage: it was based on the fall of the arrows from the quiver (cf. Psalms 16: 6 for a figure of speech based on this practice). Now this type of inheritance is clearly the part (*qātu*, *šêpu*) of the *terdennu* (*mâru*

originally inalienable land could be obtained through inheritance as a preferential share, or by lot, and the phraseology which reflected this system was retained even after the system itself had been modified.

From the marginal notes to these texts the following few may be selected. JEN 321. 14-15 contains the phrase *kunukkêšunu girriru* "their seals have been rolled"; cf. also *ibid.* 330. 13, and HSS IX. 108. 6 (where the final KU should be changed to *ru*). JEN 330. 7 mentions the place-name *Túr-za-zi*, which reappears as *Du-ur-za-an-zi* in 339. 3. It is interesting that the same name is found in Meek's Old Akkadian texts in precisely the same two forms (*Dûr-zazi*, HSS X. 155. II. 2 and *Dûr-zanzi*, *ibid.* 111. 4). But whether this locality, which lay in the immediate vicinity of Nuzi (cf. JEN 330. 6-7), is to be identified with the city of Tursha/n, as Albright seems to imply (*BASOR.* 59. 9), is extremely uncertain. The latter name is in all probability Hurrian (cf. the personal names Turari, Tursheni, Turshiya). In JEN 331. 13 correct *i-na-ak-mi* to *i-la-ak-mi*. The meaning of the passage is that "whenever (*immatimê* with present tense) G. attempted to go to the gods (take the oath) M. would seize him (in order to prevent him)." JEN 335 is one of several texts recording suits over animals which had died as a result of an act described by *ul-te-ib-bir*, l. 9; cf. *ú-še(!)-bi-ir*, 341. 7 (*alpa tappašu*), *ú-še-ib-bi[-ir]*, 349. 6, *et al.* This verb is obviously a cognate of Heb. שָׁבַר used in Ex. 22: 9, 13 (cf. also Ezek. 34: 4) in the technical sense of inflicting injury upon animals; the parallel between our *ultebbiršu û imtût* (ll. 9-10, or, better still, between *it-ti-ib-bi-ir-mi* (for *istêbir-mi*) *û mi-it-mi* (ll. 19-20) and the biblical אוֹרֵב אוֹרֵב, Ex. 34: 13, could scarcely be more complete.

JEN 343 (among others) shows that the penalty for theft was twelve times the property involved. In a similar case (*ibid.* 347) the *zillikuḫlu* officials testify (*širumma itepšû*, cf. 385. 20) against the suspect, who is obliged to take an oath (*ilâni našû*) with regard

šihru) or *ewuru*, as opposed to the preferred share of the *mâru rabû*. We obtain thus a clue to the obscure passage in KAV 2. IV. 11 ff. (for previous interpretations cf. Driver and Miles, *op. cit.* 302 ff., 501 f.). The *taḫûmu* TUR *šâ pûrâni* (ll. 20 f.) is the secondary share selected by lot, while the *taḫûmu* GAL is the *zittu* of the *mâru rabû*. The encroachment on a neighbor's (*šâ tappa'îšu*) bounded property (*taḫûmu*) that represents his preferred share (GAL) draws, therefore, a heavier fine than trespass on an allotted share (*šâ pûrâni*).

to or against (*ana*)²⁹ this testimony. The interesting colophon states that the case was appealed to the king, which meant an additional cost of one ox, the usual charge for such appeals.

JEN 353.26 contains the barbarous UD.MI^{pl}-ti, for *ûmâti* "days." Such heterogeneous (Sumerian and Akkadian) ideograms with phonetic complements in the vernacular are intelligible enough in Hittite, but out of place in Nuzi, where the written language was, after all, a dialect of Akkadian. *Ibid.* 372.4 admirably supports the view of Landsberger that *kurûstû* is fodder for fattening animals.³⁰ The phrase reads: *še'âtî^{pl} ša UDU^{pl} ku-ru-uš-ta-e* "barley for fattening sheep"; cf. also HSS IX. 50.10, 25.5, both of which Landsberger overlooked. In passages like JEN 384.5 *ḥararnu* interchanges with the more usual *kumanu* (e.g., No. 401.6) as a subdivision of the *aweḥaru* (*epinnu*) measure. In Middle Assyrian texts, on the other hand, *kumanu* seems to take the place of *epinnu*; ³² the discrepancy would disappear if *mala kumanu* in the Nuzi texts merely indicated something like "full measure." In JEN 404 *ina migratišu* (l. 2) "with his consent" is unusual for a *mârûtu*-document.

JEN V is considerably varied in contents. In addition to the Habiru texts, those bearing on family laws (Nos. 428-41) are of particular interest. The very first one may be taken as a sample, even though its fragmentary condition necessitates a certain amount of restoration. Ll. 6 ff. read: *ù 'Š. a-na [aš-šu-ti] a-na mârî-šu i-na-an-di-[in] ḥa-di-in* ³³ *'Š. a-na-awêli ša DUMU.DÛ (ewurumma) ippuš, or ša ana mârûti ša ipšu, cf. ibid. 432.9) i-na[-an-di-in]*

²⁹ The use of *ana* in this connection goes back to the Hammurabi Code Rev. VI. 4 (*ana mutiša*). But the usual translation of the phrase "for the sake of her husband" is not adequate in the light of the present occurrences. The force is rather that of Latin *coram*.

³⁰ *Archiv für Orientforschung (AfO)* X. 149.

³¹ So of course and not *še'ûti* as maintained by Gordon, *Muséon* XLVIII. 118, on the basis of HSS IX. 144. 20, where we should read *Ú-ti* "balance payment" in *šupe'ultu* transactions (= *ipliti?*), which is so frequent in the Nuzi texts.

³² Cf. *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur juristischen Inhalts* (KAJ) 149.2: *3 ikû 1 ku-ma-ni 3 GÌR^{pl} eqla*.

³³ This form interchanges with *ḥaših/ḥašhu*. The final *n* is unusual. Does it reflect the changed pitch which is to be presupposed in sentences of this kind, i. e., *ḥadi* "and if it please her"? Cf. the fem. form *ḥa-ta-ta*, JEN 465.10.

ù la a-na aš-šu-ti a-na awêli <na-ka-ri> i-na-an-din "And the woman Š. as wife to her son she may give (and), if it please her, to one adopted she may give; to a stranger she shall not give (her)." In JEN 434. 9-10 šu-ú-mu ša awêli ša-a-ni-i [x]-qa-ab-bi "speak the name of another man" is an interesting paraphrase of "live in the house of another man." *Ibid.* 438. 4: ša-la-aš-šu-um-ma i-pu-šu "forfeit" brings up once more the question of the etymology of ša(la)ššú-ma; the correspondence of šal(a)šu with šaššu suggests strongly the Akkadian word for "three."

One could bring up many other points and problems,³⁴ but space does not allow such luxury. In conclusion, I wish to cite a few samples of the onomastic material. The names *It-hi-ip-Nu-zu* (*ibid.* 505. 5) and *A-ri-ip-Hur-ra* (No. 506. 1) permit the identification of Nuzu and Hurra as deities. The ideograms ¹MAR.TU.KU (*ibid.* 357. 21) can be deciphered without much difficulty as Amurriš-takal.³⁵ ŠEŠ-ia (*ibid.* 333. 88) is probably Šenni-ia. But we do not have always such smooth sailing. In JEN 477. 29 *Du-uš-ma-na* strikes one as an Indo-Iranian name, for all that the father bears the typically Hurrian name of Tehit-Teshup. We have the same problem with *Tu-uš-ma-na*, son of *Tu-ri-ki-tar*³⁶ (JEN 89. 18). But on finding that Tehit-Teshup appears in JEN 85. 34 as the father of *Du-um-ši-ma-na*, the two being clearly the same as the above pair, we are constrained to give up all thoughts as to the possible non-Hurrian origin of Duš-mana. And yet, *Du-u(m)-ši-ma-na* is a not impossible writing for the former. What I am driving at is that Hurrian names appear in these texts in many and wondrous disguises. How seriously should one take the ideographically written names? At first glance (DINGIR)UTU-ri (son of *Zi-la-gu-bi*, JEN 68. 29) looks like Šimika-ri^{36a}; but *Ša-ma-aš-RI* son of *Zi-la-ku-bi* (JEN 212. 28) forces us to normalize the

³⁴ Note, e.g., *ki-ir-pa-an-šu eḫ-te-pú* "I disinherit him," JEN 478. 4-5. Cf. ASSOR X. 10. The phrase refers evidently to some symbolic act which consists in the breaking of an earthen vessel.

³⁵ Cf. Lewy, ZA NF. I. 148 ff., von Soden, *ibid.*, VII. 104, and for the related *Ilīš-takal*, Meek. HSS X. 10. 7.

³⁶ Here *ḫal* is an obvious error for *tar*.

^{36a} For **šimigi* + *ari*, though it is of course problematical whether the verb would appear in this bare form. This purely hypothetical equivalence is mentioned merely for the sake of argument. For the equation of *šimigi* with DUTU see KUB XXVII. iv, and cf. AASOR X. 4 for the writing *gi* (would the *k* in -kari, wr. usually -qa-ri, be due to the following *a*?).

pair as Šamaš-re'u and Šil(i)-Kubi. On the other hand, there are many scribes named Šimikari (cf. e. g., JEN 87. 40, 204. 38, 311. 29, 478. 24), while a number of others bear the approximately equivalent Sumerian name (DINGIR)UTU MA. AN. ŠE. Was the latter a showy translation of the Hurrian original? Yet, in two instances Šamaš-iddinam (to give the Sumerian group its Akkadian value) has UL(DU₇). (DINGIR)IM as father (JEN 82. 25, 436. 15). And as if this were not enough, UL. (DINGIR)IM is the son of the unquestionably Hurrian *Dup-ki-til-la* (JEN 340. 44). The chances are that the fanciful scribe was to his friends plain Šimikari son of Shehel-Teshup, or the like, rather than Šamaš-iddinam or UTU.MANSE son of DU₇. IŠKUR. But we cannot be sure.

Finally, the text published by Meek in HSS X. 231 is unique among all the records of the Hurrian period at Nuzi. As Meek has pointed out, it differs from the contemporary documents in clay texture, shape, size, and content.³⁷ The few lines that have been preserved give (with the aid of restorations from unpublished seals) the name of Ithi-Teshup son of Kibi-Teshup, king of Arrapha, followed by curses against those who remove the king's name. Adad and Ishtar of Lubdi (*Lu-ub-tu-ḫi*) are invoked as protecting deities. That the text bears unmistakable marks of western influence has also been recognized by Meek. Of special interest is this new instance of the Hurrian suffix *-ḫi*, with genitival or adjectival force.³⁸ An extension (of non-Hurrian origin?) of this suffix is found in *māt Ku-uš-šu-ḫa-i* (HSS V. 37. 6) and *māt Ku-u[š]-šu-u[ḫ]-ḫa-ú* (JEN 529. 69) "land of the Kassites, Babylonia." The evident importance of the city of Lubdi, well attested in the Nuzi records as well as in later Assyrian times,³⁹ cannot escape notice. From all indications, the discovery and excavation of the site is a goal well worth pursuing.

³⁷ HSS IX. xxvi. The number 230 should be changed to 231.

³⁸ Note the change of the *i* in *Lubdi* to *u* before *-ḫi* (*Lubdu-ḫi*). That such changes do not necessarily imply a suffix *-uḫe* instead of *-ḫe*, as maintained by Albright (*AfO* VI. 166), may be seen from such forms as (URU) *U-da-ḫi*, (URU) *Ki-iz-zu-wa-at-na-ḫi*, and (URU) *Ša-mu-ḫa-ḫi*, *Syria* XII. 258 f., and now also KUB XXVII. 1. II. 38-39. All that we may gather from instances like *Lubdi/Lubduḫi* is that a final *i* changes to *u* before the suffix *-ḫi*. [See now the identical conclusion of Friedrich in *Analecta Orientalia* 12. 120. n. 3.]

³⁹ On the question of the location of Lubdi see Albright, *JOURNAL* 45. 211 f. For a recent gentilic form see *AfO* X. 47 (*Lu-ub-da-i-tu*).

THE MAGIC HOLLY IN JAPANESE LITERATURE

SHIO SAKANISHI

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THE JAPANESE *Hiragi* translated "holly" is properly the *Osmanthus ilicifolius*,¹ and in spite of Ichiku Okamoto's statement that it was first transplanted from Korea during the Kyôhō era (1716-1736),² holly is a native of Japan. It is widely distributed in the main island and Shikoku, and used as a hedge plant. Its prickly and non-prickly kinds are distinguished as "male" and "female" holly.³

Holly called *hihiragi* or rarely *hiragi*, is mentioned twice in the *Kojiki*, the earliest written record of Japan, compiled in 712 A. D. The first is in connection with the name of a deity, *Hihiragi-no-sono-hana-madzumi-no-kami*.⁴ Motoori suggests that *hihiragi* here may be only a kind of "pillow word" for the succeeding *sono-hana*, the flowers, and the remaining part of the name is corrupted beyond identification.⁵ Tominobu, however, suggests that the holly tree blossoms very rarely; hence it is described as *madzumi*, "rarely seen."⁶ Chamberlain accepts the latter interpretation and translates it: "Deity Waiting-to-see-the-Flowers-of-the-Holly."⁷

The second passage in the *Kojiki* refers to a holly-wood spear eight fathoms long, which was given to Prince Yamatotake by the Heavenly Sovereign before he was sent to subdue the East.⁸ Later upon his successful return, the said spear was presented to the great

¹ Nakai, Takenoshin, *Trees and Shrubs Indigenous in Japan Proper*, 1927, vol. 1, pp. 356-8.

² Kariya, Ekisai, *Senchû wamyô ruiju shô* [Catalogue of Japanese names], revised and annotated, ca. 1810, Book 20, under *Trees*.

³ Matsuoka, Gentatsu, *Honzo ikka gen* [Herbalist notes], ca. 1800, Book 2, under 枸骨. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*: "In some English districts, they are distinguished as 'he' and 'she' holly."

⁴ *Kojiki* [Records of ancient matters], vol. 2, sect. 26.

⁵ Motoori, Norinaga, *Kojiki-den* [Commentary of the *Kojiki*], completed in 1798; published in 1901, vol. 1, pp. 647-8.

⁶ Hosoda, Tominobu, *Jindai seigo tokiwa-gusa* [Words and phrases used in ancient times], in manuscript.

⁷ Chamberlain, B. H., *Kojiki*, 2nd ed., 1932, p. 100.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

shrine in Ise.⁹ Of course the story of Prince Yamatotake belongs to the age of myth, but coming down to the historical period, we find that in the first month of the year 702 A. D., the court architect presented Emperor Monmu with a holly-wood spear eight fathoms long,¹⁰ and in the eighth month of the same year, the said spear was sent to the shrine in Ise.¹¹ In the *Harima fudoki*, the earliest topographical history compiled in the Wadô period (708-714), China is described as *Hikiragi yashiro hokone sokotsukanu kuni*, "the country whose foundation cannot be touched even with a holly-wood spear eight fathoms long."¹² The term "eight fathoms long" is often used to give an impression of incommensurability. Motoori supposes a spear to be a mere ornamental stick and not the weapon with a metal point.¹³ However, since the holly-wood is described as hard and white like bones of a dog,¹⁴ and its grain as extremely fine, it was well fitted to be made into a weapon. Ascham speaks of the fitness of holly for the piecing of a shaft.¹⁵ It is noted also that among the Maidu Indians of Butte County, California, the arrow points made from the holly bush have long been used for small game and birds.¹⁶ In any case, judging from the above as well as the later records, the holly-wood spear eight fathoms long seems to have been vested with a certain magic power among the primitive Japanese.

About the same time another holly cult was growing up in the Imperial court. On the second day of the first month of the year 689 A. D., "the Bureau of Great Learning presented eighty staves"¹⁷ to the members of the Imperial Household for the purpose of driving out evil spirits.¹⁸ The *Engi-shiki*¹⁹ describes in

⁹ *Yamato-hime no mikoto seiki* [Story of Princess Yamato], compiled in the 9th century, and only a second half comes down in manuscript. Some scholars, however, believe it to be a later forgery.

¹⁰ *Shoku Nihongi* [Chronicles of Japan: second series], compiled in the 9th century, 1903 ed., Book 2, p. 20.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

¹² *Gunsho ruijû* [Collected works], 1918, vol. 17, p. 9.

¹³ Motoori, N., *Kojiki-den*, vol. 2, pp. 1622-3.

¹⁴ *Wakan sansai zue* [Illustrated cyclopaedia of Japanese and Chinese matters], 1713, Book 84, p. 11.

¹⁵ *Toxophilus*, Book 2: School of shooting.

¹⁶ *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, Sept. 1908, vol. 21, p. 244.

¹⁷ *Nihongi* [Chronicles of Japan], tr. by W. G. Aston, 1897, vol. 2, p. 389.

¹⁸ *Nihongi ryaku* [Brief chronicles of Japan], 1st ser., vol. 16, part 4.

¹⁹ Compiled during the Engi period (901-922) and deals with the court rites and ceremonies exclusively, 1906 ed., pp. 485-6.

detail the ceremony which was performed on the first day of the Hare each year and mentions holly among the woods used for this purpose. The custom was of Chinese origin,²⁰ and in its early stage peach sticks were used.²¹ In Japan sticks cut to five feet in length and tied two or three together, were placed in the four corners of various rooms in the court. The occasion was made much of, and Sei Shônagon counts it as one of the most pleasant events of the court life.²² There is evidence of its being annually observed till the beginning of the 14th century,²³ but gradually this quaint ceremony was merged into another of the same purpose known as the *Setsubun*.²⁴

The *Setsubun* too has its origin in China,²⁵ and the ceremony is characterized by the scattering of toasted beans on the eve of the spring season to drive out evil spirits. Because of the close resemblance in their purpose and method of celebration, often the *Setsubun* and the ancient court custom known as *Tsuina*²⁶ have been confused.²⁷ The former came into existence at least two hundred years later and at first was celebrated only among the common people.

The *Setsubun* is first described in the *Tosa nikki* [Tosa Diary].²⁸ On his return journey to Kyoto from his post in Tosa Province, Tsurayuki was detained at Ôminato by a storm, and wrote:

²⁰ *Han shu* 漢書 99, Book 2. 卯金刀 or 剛卯 is a kind of metal sword devised by Wang Mang (B. C. 33-A. D. 23) and worn on the first day of the Hare each year to drive away evil spirits. When the above two or three characters are put together, they form the character 劉 the surname of the Han rulers.

In Japan wooden sticks used for the same purpose were first called 剛卯枝 and later 卯枝. Though some scholars claim that Chinese 剛卯 and Japanese 剛卯枝 are different, as far as I can determine, they seem to be the same.

²¹ *Eastern Miscellany*, 東方雜誌, vol. 31, no. 4, Feb. 1934, pp. 55-60.

²² *Makura no sôshi* [Pillow-book], ca. 1000, Book 4.

²³ *Koji ruien* [Cyclopaedia of antiquities], Part 19, p. 1367.

²⁴ *Kokon yoran ko* [Guide to ancient-modern matters], vol. 1, p. 747.

²⁵ *Hou han shu*, Book 15. See also: *Lei shu t'suan yao*, 類書纂要, Book 5.

²⁶ *Koji ruien*, Part 19, pp. 1367-1383.

²⁷ See: Aston's *Nihongi*, p. 389.

²⁸ Written by Ki no Tsurayuki in 935.

Though 'tis the New Year's day, the ship remains at the same place. . . .
All day we thought only of Kyoto longingly.

'I wonder,' we said to each other, 'how it is in Kyoto. Are the customary decorations of straw rope, mullet head, holly, and the like displayed at the small house doors?'

Tsurayuki makes it clear that it was a custom among the common people, but before the 15th century it came to be an annual institution. In a New Year's *surimono*, Hokkei (1780-1850) depicts a woman toasting beans under the customary decorations of the season, and on the top of a sliding door is stuck a holly branch with a sardine head.²⁹ The mullet head in the course of time was substituted for the sardine head, and in his poem called "Holly," Tameie Fujiwara makes a pun with the word *iwashi*, sardine, and *iwaji*, not to say.³⁰ In the *Seiji yôryaku*,³¹ it is said, there is a crude picture of a court astrologer chasing a devil with a stick, the end of which is decorated with a prickly holly leaf.

Thus very early holly came to be credited with the power of exorcising the evil spirits, was the essential element of the festival of *Setsubun*, and the coming of the spring was heralded by the voice of holly venders.³²

A 17th century rationalist as well as moralist Kôko Kaibara writes: ³³

On the eve of the beginning of the spring season, to place heads of sardine and holly is to ward off the devil called *Kagu-hana* [Smelling Nose], who is said to eat man. But really this is a superstition of the ignorant and should not be taken seriously.

Nevertheless, this custom was practised widely, and holly was considered the only effective means of frightening away the devils. To cite a few examples from the contemporary literature: in a

²⁹ The Art Institute of Chicago, Negative No. 45721.

³⁰ *Yono naka wa kazu narazu tomo hiiragi no*

Iro ni idetemo iwaji tozo omoo.

An anthology compiled in 1224 and quoted in the *Kokon yôran kô*, vol. 1, p. 936.

³¹ Compiled by Kotosuke Koremune, ca. 1000.

³² *Haikai jiten* [Dictionary of the *Haikai* poems], revised and enlarged ed., 1928.

³³ *Nihon saiji-ki* [Calendar of rites and ceremonies of Japan], 1687, Book 7, p. 10.

comic interlude entitled *Setsubun Festival*,³⁴ probably put in the present form in the mid-16th century, there is the following monologue by the devil who comes from the Island of Eternal Youth:

As I hurry along, I am already in the Isles of Japan. I am exceedingly tired and hungry and want something to eat. Oh, here is a house. I shall take a look.

Ouch, ouch! How painful!

I forgot all about this being the night of the *Setsubun* when people put holly at the door to scare us away, and hurt my eyes badly.

Again in the *Oni no tsuchi* [Magic Mallet of the Devil]³⁵ of a little later date, the devil who comes from the Island of Hôrai to attend the fair of the Dragon's day, has had a little too much to drink.

Devil: How frightening! Terrible, terrible!

Waki: What is the matter, Sir?

Devil: Yonder between the two stone buildings, a branch of holly is sticking right into my path. I am scared. Ha, ha, ha!

One of the favorite subjects of the Ôtsu painters in the 18th century was a rat chasing a devil up a pillar holding in his mouth the magic holly leaves.³⁶ Sometimes on the side, *yuruse, yuruse*, "Pardon, pardon," is written with vermillion ink.³⁷ In *netsuke* too this theme is frequently used, and once I saw an unsigned *netsuke* illustrating a master of ceremony with a holly twig in his hand and a devil hiding his face with his hands. In textile, the only design of holly I have seen is of the beautiful *kesa* or priest's robe of the 17th century,³⁸ identified as the Shichijô style by Miss Helen C. Gunsaulus.

Holly either as a given or surname is not known in modern Japan. However, in ancient times in the province of Yamato, there was one Hiragi³⁹ (which is a contracted form of *Hîiragi*), who was

³⁴ *Zoku kyogen ki* [Collection of comic interludes; second series], 1903, p. 365.

³⁵ *Kyogen niju-ban* [Twenty comic interludes], 1903, p. 97.

³⁶ *Otsu-ye*, 1920, Folio 1, plate 24.

³⁷ Yanagi, M., "The peasant painting of Ôtsu," *Eastern Art*, 1930, vol. 2, pp. 5-36.

³⁸ The Art Institute of Chicago, Negative No. C12800.

³⁹ *Sei-shi kakei jisho* [Genealogical dictionary], 1930, p. 1170.

a Shinto priest. During the Genroku period (1688-1704) there was in Kyoto a group of metal workers known as the *Hiragi-ya* [Holly House].⁴⁰ Their sword-guards were called the *Hiragi-ya tsuba* and prized for their exquisite inlay work. As to the origin of their name "Holly," nothing is known.

Holly, however, was used as the *mon* or family badge, and according to Yorisuke Numata,⁴¹ its earliest use appears in the *Kenbun shoka mon* [Family badges of various houses which I have seen or heard] compiled in the 15th century. Already a holly crest was used by the Kamiie and Uehara families. In the early Tokugawa period among the feudal lords, Ōseki and Ichihashi adopted it.⁴² The Ichihashi badge especially is interesting since it consists of three holly leaves and three toasted beans, suggesting definitely the celebration of the *Setsubun* and their power of exorcising evil spirits.

The legend of the Holly Grove ⁴³ in the suburb of Kyoto again goes back to antiquity. In the year 735 A. D. for the first time, the country experienced the terrific epidemic of small-pox.⁴⁴ It started in spring and raged till the late summer, taking a heavy toll of lives. Especially Tankai Fujiwara, a poet and courtier, suffered a loss of his four sons. Grief stricken, Tankai consulted the famous oracle of the Kamo Shrine,⁴⁵ and was told to offer a prayer at the Shrine of Holly.⁴⁶ Having followed the oracle, the remaining members of the family escaped the dread disease, and as an expression of his deep gratitude, Tankai offered a holly tree to the shrine.

The efficacy of the shrine of Holly against small-pox soon spread

⁴⁰ Wada, T., *Honpō sōken kinkō ryaku-shi* [Brief history of the metal workers of Japan], 1913, pp. 85-86.

⁴¹ *Nihon monshō gaku*, 1926, pp. 646-8.

⁴² Tanaka, Kikuo, *Iroha-biki monchō* [Family badges arranged in the i-ro-ha order], 1881, p. 100.

⁴³ *Hiragi no mori* in Japanese. Its earliest mention is in the *Chōshun-ki* [Diary of a courtier] by Morotoki Minamoto (d. 1139).

⁴⁴ *Shoku Nihongi*, Book 12, p. 214.

⁴⁵ *Kamo-Miōya jinja* in the Lower Kamo District in Kyoto and one of the earliest national shrines listed in the *Engi-shiki*, Book 9: Deities IX, p. 281.

⁴⁶ *Hiragi no yashiro*, one of the lesser shrines within the great *Kamo jinja*. Its patron deity is Prince Susanoo, brother to the great Sun Goddess, Amaterasu. The name *Hiragi* probably was derived from a holly tree growing in its ground.

over the country, and people came from far and near with their offerings, and the famous Grove of Holly was thus established. The trees offered, however, were not all holly: there were camellias, elder bushes, orange trees, and others. But as soon as they were transplanted in the grove, they began to grow prickly leaves and gradually the entire tree was metamorphosed into holly.⁴⁷ During the Middle Ages, the grove was considered one of the curious sights of Kyoto.⁴⁸

Chûryô Satô, an herbalist of Edo in the 18th century, was not willing to accept such a tale without looking into the matter personally. In the course of his herb-gathering, therefore, he made a special pilgrimage to the Shrine of Holly and wrote:

... It is said that all the trees brought to the Grove of Holly metamorphose into holly, but upon examining them closely, I find that they do not metamorphose, but are holly from the first.⁴⁹

The story of metamorphosis, however, found an exponent in Sôzan Miyoshi, who visited the Grove in 1838. He writes:

... As I looked closely into the sacred Grove, which is some 24 square yards, I found, though there are various kinds of trees, they are either entirely or partially holly. . . . I recognized camellias, oaks, gardenias, and a few others, but they were already half holly. In one corner, however, there was a clump of elder bushes, which still maintained their own leaves. It might be that the leaves of the lower branches have grown prickly, but they were so closely planted that I was unable to examine them. Inside the Grove, it is so crowded that there is no more space, and people plant their offerings outside, and they all turn into holly in no time. . . .⁵⁰

To sum up, from primitive times to the present, holly in Japan has been vested with a certain magic power. Although the rites and ceremonies connected with it came from China originally, its cult is indigenous to Japan, and finds closer parallels in Western folk-lore.⁵¹

⁴⁷ *Koji ruien* under *Plants*, Book 10, p. 631.

⁴⁸ Matsuo, Genki, *Fuyô Kyôka-shi* [Description of Kyoto], 1665, vol. 1, p. 2.

⁴⁹ *Chûryô manroku* [Chûryô's miscellany], ca. 1790, and printed in the *Zuihitsu taikan*, vol. 5, p. 22.

⁵⁰ *Sôzan chobun kishu* [Sozan's wonders, seen and heard], 1854, Book 5, p. 53.

⁵¹ See for example the English use of holly to drive out witches and for Christmas decoration, or the legend of holly-oak in the sacred grove of Diana.

ΜΙΤΟΝ ΠΡΟΗ· ΕΝ ΤΕΡΟΥ ΒΟΚΛΕ
 ΟΥΜΗ ΠΩΕΝ· ΝΙΣΙΜΑΙΩΝΗ·
 ΒΛΑΕΑΥΧΑΡΙΖΕ· ΝΙΩΖΑΝΝΗ·
 ΝΑΥΛΗ ΠΟΥΟΕ· ΑΥΡΧΙΝΧΟΟ·
 ΑΥΟΥΩΩΚΛΕ· ΝΙΛΗ ΠΩΕΤΡΕ·
 ΕΥΧΩΜΙΟ· ΙΩΖΑΝΝΗ·
 ΝΑΥΧΕΒΩΚΝ· ΝΤΑΤΕΤΝΕΙ·
 ΤΕΤΝΧΙΠΟΥ· ΒΟΛΕΤΕΡΗ·
 ΝΙΩΖΑΝΝΗ· ΕΝΑΥΕΟΥ·
 ΝΝΕΝΤΑΤΕ· ΕΡΕΠΤΗΥΚ·
 ΤΝΝΑΥΕΡΟΥ· ΕΡΟΥ·
 ΑΥΩΝΕΝΤΑΤΕ· ΑΛΛΑΝ·
 ΤΝΟΤΛΙΟΥ· ΤΑΤΕΤΝΕΙ·
 ΧΕΝΒΛΑΕΝΑΥ· ΕΒΟΛ·
 ΕΒΟΛ· ΑΥΩΝ· ΕΥΡ·
 ΛΕΛΙΟΩ· ΑΥΩΝ· ΑΥΩΝ·
 ΝΕΤ· ΓΟΚ· ΖΤ· Β·
 ΒΟΝΕΤ· ΛΙΟΟΥ·
 ΓΩΟΥ· Ν· Ν· Ζ·
 ΚΕ· ΕΥ· Α· Γ· Γ·
 Ζ· Ε· Ν· Α· Υ·
 Ν· Α· Ι· Τ· Υ·
 Τ· Υ· Ν· Α· Κ· Α·
 ΛΙ· Χ· Ε· Α· Ν·
 Ε· Ν· Τ· Ν· Χ· Ε· Ο· Υ·

THE GARRETT SAHIDIC MANUSCRIPT OF ST. LUKE

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(with one plate)

AS FAR as we know to-day, there are extant no complete copies of ancient Coptic manuscripts of the Gospel of St. Luke. The Sahidic Coptic manuscript of St. Luke, which is now in the possession of Mr. Robert Garrett of Baltimore, is therefore of very great importance in the study of the Coptic Gospels. The Garrett manuscript, which is written in well-drawn uncials on parchment, probably was copied in the sixth century.

In the *Album de Paleographie Copte pour servir a l'introduction paleographique des Actes des Martyrs de l'Egypte* by Henri Hyvernat, Paris-Rome, 1888, plate 3 is a reproduction of pages 20 and 21 of a manuscript from the Borgian Collection, No. 246, Naples, which is assigned to the sixth or seventh century. A comparison between this plate and the Garrett manuscript shows rather close resemblances in the formation of the letters. While the Borgian codex is practically constant in having a single form of **М** and **Λ**, we have two types of these letters in the Garrett manuscript.

On plate 4, Hyvernat, *op. cit.*, we have a reproduction of a manuscript which too is dated about the sixth or seventh century. The **Є** and the **Λ** of the Garrett manuscript resemble those of the plate. The two types of **М** also have their counterparts on plate 4. On the basis of these comparisons, the manuscript apparently belongs to the sixth or seventh century.

Further aid in dating the manuscript is found in W. H. Worrell's *Proverbs of Solomon in Sahidic Coptic according to the Chicago Manuscript* (University of Chicago Press, 1931). Speaking of the date of his manuscript, Worrell says (xi): "The hand of the Chicago manuscript would, in the absence of other evidence, be dated conservatively as of the sixth century; and this would seem to be demanded by the rounded *epsilon*, on the one hand, and the hair lines and smallness of the letters on the other." Professor Worrell reproduces four pages of the Chicago manuscript in facsimile. A comparison of these pages with the Garrett manuscript

shows many close similarities in the formation of the letters, among which is *epsilon*. If we accept Worrell's date, the Garrett manuscript should be assigned to the same period; the writer sees no reason to disagree with Professor Worrell.

A comparison of the Garrett manuscript with the plates in the third volume of Horner's Sahidic Version of the New Testament, Oxford, 1911, also favours the sixth century as the date of this manuscript.

The ornamental scrolls which are drawn in the margins at the beginning of chapters or divisions in the text, show likewise a great similarity to the scrolls of the above mentioned Borgian codex. The decorations are drawn in ink only, without any further colouring. The divisions in the text correspond to the early *κεφάλαια* which were used in Greek Biblical codices.

The manuscript lacks about 370 verses through loss of folios; only 55 folios are left. In some places the codex is worm-eaten; in many cases the lower line or a portion of it is missing, because the folio is either worm-eaten or thumb-worn. Folio 1 is very badly mutilated, and chapter 1, 1-5 is practically illegible; folio 1 b is more legible than 1 a, but much is missing on account of the worm-eaten condition of the folio. Folios 2 and 3 are also very fragmentary. Folio 4 has one large worm-hole and two smaller ones. On account of defects of this nature occurring throughout the codex, probably fifty more verses are missing in this codex. No superscription is visible on the first page.

The following list gives the numbers of the extant folios with the chapters and verses contained on each; no indication is made of the loss of verses (or more frequently of parts of verses) through defects in the parchment: 1. I, 1-6; 7-13 — 2. I, 14-20(?); 20(?) - 26 — 3. I, 26-34; 34-41 — 4. I, 41-50; 50-61 — 5. I, 61-69; 69-79 — 6. I, 79-II, 7; 7-14 — 7. II, 14-22; 22-28 — 8. II, 28-37; 37-44 — 9. II, 44-52; 52-III, 4 — 10. III, 4-10; 10-16 — 13. IV, 11-18; 18-24 — 14. IV, 24-32; 32-37 — 15. IV, 38-42; 43-V, 6 — 16. V, 6-12; 12-17 — 17. V, 17-24; 24-30 — 19. VI, 4-11; 11-17 — 20. VI, 17-23; 23-33 — 21. VI, 33-38; 39-45 — 22. VI, 45-49; 49-VII, 8 — 23. VII, 8-14; 14-21 — 24. VII, 21-26; 26-33 — 25. VII, 33-40; 40-47 — 26. VII, 47-VIII 3; 3-9 — 27. VIII, 9-14; 14-19 — 28. VIII, 19-25; 25-29 — 29. VIII, 29-34; 34-39 — 30. VIII, 39-45; 45-51 — 31. VIII, 51-IX, 3; 3-9 — 32. IX, 9-14; 14-20 — 33. IX,

20-26; 26-33 — 34. IX, 33-40; 40-47 — 35. IX, 47-55; 55-X, 2 — 36. X, 2-10; 10-18 — 37. X, 18-24; 24-32 — 38. X, 32-40; 40-XI, 5 — 39. XI, 5-14; 14-22 — 40. XI, 22-29; 30-37 — 41. XI, 37-45; 45-52 — 42. XI, 52-XII, 5; 5-11 — 43. XII, 11-20; 20-28 — 44. XII, 28-36; 36-43 — 45. XII, 44-51; 51-58 — 46. XII, 58-XIII, 7; 7-15 — 47. XIII, 15-24; 24-31 beginning — 48. XVI, 17-24; 25-31 — 49. XVI, 31-XVII, 7; 7-15 — 50. XVII, 15-24; 24-32 — 51. XVII, 33-XVIII, 5; 5-12 — 52. XVIII, 12-17; 18-26 — 53. XVIII, 26-34; 34-XIX, 1 — 54. XIX, 2-9; 9-16 — 55. XIX, 16-24; 24-33 — 56. XIX, 33-43; 43-XX, 3; originally XX, 4, but broken off. — 57. XX, 4-12; 12-19 — 58. XX, 19-28; 28-38.

The upper margins in a number of pages contain short lines of script which have been added by different hands of a later period. These notes, in some cases, are short titles indicating the content of the text below; in other cases, they are liturgical memoranda, noting the days on which particular lessons are to be read. No consistent system, however, is furnished in these fragmentary marginal notes.

In respect to completeness, the Garrett manuscript of St. Luke takes a worthy place beside Horner's Sahidic MSS. of Luke, 91 and 114. These manuscripts are described in *The Coptic Versions of the New Testament in the Southern Dialect—otherwise called Sahidic and Thebaic*, Oxford, 1911 (which is Horner's work), Vol. III, 353, 355. In the John Pierpont Morgan Library is a Coptic manuscript of the four Gospels, of the eighth or ninth century. In this manuscript the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and John are complete, but fourteen leaves from Luke (IV, 33-IX, 30; IX, 62-XIII, 18) were missing, when the manuscript was found.

A comparison of the contents of the Garrett manuscript with those of the manuscripts used by Horner and of the Morgan Gospels shows the great importance of this codex in the Coptic version of St. Luke. This codex represents a good text of the Sahidic Gospel of St. Luke. A careful collation of the manuscript with the text and apparatus criticus of Horner proves that there is extant just one Sahidic version of this Gospel. The manuscript, in many cases, follows Horner's readings in the footnotes rather than those of his text. While the manuscript is old and excellent, it gives us practically nothing beyond what Horner had in forming his text. It should be noted that it has many points of agreement with the

following of Horner's manuscripts, which are arranged in the order of the frequency of these agreements: 114, 91, 89, 85, 86, 73, 129, 90, 111, 11, 8, 9, 78, 8, 53, 88, 25, 70, 16, 126. It is of the greatest importance, however, to observe that its readings agree most consistently with 114, 91, 89, 85, and 86, and consequently we conclude that it forms a group with them. Agreements here and there with the following also were noted: 37, f¹, m¹, γ¹, 12¹, 13¹, 24¹, l¹, 25¹, 1, 128, 346, 108, 15, 41, 17, 33; the order of the numbers in this sentence and the following one is of no significance, since the agreements are too few to enable us to draw any conclusions. Occasional readings were also found in agreement with ε¹, 6¹, 9¹, 19¹, 21¹, 48¹, 5, 14, 13, 18, 41, 47, 49, 50, 57, 62, 63, 64, 69, 84, 113, 116, 118, 124, 131, 157, 159, 209, 239, 240, 244, 274.

The dialect of the manuscript is Sahidic. In 18, 11, Horner has **ÑXONĀ**, which is a Bohairic form; he does not list in his notes the Sahidic form, **ÑḶONĀ**. The manuscript uniquely has the Sahidic form in this instance. The codex, however, contains a few localisms or individualisms, among which is especially prominent the fondness of **β** for **ϣ**. In this category are found the following examples:¹ 3, 7, **ÑNEṖQW—ÑNEṖW**, which is also Sahidic. This reading is not found in any of Horner's manuscripts: 7, 14, **NETQI—NETBI**, agreeing with Horner's MSS. 114, 129; 7, 24, **ÑḶIÑQAIḶINE—ÑḶIḶAIḶINE**, agreeing with Horner's 78, 80, 86, 114; 7, 44, **εACQOTOY ḦΠECQW—ACBOTOY ṖḦΠECQW**, agreeing with 78, 86, 114; 8, 18, **CENAQITĀ—CENABITQ** agreeing with MSS. 86, 91, 114; 10, 1, **KEḶQEC-NOOYC—KEḶBECNOOYC**, agreeing with 88; 10, 11, **TENQWTE—TḦBWTE**, agreeing with 88, 91; 10, 17, **ÑḶIΠEḶQECNOOYC—ÑḶIΠKEḶBECNOOYC** where 8 and 88 have **-B-**; 10, 35, **QEΠECPPOOYḶ—BΠECPPOOYḶ**; 12, 7, **ÑKEQW—ÑKEBḶ**, agreeing with 89, 91, 129; 12, 26, **TETḦQIPOOYḶ—TETḦBIPPOOYḶ**; 13, 21, **ḶANTĀX-ḶAB—ḶANTḶXḶAB**; 18, 20, **ḦPṖṖQWṖT—ḦPṖṖWṖT** agreeing with 89, 91, 114. Some of these forms are recognized in the lexicon as variant² Sahidic forms.

¹ In all citations, the reading of Horner is always placed first, while that of the Garrett manuscript is second.

² The interchange of these two sounds is frequent, cf. Till, W., *Koptische Dialektgrammatik*, München, 1931, § 7 j; Worrell, *Coptic Sounds*, Univ. of Michigan, 1934, 83-88, 99-100.

There is found in the manuscript also the opposite change, **q** for **β**: 9, 32, **πζινηβ**—**πζινηq**; 10, 35, **βκίτε**—**qκίτε**, ‘2 drachmas.’ According to Horner, his manuscript had **q**, which he corrected to **β**.

In the manuscript, in a number of instances, **γ** is read for **κ**: 6, 18, **ἡκαθαρτον**—**ἡγαθαρτον**; 8, 29, *idem*; 11, 24, *idem*, in agreement with MS. 89; 13, 14, **εφαγανακτει**—**εφαγαναγτί** where 90 and 91 also have **ἡγα**—. On the other hand, **κ** is found for **γ**: 19, 29, **εβηλφαγη**—**εβηλφ-ακη**, in agreement with MSS. 89, 90, 91, 114.

λ is found for **τ**: 10, 18, **επισατανας**—**επισαλανας** in agreement with 91; 10, 35, **ἡπιαντοχευς**—**ἡπιᾶ**: **λοκευς**, in agreement with Bohairic D, E; 11, 18, **πσατα-νας**—**πσαλανας**, in agreement with MS. 89; 16, 26, **ουτε**—**ουδε** in agreement with 91, 114.

On the other hand, **τ** is written for **λ**: 9, 7, **ζηρωλhc**—**ζηρωthc**; 9, 9, *idem*.

Among other changes may be noted **q** for **γ**: 20, 18, **ενταγζε**—**ἡταqζε**; cf. **ενταqζε**, MSS. 90, and 114. The opposite change is found, 8, 29, **εφαqτορπq**—**εφαγτορπq**. In 18, 1, **δ** is written for **κ**, and **γκ** (graphically) for **нк**: **ετῆ-ενκακει**—**ετῆεγκαβί**. In this case, MSS. 89, 91, 114 also have **δ** for **κ**. In 19, 2, 5, 8, **zakxaioc**—**zaxaioc** in agreement with MSS. 73, etc.

Anaptyxis occurs: 11, 15, **βεελεβεουλ**—**βεελεζε-βοул**; 11, 18, *idem*, but cf. 11, 19, **βεελεβεουλ**; 19, 23, **ετετραπεζα**—**ετετραπεζα**. Metathesis is found, 8, 41, **ιαειρος**—**ιαριος**.

The manuscript is consistent in the use of double consonants in certain words. The word “kingdom,” e.g., has **pp**: 1, 33, **ἡτεqmṇτερο**—**ἡτεqmṇτῖρρο**, like MS. 89; 4, 43, **ἡτmṇτερο**—**ἡτmṇτῖρρο**, in agreement with MS. 86; 6, 20, **τmṇτερο**—**τετmṇτῖρρο** (MSS. 86, 111, 114); 12, 31, **τεqmṇτερο**—**τεqmṇτῖρρο**, like 89. The word ‘Pharisee’ prefers **cc**: 5, 17, **γενφapicaioc**—**γεν-φapiccaioc** (MS. 86); cf. also 5, 30 (MSS. 86, 111); 6, 7 (MS. 86, etc.); 7, 36 (MSS. 78, 114, 13¹, m¹); 11, 37-38 (MSS. 89, 91, 24¹); 11, 43 (MSS. 89, 91, 24¹); 11, 53 (MSS. 89, 91); 17, 20 (MSS. 89, 91, 114, γ¹); 18, 10 (MS. 89, etc.).

Double **κ** is found: 6, 14, **ΙΑΚΩΒΟΣ—ΙΑΚΚΩΒΟΣ** (MS. 114); likewise 6, 15, where it agrees with MSS. 111, 114.

The manuscript has rather uniform peculiarities of spelling. **ι** for **ει** is very frequent. A few examples will suffice: 1, 29, **ΠΕΙΑΣΠΑΣΜΟΣ—ΠΑΣΠΑΣΜΟΣ**; 1, 63, **ΑΦΑΙΤΕΙ—ΑΦΑΙΤΙ** (MS. 18); 2, 37, **ΖΕΝΝΗΣΤΕΙΑ—ΖΕΝΝΗΣΤΙΑ**; 4, 12, **ΠΕΙΡΑΖΕ—ΠΙΡΑΖΕ**; 9, 21, **ΑΦΠΑΡΑΓΓΕΙΑΕ—ΑΦΠΑΡΑΓΓΙΑΕ** (MSS. 91, 129); 10, 21, **ΠΧΟΕΙΣ—ΠΧΟΪΣ**, but in 19, 34, the manuscript writes **ΠΧΟΕΙΣ**. On the other hand, in 6, 21, where Horner writes **ΤΕΤΝΑΣΙ**, the manuscript has **ΤΕΤΝΑΣΕΙ**. We also find examples of **γ** for **η**: 8, 14, **ΝΖΗΔΟΝΗ—ΝΖΥΔΟΝΗ**; 9, 33, **ΝΣΚΗΝΗ—ΝΣΚΥΝΗ**; 19, 21, **ΝΑΥΣΤΗΡΟΣ—ΑΥΣΤΥΡΟΣ**, but in 19, 22, the manuscript agrees with Horner. On the other hand, **η** may be written for **γ**: 1, 2, **ΝΖΥΠΕΡΕΤΗΣ—ΝΖΗΠΕΡΕΤΗΣ** (MSS. 114, 126); 4, 20, **ἩΠΖΥΠΗΡΕΤΗΣ—ἩΠΖΗΠΕΡΕΤΗΣ**. **γ** and **η** may also be interchanged in the same word: 4, 44, **ΝΕΦΚΗΡΥΣΣΕ—ΝΕΦΚΥΡΗΣΣΕ**; 8, 1, **ΕΦΚΗΡΥΣΣΕ—ΕΦΚΥΡΗΣΣΕ**. **ι** may be written for **η**: 6, 35, **ΟΥΧΡΗΣΤΟΣ—ΟΥΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ**.

There are some unique readings, but they are not of serious value in the construction of a text, since in most cases they do not change the meaning.

It seems strange that the manuscript omits the Golden Rule, 6, 31: "And as ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise." There is no defect in the manuscript at that passage; it proceeds directly from verse 30 to verse 32. Similarly 11, 10 is entirely omitted. In 3, 6, there is an omission of the first half of the verse: **ΑΥΩ ΠΕΘΟΥ ἩΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΝΑΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ**. 12, 55 omits at the end of the verse: **ΑΥΩ ΦΑΦΩΠΕ**.

The few additions to the text are not serious. In 18, 31, for **ΖΙΤῆ ΝΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ**, the manuscript has **ΖΙΤῆ ΠΝΟΜΟΣ** **ἩΝ ΝΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ**. In 19, 21 is found a doublet: **ΕΚΦΙ ἩΠΕΤΕῖ ΠΩΚΑΝΠΕ · ΕΚΦΙ ἩΠΕΤΕῖ ΠΕΚΚΑΛΦ ΕΖΡΑῖ**.

A few errors may be mentioned: 5, 17, *ad finem*, **ΕΤΡΕΦ-ΤΑΛΩ**, where the manuscript has **ΕΤΡΕΣΤΑΛΩ**, the feminine for the masculine; 5, 24, **ΕΙΧΩ—ΕΥΧΩ**; 11, 42 **ΝΕΦΩΕ ΕΛΛΥ**, where the manuscript has the negative, **ΝΩΦΕ ΑΝΕΛΛΥ**; 17, 5, **ΝΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ—ΝΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΙΣ**.

It is evident, therefore, that the manuscript presents a good text. In fact, it gives us a few corrections: 4, 29, **ἵπτοορ**, 'of the mountain'; since Horner gives no variant, it is possible that his text here contains a misprint; at any rate, the codex correctly reads **ἵπτοογ**; 12, 15, **χε ερψαν nenka an ñoya awai. eqnazē epeqwnz̄ ebol ñzhtoγ**, which Horner translates: "for if the possessions of one should abound, he is not about to find his life out of them"; here the codex has the correct reading: **χε ερψā::nenka awaī noγā. eqnazē an epeqwnz̄ ebol ñzhtoγ**.

In some cases, the codex uniquely employs a synonym: 3, 4, **zñ tērmoc — zipxaiē**, where MS. 128 has **zñ πxaiē**; 4, 35, **αqnoyxe ñmoq — αqpaζτq̄**, 'struck him,' 'cast him'; 8, 12, **παλαβολος — ππονηρος**; 9, 39, **свнhte** 'foam,' for which the manuscript has **сзвhte**, 'foam,' a form (but with **-hh-**) to which Crum, in his Coptic Dictionary, assigns first place; 11, 39, **ακαθαρcia — πον-ηρια** in agreement with MSS. 89, 91; 12, 33, **zoolē**, 'moth' — **χοολεc**, in agreement with MSS. (9?), 89, 91 (fr); 12, 48, **сенашатq̄ — сенахноγq**; 12, 57, **αζρωτñ ñtetñ kpine an — αζρωτñ δε ñtetñ cooyñ an ñaokimaze**; 17, 14, **ματογωτñ εñoyññb — mat-cawōtñ ñoyññb**; 18, 15 and 17, **ωññ — κογi**; 18, 19, **ογβñ — εροi**; 18, 36, **εqπαpαγε — εqμοοωε**, in agreement with **B**; 20, 26; **εδοπq̄ — εογωωβεq**.

Sometimes the supralinear stroke is used instead of the full vowel **ε**; in other cases, we have the reverse usage. Generally, however, the manuscript is accurate in this matter. At the end of the line, **N** is usually represented by a long horizontal stroke over the preceding vowel which thus closes the line. In 8, 29, **ñ** is similarly represented: **εzemma — εzē::ma**; it may be, however, that the scribe had in mind the unassimilated **N**.

Naturally it is impossible in an article of this sort to go into greater detail in describing the manuscript. The writer has endeavoured simply to point out the most important characteristics both in readings and in spellings. The codex represents an excellent text and offers, as has been indicated, a few advantages over Horner's text. In the main, it is very closely related to MSS. 114, 91, 89, 85, and 86.

IGNAZIO GUIDI—SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

RICHARD GOTTHEIL
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

ONE OF the greatest living Orientalists has passed out of existence at the ripe age of ninety-one. He was an honorary member of our society and we honored ourselves by making him such. As one who knew him personally and had been at his house at No. 24 Via Botteghe Oscuro in Rome, I feel it a privilege to say a word in regard to him.

Guidi was born in Rome on the thirty-first of July, 1844. As the great Italian Encyclopedia says: "He made an Orientalist of himself," for Oriental languages were not as yet cultivated in Italy—beyond the province of those interested in ecclesiastical matters. From the year eighteen seventy-three to seventy-six he was custodian of the numismatic collections at the Vatican. At the University, during various periods, he taught Greek. In 1876 he became Instructor, in 1879 Extraordinary Professor, and in 1885 Ordinary Professor of Hebrew and the Semitic Languages, including Ethiopic. On account of his age he had become Emeritus Professor. He died at 9.30 a. m. on Thursday, April the eighteenth, and was buried on Saturday afternoon at 4 o'clock.

The notice I have received reads in part:

"Oggi alle ore 9.30 si è spento serenamente con i conforti della religione e con la benedizione speciale del S. padre

Ignazio Guidi
Professor Emerito nella Regia Università di Roma
Senatore del Regno."

He was of a most lovable character, only too willing to help others on the way, if they showed real scholarly interest.

As regards his works, those of which I have knowledge are the following:

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3. "Mundhir III und die beiden monophysitischen Bischöfe," *ZDMG.*, 35, pp. 142 ff.
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6. "La Synaxaire Ethiopien," in *Patrologia Orientalis*, Paris, 1906.
7. *Storia della letteratura etiopica*, Roma, 1932.
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The preceding imperfect account of that which the great Italian master has left may give some little idea of the breadth of his knowledge and the earnestness of his scientific life. In addition, I have a box-full of learned reviews from his pen which I have not attempted to list here.

May his soul rest in peace!

BRIEF COMMUNICATION

Observation of the Equinox at Petra

Reflecting on the lunar calendar in Hellenistic Babylonia, it has occurred to me that a group of monuments at Nabataean Petra suggests a clue to its practical operation. Seleucid or Parthian adaptations aside, the new year of the Neo-Babylonians and of the Hebrews and other Semitic groups, Nisan 1, began on the evening when the first new moon after the vernal equinox appeared. Observation of the new moon was simple and made without instruments; that of the equinox was more difficult, but equally indispensable to the calculation.

On the vernal (and autumnal) equinox the sun rises on almost the exact eastern point, and sets on approximately the western, of the horizon. If two poles are set up a few meters apart along a true east-west line, the approach of the equinox will be reflected, to a regular observer, in the decreasing gap between one pole and the sun-cast shadow of the other until pole and shadow coincide. Movable poles may in fact be used to determine the east-west line, for only on the equinox can coincidence occur alike at sunrise and sunset.

This annual observation made, a new year would begin automatically with the appearance of the following new moon. Intercalary months would be added to those years whose twelfth months ended before the vernal equinox. A calendar so controlled would automatically fall into a nineteen-year cycle of moon and sun identical with that purported to have been brought to virtual perfection by "Chaldaean" astronomers through centuries of tedious calculation, and provably adopted by the Neo-Babylonians.

On "Obelisk Ridge," a high place above Petra, the living rock has been cut down to a flat platform, leaving, however, two roughly-hewn obelisks of approximately equal size. The platform on which they stand commands a clear view of the mountainous horizon enclosing the city; it is an ideal spot on which to have established an astronomical station. According to the observations of Kennedy, these obelisks stand on a true east-west line. I cannot confirm this statement for in 1929 when I visited Obelisk Ridge I did not

anticipate their bearing on calendar studies, nor was I equipped to take accurate compass readings. Another traveler may be able to give closer attention to this detail. If it is true, the obelisks could have effectively served the purpose of the poles just hypothetically described, in signaling the passage of the equinox. Whether or not the nineteen-year cycle was in use at Petra, a crude transit of this sort was necessary to any observation of the equinox and in the absence of a more rational explanation their presence is provocative.¹

JOTHAM JOHNSON.

University Museum, Philadelphia.

¹ See: F. X. Kugler, *Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel* II 2 (1924), pp. 422-463; cf. D. Sidersky, "Étude sur la chronologie assyro-babylonienne," *Mém. sav. étr.* XIII (1923), pp. 105-199, and Fotheringham, 'Indebtedness of Greek to Chaldaean Astronomy,' *The Observatory* LI (1928), p. 309.

J. Johnson, "The Dura Horoscope and the Seleucid Calendar," *Dura Studies* (1932), pp. 1-15; cf. A. B. West, *AJA* XXXVII (1933), pp. 352 f., and R. H. McDowell, *Coins from Seleucia on the Tigris* (Ann Arbor, 1935), pp. 147-153.

Gustaf Dalman, *Petra und seine Felsheiligtümer* (1908), pp. 130 ff. and figs. 96-98; Sir Alexander Kennedy, *Petra, Its History and Monuments* (1926), pp. 68 f., 74 f., and figs. 164 and 202.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Publications of the American Schools of Oriental Research. Excavations at Tepe Gawra. Vol. I. By E. A. SPEISER. Pp. xvi + 220 + LXXXVI Pts. UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA PRESS, 1935. \$6.00.

Dr. Speiser presents us with a publication which one studies with the greatest delight. The site, situated fifteen miles from Mosul and, therefore, within the domain of "Assyria," is of outstanding importance for the earlier history of Mesopotamia; the printing of text and plates is excellent, the tasteful arrangement of various objects on the same plate being particularly laudable; and finally, the scholarship is of the highest standard. As it should be in a final publication, the material, thoroughly digested and completely mastered, is presented in a well rounded picture. To fulfill all claims of objectivity, the presentation of facts is separated from their interpretations. The descriptions are brief and succinct, but suffice to stress the essential points, the chapter on pottery by Miss Cross being up to the same standard as that of other parts of the book. The judgments are as sagacious as they are sober; cf. for instance, the conclusions on the vexed questions of the early occurrence of the horse, and the treatment of the ethnic problems. The parallels are as complete as they can be, and they prove that the well known Semitist is also a thoroughly trained archaeologist. His talents as historian become apparent in the conclusions drawn from the archeological material as to the character of the people: the inhabitants of Gawra VI were commercially minded, whereas those of VIII were preoccupied with religion.

We now attempt a brief account of the chief results. The uppermost strata, settlements I, II, III, were small, since the accumulation of the debris diminished the available space more and more, and they date from Hurrian times. Stratum IV, probably contemporary with the third dynasty of Ur, consists of a shrine which shows analogies with the temple of Ishtar in Ashur-E. Stratum V with a shrine very similar in type is Sargonid. The language of the inhabitants of these two settlements was doubtless Semitic, as was also that of the people in stratum VI.

This latter stratum lasted from the later "Early Dynastic" to the beginning of the Sargonid period; it shows a fairly large town, compact, but well laid out; it has an open square in the center, a drainage system, and is well fortified. Its relations were far flung: brickwalls on rubble foundations and schematised idols point to Anatolia, figures of horses and a "covered wagon" to the Caucasus region and even farther, a gaming die to India; analogies in pottery, implements, cylinder seals, toilet sets, and other things, prove strong connections with Southern Mesopotamia, so that Gawra VI gives the impression of having been a "melting pot." An interesting seal, Nr. 67, reminds of later Cypriote pieces; since the difference in time, however, is very great, I am disinclined to assume any connection. A "fountain-head" pot found in a trial trench seems to me close in style to the pottery of Stratum V. The statuette, Pl. XXXIII, probably represents a crouched figure, the lower part being schematised (cf. V. Müller, *Fruehe Plastik in Griechenland und Vorderasien*, Pl. VI). All the strata from I to VI are included by Speiser in the "Late" period of Gawra, since trial excavations have shown that the strata reach down to the very beginning of civilization in Mesopotamia; the occupations after 3000 prove thus to have been not the most prominent stage in the splendid history of Gawra. Stratum VII with which, therefore, the middle period begins, has very meager architectonic remains, but is important as a transitional phase: stone implements are more numerous than in VI, but show a considerable decrease in comparison with VIII; objects in copper, on the other hand, very rare in VIII, increase in number, although they are still far behind L. VI so that the term "chalcolithic," given to the middle period by Speiser, is justified; stamp and cylinder seals occur by side, no cylinders being earlier and no stamps being later than VII. The pottery compels to date VII to the end of the Jemdet Nasr and the beginning of the "Early Dynastic" periods and shows the very interesting fact of the intrusion of people with "Billa" ware. The difficulty arising from the different dating of the corresponding ware at Nineveh by Mallowan is solved by showing that the dates at Nineveh must be modified on account of the better evidence at Gawra. In contrast to VI, where strong Sumerian influences are discernible, the "highland" component is very strong in VII. This is still more pronounced in VIII, which is distinctly un-

Sumerian. This stratum, subdivided into three settlements, is undoubtedly the most important level dealt with in the publication. Its foremost interest lies in architecture. The main type of sanctuary shows a large central room with the entrance in the short side flanked by smaller rooms on either side. The walls have recessed niches and, at the front side, low windows. The nearest parallel, as Speiser rightly observes, is the Innin temple of Karaindash at Uruk, which was unique in Mesopotamia hitherto. The fact, however, that this type is intrusive in Mesopotamia, is not altered by its occurrence at Gawra, and we must look to the "highlands" for its cradle. The low windows likewise point to regions outside Mesopotamia, since they are found at Boghazkeui and at Zenjirli (cf. *Mitt. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* vol. 42, 1917, p. 137 f.; *Jahrb. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* vol. 36, 1921, p. 93 f., vol. 44, 1929, p. 241 ff.), the difference in time playing no rôle in the "immovable East." Speiser finds another partial analogy for the Gawra type in the "Kalksteintempel" of Uruk V, but I am unable to follow him entirely in this respect. The fundamental difference is that the central space at Uruk is an open courtyard with the main sanctuary at the back, the latter being a "broad" room, so that the building belongs to the "central court" type, whereas the temple at Gawra belongs to the "block" type (cf. *Am. Journ. Arch.* vol. 37, 1933, p. 599 f.); cf. also the reconstruction of the temple at Uruk in *Vorläufiger Bericht V*, E. Heinrich, Schilf und Lehm, Berlin, 1934, p. 28, with that of the temple at Gawra in the *Bulletin* of the American Schools of Oriental Research 54, April 1934, p. 17). Nor would I call the open space between the projecting wings of the Gawra type "liwân," because *liwân* means a selfsufficient and roofed room according to Oelmann's terminology (*Bonner Jahrb.*, vol. 127, 1922, p. 217 ff.). The "long" room type is not the only one at Gawra, but the "broad" room too is represented by the important buildings 833 and 822. I am inclined to find even the "Ishtar-temple type" in the building 808, although the door is not in the corner; but the two niches in one of the short sides and the podium pointing to them show that chief orientation of the room is in the direction of the longitudinal axis, precisely as in the temples of Ishtar. Another feature worth mentioning is a true barrel vault above ground, not underground as in the Royal cemetery at Ur. The date of VIII can be fixed by the pottery,

which shows that the latest phase falls within the Jemdet Nasr period and that the earlier phases must, therefore, be contemporary with the Uruk period. Speiser's account ends with VIII, since he did not participate in the excavation of the lower strata, of which five more have been found. Archaeology is an "experimental science" in the sense that our conclusions can be tested by future excavations. I am convinced that Speiser's work will stand the test.

VALENTIN MÜLLER.

Bryn Mawr College.

Le Iscrizioni Antico-Ebraiche Palestinesi. By. DAVID DIRINGER.
Firenze, 1934. Pp. xxix, 361, and 30 Plates.

Diringer's publication will be welcomed by all those who deal seriously with the history of Palestine and its antiquities. For students of Semitic epigraphy it provides a long-needed and highly important book of reference. The material which it brings together has been scattered through journals, pamphlets, and other publications, some of which are not easily accessible. A somewhat similar collection covering a different period of Palestinian history is the unpretentious work by Samuel Klein, entitled *Jüdisch-palästinisches Corpus Inscriptionum (Ossuar-, Grab- und Synagogeninschriften)*, Wien-Berlin, 1920. This little volume of 106 pages, with good indexes, but without facsimiles or other illustration, deals with the later period of Jewish history subsequent to the destruction of the temple at Jerusalem. Diringer's work, on the contrary, is designed to close with the end of the Hebrew monarchy, and its plan includes every variety of help which could reasonably be required.

The following subjects are treated in the successive chapters: The Gezer Tablet; Ostraca (especially those excavated at Samaria); Siloam Inscriptions (the famous inscription of the Tunnel and also those found at Silwān); Jar handles; Seals (these occupying a considerable part of the volume); Weights and Measures; Miscellany. An Appendix contains a brief chapter on forgeries, and another on the old Hebrew script, of which tables are given in Plates XXIX and XXX. The inscriptions are well indexed, with tables containing the names of persons and the geographical names

and terms, and also listing conventional signs (numbers, etc.) and the marks of punctuation.

Dr. Diringier has collected diligently, and the *corpus* which he presents includes nearly everything that had been published in this field up to the time when his manuscript was finished. The inscriptions are numbered consecutively, in their several groups, for convenience of reference. In each case there is a transliteration in the square character, followed by a commentary. A most useful feature, deserving especial notice, is the very complete and accurate bibliography accompanying each inscription. Some interpretations are open to question, as must inevitably be the case in any work of this nature, but the author's thorough study and good judgment are everywhere apparent. I have noted one or two inaccuracies; for instance, the statement in regard to seal no. 27 that its publisher dated it in the "epoca Romana," whereas he made it contemporaneous with the Siloam Inscription.

The facsimiles (28 plates) will of course receive especial attention. In a few cases these are photographs made from the objects themselves (i. e., they reproduce the half-tones which had appeared in former publications), but generally they reproduce drawings of the inscriptions. One could often wish to have both. As a rule, the drawings, whether made by Diringier himself or by his predecessors, are carefully executed and may be relied upon. Sometimes, indeed, they are rough and not quite satisfactory; but the difficulties in the way of such graphic interpretation are well known. All in all, we have in the work before us an admirable achievement.

Syriac Inscriptions. By ENNO LITTMANN. Leyden: E. J. BRILL, 1934. Pp. xi, 70.

Littmann's volume constitutes Division IV, Section B, of the Publications (entitled "Syria") of the Princeton Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904-05 and 1909. The Nabataean Inscriptions were published by him in 1914; the Arabic and Safaitic are promised to appear soon.

The volume contains a map of the region concerned (Northern Syria), and also a special map of the Dêr Sim'ân. The inscriptions number 64 (aside from the list of 25 proper names painted on the wall of a church at Şadad, published in *Oriens Christianus* in

1930). About one-third of the inscriptions are dated. They are mostly of the 6th century; four of them of the 5th; others down to the 10th. In addition to the ordinary dating by the Seleucid era, the large proportion of dates according to the era of Antioch is instructive. Antioch, in all the earliest time, was the head of the Syriac church.

These documents, it is hardly necessary to say, are very brief, and sometimes difficult to interpret. They are building inscriptions; lists of names, or single names; pious formulae; isolated dates. About one-half are graffiti. The dated specimens sometimes furnish valuable evidence for the study of architecture. There is some interesting palaeographical material: the letters of the Syriac script joined in an unusual way, or strung on one continuous base line, as in the manuscripts; and such peculiarities of orthography as the omission of initial *ālaf*, of *waw* at the end of a 3rd pers. masc. perfect tense, and of the same letter in the syllable (this hardly remarkable).

The inscriptions are illustrated by facsimile drawings and occasional photographs. An Index lists both the proper names and the Syriac words, and an Appendix contains a welcome re-examination of certain inscriptions previously published.

In general, it is safe to say that what Littmann has given here will hardly be improved upon. Where the few still-visible marks permit only a conjecture, his guess is likely to be the best one. I would raise a query only in the case of his longest text, Graffito no. 28; a curious bit, in an interesting script. He renders as follows:

I Marzūk, the sinner, make you to know, my brethren, a miracle that came to pass: On the 15th of April [Nišān, written with š!] there was a great hailstorm, until there were scattered(?) all trees and crops; but it stopped(?) instantaneously(?).

Judging from the facsimile, the last two words are very doubtful; but my query concerns the word "scattered," which seems unsuitable, especially in speaking of trees. I seem to recognize in Littman's drawing the root *b'r* instead of *bār*, and as Bar Bahlūl gives the meaning "devastation" for *bu'ārā*, I would suggest "ruined," or the like, instead of "scattered."

CHARLES C. TORREY.

Yale University.

Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Nahen und Fernen Ostens Paul Kahle zum 60. Geburtstag überreicht von Freunden und Schülern aus dem Kreise des Orientalischen Seminars der Universität Bonn. Edited by W. HEFFENING and W. KIRFEL. Leiden: E. J. BRILL, 1935. Pp. 231.

Many over the world will share with his immediate friends and students in congratulations to Professor Kahle at the epoch which this handsome volume celebrates. The history of text and lexicography of the Hebrew Bible, the Masora, the versions and the related history and life of the Samaritans; the manners and customs and arts—for example the shadow-plays—of the modern Islamic world, in which he spent some of his earlier years, and contributions to the study of Arabic and Turkish documents—for example the Lost Map of Columbus (see Martinovitch's review above, JOURNAL 55, 106)—all these studies have notably distinguished him in the realm of scholarship. To this function he has added to a unique degree that of patron and friend to a host of students, and through his genuine friendliness and administrative ability he has made Bonn a centre of Oriental studies, where also he is the leader in what we in America call a Summer School. His catholic interest has included the Far East as well, and many of the articles in the present volume testify to his broadminded leadership in all things Oriental. It would require an encyclopaedic reviewer to appreciate the twenty-three monographs composing this volume, of which fourteen come from the hands of his associates and students at Bonn. The initial article by A. Schott alone belongs to ancient history, with its subject, "Wann entstand das Gilgamesch-Epos?", of which epic he has just published a fresh translation in the *Reclams Bibliothek*; by a somewhat abstruse argument he would date the composition about the time of Shulgi of the last dynasty of Ur. In the field of the Bible Edelman gives a contribution on the History of the Masora, Horst on Theft in the Old Testament, Peters on the Textual History of Ex. 32: 18 (an interesting specimen), Sperber on the Problems of an Edition of the Septuagint, coming to rather skeptical conclusions. Engberding gives a History of the Doxologies in the East Syrian liturgy. Of the nine articles in the Islamic field may be noticed a Fourteenth Century Mamluk Fatwa on the Status of Christians, by Atiya; the Construction of Islamic Law Books, by Heffening, the Concept

of Prophecy in Islamic Theology, by Frick (in the case of Mohammed, "so wird aus dem echten Propheten ein falscher Apostel"); and the study of a Tunisian shadow-play by Levy; in the East Indian field articles on native medicine, the stone-cult and resurrection stories by Hilgenfeld, Kirfel, Losch, and a presentation by Matsumoto of the second chapter of the Suvikrāntavikrāmi-Prajñāpāramitā in the Sanskrit and the Chinese translation in type. There are two papers on Japanese subjects, that by Pippon (of Tokyo) treating a Sino-Japanese constitutional document of the seventh century. The contribution by Wang on Musical Relations between China and the West is of general interest; in addition to the summary of historical facts he holds the theory that the homeland of musical theory for both Greece and the Orient was Babylon (p. 219). Also to the history of culture belong the articles respectively on Chinese porcelain in Islamic lands, by Röder, and on porcelain in Chinese medicine, by Schmitt. A portrait of Dr. Kahle graces the volume, which is concluded with the valuable Bibliography of his publications, compiled by Katharina Korn, pp. 225-231.

JAMES A. MONTGOMERY.

University of Pennsylvania.

Chinese Calligraphy. By LUCY DRISCOLL and KENJI TODA.
Chicago: UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS, 1935. Pp. vii + 70.
\$2.00.

Upon the "subtle movements of the brush that leave their trace in changing ink tone," as succinctly stated by Miss Driscoll in her Foreword (p. vi) to the book under review, does indeed depend "the real quality of calligraphic art." This monograph on the foremost of Chinese arts supplies a tool, both for a stimulation of a wider appreciation in the west of so sensitive an art, and for the initiation of the practicing student of art into methods and technique of the Chinese brush and ink.

For the reader who knows Chinese there are, furthermore, herein gathered, organized, and discussed selected passages from literary sources on the art which, with few exceptions, may easily be located in certain Chinese texts for comparative study. Should the book fall into the hands of some scholar-calligraphist of Chinese, it is

hoped, as Miss Driscoll desires (p. vi), that it may lure him—or her—into the more extensive presentation of this creative art.

Into the brief space, however, of the seventy pages (sixty-four in the body of the text), through an orderly arrangement of the material as set forth in the table of contents, one may find in this monograph both an introduction to and an appreciation of a fine art, as well as practical suggestions for the beginner in its study. One may read and enjoy a vivid portrayal of the symbolism, the dynamic ideal, and certain values of the art along with the technique of calligraphic expression.

Had there been less use of the quotation marks for many single words and brief phrases without direct reference to any special text, it would have given more value to those clearly taken from a passage under discussion. The following examples might have been among those avoided: "would look better" (p. 2); "naturally" and "natural" (pp. 15, 64); "one thousand *li* in length" (p. 17); and "nature" and "human effort" (p. 63). Just what Chinese term is meant to be translated by "classic point of view" (p. 43), as well as a few other short terms and phrases within quotation marks, is puzzling. In the cases of "good" pattern (p. 5), of "modern" (pp. 14, 25, 26, with retention or substitution on p. 28), and of "better" (p. 53), in spite of the technical meaning of the Chinese term translated, the quotation marks might well have been omitted.

Their use around words and phrases taken directly from passages translated or discussed (p. 28) does, however, certainly add to the vividness of the monograph. Like a red thread binding together the pattern of the book runs the term, "the idea of the mind," found in variant wordings (pp. 6, 27, 53, 63, 64), but with lack of definite reference in spite of its use in the citation on page fifty-two, and its association with an authority of another passage (p. 53).

The concept expressed in "life-movement" gathers into a whole the calligraphic art depicted in the monograph. It is like an envelope which holds the message from the writer of the note within to the reader of the contents. It is so technical as it is interpreted in the study that the reader has a desire to find its Chinese equivalent in transliteration in parenthesis that it may be sought in the list of miscellaneous terms at the end of the book, without the necessity of looking up the reference given (pp. 1, 2,

5, 59, 60, 63, 64, *shêng-tung*, see H. A. Giles: *A English-Chinese Dictionary*, Shanghai, 1912, no. 9865). It is so artistic a point of view that from it the study as a whole seizes the attention of the reader.

With allusions and citations continually occurring in Chinese writings it is very probable that the phrases of the sentence translated on page forty-two as a quotation from Lord Chung (Chung Kung) all belong to earlier standard writers. *Yü-hu* translated as "a crystal jar" is literally "a jade" jar (Giles: 4954; *Tz'ü-yüan*, Commercial Press' Chinese Encyclopedic Dictionary, Shanghai, section vii, p. 8). *Yao-t'ai* (Giles: 12918; *Tz'ü-yüan*, vii, 36; F. S. Couvreur: *Dictionnaire classique*, etc., Ho-kien-fou, 1911, p. 223), translated as "a tower of jewels," is probably a reference to a tower (?) that is supposed to have been erected in the mythical garden of the legendary Hsi-wang-mu, "West Queen Mother" (H. A. Giles: *Adversaria Sinica*, Shanghai, 1914, pp. 1-19). *Mu jo(ju) ch'ing fêng* (Giles: 8082; Couvreur: p. 583), translated as "soothing as a clean breeze"—perhaps *clean* is a typographical error—is a phrase found in the *Book of Poetry* ("Greater Odes of the Kingdom," *Ta-ya* [Giles: 12807], III, III, vi, 8: 6 to 8 in the translation by James Legge: *The Chinese Classics*, Oxford, 1893-1895, Vol. IV [book not available for indicating page]).

The following suggestions are added to those made above. Transliterations in the text without the equivalent Chinese characters in the lists at the end of the book were noticeable in a few instances: *Shu-p'u* (On Calligraphy), p. 15; *ma* (horse), p. 16; *li*, p. 17; *mo* (ink), p. 18; *chih*, p. 31, translated "to tear," character found in the Chinese text on page thirty-six, Giles: 1931a; and Chuang Tzû and the *Tao-te-ching*, p. 64. Two errors in transliteration occur: Chung-shan on page forty-five should be Ch'ung-shan (Giles: 2930); *Tu* should be *T'u* in the title of the work, *T'u-hua chien-wên chih* (Giles: 12128). The reviewer would like to raise the question of the transliteration *pai* (white, see note 47) for Giles: 8556, as it is not clear in her mind when the reading *po* should be given.

Apparently the translators in the passage on page forty-five omitted *lu* (deer, Giles: 7434)), found in the source. *Tsan* has a much larger use than the one described in note 9. As typographical mistakes, there is the omission of the first half of the quotation marks on page fifty-eight, lines 1-4; and the dates for Mao Chin

(p. 44) should, according to the *I-nien-lu hui-pien* (Gest No. 1358, T'oung-pao, xxv, 65-81, 1925, viii, 14), be A. D. 1598-1659. Omissions in pagination for references are at times irritating; the passages for notes 1, 9, and 33, for example were much more quickly located than in the cases without page numbering.

The information about Ch'ên Ssü in note 4, which had been sent to Miss Driscoll by Dr. Kiang K'ang-hu may be found in the *Chung-kuo jên-ming ta tzü-tien* (Commercial Press' *Cyclopedia of Chinese Biographical Names*, Shanghai, p. 1080); he is mentioned in A. Wylie's *Notes on Chinese Literature* (reprint of 1922, p. 151); and is included in the collection of short sketches of noted bibliophiles, *Chung-kuo ts'ang-shu chia k'ao-lüeh* (Gest No. 1417), compiled and published about 1928, by Yang Li-ch'êng and Chin Pu-ying (pp. 92-93).

On dates for Chang Yeh-yüan (p. 10), it may be helpful to note that in the period A. D. 874-879 he was made Minister of Justice (see *Cyclo. Chinese Biog.*, p. 943). Thus his *Fa-shu yao-lu* may easily have been much later in date than that earlier work written in A. D. 847, although according to the imperial Ch'ien-lung catalogue (*Ssü-k'ü ch'üan-shu tsung-mu*, *chüan* 112, pp. 8b-10a) the compilation includes citations written no later than the period A. D. 808-820.

For the reader who knows Chinese there is in the monograph an especial value in the selections from and the method of handling the material from Li Shun (pp. 52-59). This contribution in the field of Chinese calligraphy will be greatly enlarged by a companion study by the authors covering a translation and discussion of the entire contents of "The Eighty-four Laws." To the reader who is not an artist, but who is acquainted with Chinese character, the simpler but perhaps less artistic styles in Illustrations 1, 2, 6, 7, 13-16 give more pleasure than do the ones wherein it is difficult to decipher the script. To such a one the delight in Chinese calligraphy is enhanced by "the meaning of the characters as a possible source for dynamic inspiration" (p. 9).

NANCY LEE SWANN.

The Gest Chinese Research Library.

The Literary Inquisition of Ch'ien-lung. By LUTHER CARRINGTON GOODRICH. Baltimore: WAVERLY PRESS, INC., 1935. Pp. xii, 275. (AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES: Studies in Chinese and Related Civilizations, Number 1.)

China reached her last great climax during the reign of Emperor Ch'ien-lung, 1735-1796. Considering the vast extent of her territory and that of her vassal states, her large and rapidly growing population, the high quality of the art objects produced at this time, the assembling of valuable collections of paintings and literary works, the construction of magnificent palaces and temples under the patronage of a powerful and enlightened ruler, and her international prestige,—in view of all these tests of greatness, we may fairly say that the old China had attained the zenith of her development. Emperor Ch'ien-lung rode this wave of splendor so magnificently that he is often given credit for its brilliance. One popular writer even says that he was perhaps the greatest emperor the world has ever seen.

But before we kotow so abjectly before this golden image, might we not ask whether the panegyrists are really well informed? Have they examined all the aspects of his benevolent character? The very brilliance of the period has often obscured the fact that not only was the zenith *reached*, but also *passed* in this same reign. If the glories of this picture are due to the perfections of the Emperor himself, to whom are we to ascribe the dark blots?

Mr. Goodrich's monograph deals with one of the activities of the Emperor Ch'ien-lung which has been almost entirely neglected by writers in western languages, and which has not been adequately dealt with even by Chinese scholars.

Ch'ien-lung, in brief, was a despot. For all the munificence of his gifts to literature, he stands accused before the bar of public opinion for his open interference with the independence of the scholars of his day, for his deliberate falsification of history, for his malice towards a score of authors (several deceased long before) and their descendants, and for his repeated burnings of hundreds of books, woodblocks of many of them included (page 6).

After citing other instances of the burning of books by order of the rulers of previous dynasties, and of the punishment of literary men under the first three emperors of the Ch'ing dynasty and in the early part of the reign of Ch'ien-lung, our author gives an account of

the severe literary inquisition of the years 1774 to 1788. He shows convincingly that this was closely connected with the assembling of the greatest literary collection in all the history of China, namely the *Ssu K'u Ch'üan Shu*. This was a collection of what the scholars under the Emperor's direction considered the best works in Chinese literature, well-known classics as well as rare books which were gathered by imperial command from the whole empire. It seems to have been the intention of the Emperor to have the whole collection printed, but when it reached the enormous size of 36,000 volumes containing about 3,000,000 pages, the best he could do was to have seven manuscript copies made for the imperial palaces and a few favored cities. The same officials who were combing the empire for rare books to be forwarded to Peking for this collection were also required to search for books containing treasonable passages or slurs on the Manchu dynasty. These officials drew up a set of rules which should guide the provincial officials in their search for offensive books and a list of books which were worthy of destruction. This index, it is estimated, included over 2300 works listed for total suppression, and 340 more for partial suppression. Of this total of over 2600 our author lists in Appendix I some 476 works which were condemned but which have survived to the present time. The fifteen years of the inquisition, 1774-1788, thus resulted in the loss of over 2000 works, so that at present we have only partial and probably distorted sources for the history and literature of China for the few centuries preceding Ch'ien-lung's reign. The narrative account of this inquisition, its background, methods, aims, and effects, is included in Part I.

Part II contains imperial edicts, memorials, reports of officials, and detailed case histories showing how the inquisition affected certain authors, their families, and their works.

Both parts I and II are well supplied with footnotes giving the Chinese characters for Chinese proper names and numerous references to the sources. These full references should prove most useful in the further study of the subject which is needed in order to locate as many as possible of the works now lost but which may yet be discovered by diligent searching. The bibliography contains references only to works or articles in constant use by the author, although many other works are referred to in the footnotes and index. Your reviewer sees no good reason for dividing the index into two parts, one for general items, and the second for titles to

Chinese works. They might better be included in one list. One might also question the advantage of referring in the footnotes to works listed in the bibliography by *number* instead of by title in the more usual way. There are only a few typographical errors, for instance, a missing hyphen from "non-canonical" (p. 4, l. 24), a missing question mark (p. 90, l. 10), "pass" for "past" (p. 174, l. 8), and "be" for "by" (p. 204, l. 9).

In general the work bears evidence of thoroughness and scholarship. It reflects credit not only on the author but also upon the donor and committee in charge of the Willard Straight Fellowship, on which Mr. Goodrich spent two years abroad. It sets a high standard for the new "Studies in Chinese and Related Civilizations," which is being sponsored by the American Council of Learned Societies, and of which this is Number 1. Seldom does a careful and critical historian shed so much new light upon such a brilliant and important period in history, or on such a famous person as the Emperor Ch'ien-lung.

CARROLL B. MALONE.

Desire and the Universe, a Study of Religions. By JOHN K. SHRYOCK. Philadelphia: The CENTAUR PRESS, 1935. Pp. 352, 8vo.

Dr. Shryock, already well known for his books, *The Temples of Anking and their Cults*, and *The Origin and Development of the State Cult of Confucius*, has, in the book before us, undertaken a study of the development of religion in the widest sense of the word. The purpose of the undertaking is to show "that men have a large share in creating their ideas of the universe in which they live. Their motive in so doing is to satisfy their desire for perfection." This philosophical position he learned from his teacher in philosophy, Professor E. A. Singer. The book is divided into four parts. In Part I five chapters are devoted to "Our Desires and Our Environment" in which the relation of desire to environment, the origin and development of religion, and religion as culture, and the relation of the individual to society are discussed. In Part II "Religious Formulas" are discussed. Here the main themes are the soul, the state of the dead, and ideas of God. Part III, entitled "The Emotions in Religion" discusses not only the part played

in religion by the emotions but the relation of religion and ethics, conscience and sin, and conviction. Part IV, which treats of "Religion as Behavior" contains Dr. Shryock's treatment of such questions as authority in religion, ceremonies, prayers, communications from the gods, priesthoods and their equivalent, the diffusion of religion, and the place of art and images in religion.

The author's method is that followed in Toy's *Introduction to the History of Religion*. In each chapter the opinions or customs of the devotees of a wide variety of religions are cited and the conclusions are thus objectively based on facts. The range of Dr. Shryock's erudition, as shown in these citations is amazingly wide and accurate for a man of his years. The author's running comments on the material are pithy and sane. It may be added, too, that Dr. Shryock has abundantly demonstrated his thesis, and has done it in a way to help genuine religion. Some of his chapters, like that on "Authority" and "Communications from the Gods" are particularly good.

No book is, however, quite perfect, and *Desire and the Universe* has, in the opinion of the reviewer, one minor and one major fault. The minor fault is that, at a number of points the author inveighs against the older students of the history of religion for holding what he calls a "unilinear" theory of the development of religion, while he apparently deems himself able, because of his anthropological studies, to show that every religion has arisen from a mixture of cultures. Of course all science is progressive, and those who write from the vantage ground of wider knowledge are always able to point out some mistakes of pioneers. It happens, however, in this case that some of us who began our studies earlier than Dr. Shryock had made the same discovery by researches in our own fields without the aid of anthropologists. For example, in the reviewer's *Semitic and Hamitic Origins* (of which Dr. Shryock once wrote a notice, by the way) abundant use is made of the principle, to which attention is called in the preface.

The other defect of the book (and in the reviewer's opinion it is of major importance) is that in his discussion of the ideas of God in Chapters 3, 9, 10, and 11 he has a good deal to say of monotheism, and his remarks again and again reveal the fact that he is quite unaware of what monotheism is. This is doubtless due to the fact that, under the influence of W. Schmidt and the anthropologists, he has discarded the more accurate scientific nomen-

clature of earlier students of the subject, and has included under a single term things that are disparate. A primitive tribe was not monotheistic because, in order to give unity to its world, it believed in a supreme god. There is inherent in real monotheism an element of hostility to other beliefs. Genuine monotheism differs from this kind of primitive belief as positive virtue differs from the innocence of childhood. It is something that has been won by struggle. The intelligent leaders of a monotheistic community are conscious of its cost, of its worth, and of its difference from polytheism. The real monotheist denies that other gods have jurisdiction at all or that they exist. Because Greeks sometimes prayed to Apollo and Babylonians to Marduk as though other gods did not exist they were not monotheists, nor did they "betray a tendency to monotheism." It would be as correct to say that the beggar who flatters me into giving him five dollars by telling me that I am his only hope and resource, while he conceals from me the fact that by the same tactics he has just secured five dollars from my neighbor, is a monanthropist! F. Max Müller and Hartmann, who understood the real nature of monotheism, invented the term "henotheism" by which they rightly distinguished such flattering approaches to the gods in the Rig Veda from monotheism. Later, scholars applied the same term to peoples like the Hebrews before Amos, who believed that one god made the world, and that he demanded their sole allegiance, but who did not deny the existence of other gods. Through works on the history of religion by masters of the subject the clear distinction of this scientific nomenclature runs. The late W. Max Müller once denied that Ikhnaton was a monotheist, because, in one of his obscure inscriptions, Müller found what he took to be the recognition of the deity of another god than Aton. Wherever real monotheism has existed it is militant and hostile to the worship of any god but one. It was so in Israel after Amos, in Zoroastrianism, in Christianity, and in Islam. The kind of fact on which Dr. Shryock relies to prove that "primitive men can and do believe in monotheism" (p. 130) has been known since the history of religion has been studied. Perhaps the scholars of fifty and seventy years ago had not amassed as many examples of it as Dr. Shryock, but they were well acquainted with the phenomenon, and they had not had the accuracy of their theological conceptions corrupted by the inaccurate use by anthropologists of theological terms. Primitive men were henotheists, not monotheists. To

inaccurately call them monotheists is unscientific and is also unfortunate in that it gives aid and comfort to a reactionary type of theologian who loves to call himself a "Fundamentalist." The blurring of this distinction is a grave fault in what would otherwise be a great book. The work is well printed. I have noticed but one serious typographical error. On p. 187, the fourth line from the bottom, "inquiry" should be "iniquity."

GEORGE A. BARTON.

A Union List of Printed Indic Texts and Translations in American Libraries. Compiled by M. B. EMENEAU. American Oriental Series, volume 7. New Haven: AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY, 1935. Pp. xv + 540. \$2.00.

This publication satisfies a long-felt need of Sanskrit scholars, a need not felt so much in other fields as in the Oriental field both because of the lack of cataloguing facilities and the very extensive literature in this. Gratitude to the American Council of Learned Societies for its financial backing of this work and to Dr. Emeneau for his painstaking and eminently satisfactory compilation will long endure, especially if the work is supplemented from time to time in one way or another. It seems to me that the only sensible and practical procedure for libraries owning Oriental collections which are being constantly augmented is to maintain one or more staff-members who have been sufficiently trained in the several departments of Oriental studies to do the requisite cataloguing accurately. If these libraries are connected with universities—as they are in most cases—offering courses in Indic and other Oriental languages, their officers should avail themselves of the opportunity by urging some members of the cataloguing staff to take such courses. Any normally intelligent person could in his or her spare time train within a period of two or three years to satisfactorily catalogue the majority of printed texts in the Indic or any other division of the Oriental languages.

In the book under discussion the list is complete for the following libraries: Library of the American Oriental Society, Boston Public Library, Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Columbia University Library, University of Chicago Library, Cleveland Public

Library, Library of Congress, Harvard University Library, Johns Hopkins University Library, McGill University Library, Gest Chinese Research Library (housed at McGill University Library), New York Public Library, Princeton University Library, University of Pennsylvania Library and Yale University Library. "Exigencies of time and distance" unfortunately prevented the inclusion of the University of California collection. Some small libraries were visited by Dr. Emeneau, but their collections were not included because they merely duplicated the nearest large collection. The list comprises texts in Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit, Apabhramśa and most of the books in the older stages of the vernaculars, except in the case of Urdu, composed before 1800; a few later texts of importance, especially those forming parts of series; translations of texts; fragments of Buddhist Sanskrit texts; and journal articles. Some lithographs are also included but unfortunately not all. This lack obviously accounts for the incompleteness in the listing of Urdu texts. With this one exception the work completely meets all demands even to the extent of giving a correct and thorough hierarchical succession of commentators, which Indic scholars have so far lacked. The List of the More Important Serial Publications of Texts will be especially helpful. The index of authors and of titles at the end of the work completes the story.

It was not possible, of course, to list with each entry the corresponding library catalogue number. Therefore, I urge the above libraries to make provisions for any necessary revision of their card catalogue, so that their entries for the works included correspond exactly to the entries in this list. Otherwise there will surely be considerable difficulty in some cases, as in the past, in locating a given text even though it is definitely known that it exists in the library. Also since articles in journals have no library holdings indicated, it is our fond hope that libraries will cease cataloguing journals in a more or less haphazard method and bring themselves to rigid conformity.

HORACE I. POLEMAN.

University of Pennsylvania.

NOTES OF THE SOCIETY

The Executive Committee has elected the following corporate members:

A. H. Fey	A. Sperber
R. Habas	Bishop W. C. White
H. L. Norris	S. N. Wolfenden
J. A. Pope	

The Executive Committee has ratified the following amendments to the Constitution of the American Council of Learned Societies:

Voted, To amend the Constitution by adding to Article 3 the following paragraph:

(d) Any member of a constituent society not otherwise a member of the Corporation who may be elected to a constitutional office of the Council, but such *ex-officio* membership shall be only for the duration of the term of office.

and to instruct the Secretary to communicate this amendment to the constituent societies for ratification.

Professor Roland G. Kent represented the American Oriental Society at the commemoration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the opening of Bryn Mawr College, November 12, 1935.

The Editors have accepted for publication in the American Oriental Series Professor L. C. Barret's edition of Books XVI and XVII of the Kashmirian Atharva Veda.

NOTES OF OTHER SOCIETIES

AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES

ASSISTANCE TO PUBLICATION

The American Council of Learned Societies is prepared to extend assistance in publishing a limited number of meritorious works in the field of the humanities written by American scholars. It invites its constituent societies to propose books they deem suitable for assistance, but reserves the right to consider works submitted by others if the Executive Committee has accepted them for consideration.

Works proposed for publication must be complete in themselves, preferably the results of constructive research presented in the form of volumes of conventional size. Important books of reference and critical editions of valuable texts may also be submitted.

Plans for the manufacture, publication, and distribution of each assisted work, and for the disposition of the proceeds, must be approved by the Executive Committee.

Applications for grants in aid of publication, on forms provided for the purpose, must be received in the Executive Offices of the Council, 907 Fifteenth Street, N W., Washington, D. C., on or before March 1, 1936, to be acted upon in May, 1936. Applications must include descriptions and critical appraisals of the works proposed, together with full manufacturing specifications and estimates of cost. No work can be considered of which the manuscript is not available for examination in completed form.

The Council has announced that the American Council of Learned Societies research fellowships and larger grants in aid of research have been discontinued for the present. Small grants will be awarded next April.

LIDZBARI SKI FUND COMMITTEE

Professor Charles C. Torrey has been appointed member of the Lidzbarski Fund Committee, representing the SOCIETY. The Committee includes also according to the specifications of the donor, representatives of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft (Enno Littmann), the Société Asiatique (Réné Dussaud), and the Royal Asiatic Society (D. S. Margoliouth). A prize of 5000 marks will be awarded at every alternate International Congress of Orientalists for an outstanding work in the field of Semitics. The subject of the first prize-winning essay is to be "The extension of our knowledge of Aramaic dialects since the publications of Theodor Nöldeke." Manuscripts should be submitted to the Business Manager of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft at least six months before the next International Congress. The will of the donor provides also for the award of a medal to a distinguished Orientalist, regardless of his particular field, at every other Congress of Orientalists. The first recipient of the Lidzbarski Medal is Nikolaus Rhodokanakis, of Graz, the well-known authority on South Arabic. The medal was presented at the recent session in Rome.

THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII has recently issued a prospectus of the courses offered in Oriental Studies, primarily in Chinese and Japanese. The size of the faculty and the variety of courses offered compare favorably with the staff and program of American universities on the continent. On the other hand, the library facilities are very meagre. Honolulu is ideally situated for the investigation of Far-Eastern subjects, and the Oriental Institute has great plans for future development, which it is hoped may be realized.

FOUNDATION—DE GOEJE.

1. Depuis novembre 1934 le Conseil n'a pas subi de modifications et est ainsi composé: MM. C. Snouck Hurgronje (président), Tj. de Boer, J. L. Palache, Paul Scholten et A. J. Wensinck (secrétaire-trésorier).

2. Le Conseil espère pouvoir commencer sous peu l'impression d'un texte relatif à géographie médiévale de l'Espagne préparé par M. E. Lévi-Provencal à Alger, ainsi que d'une étude sur les variantes textuelles du Coran par M. A. Jeffrey au Caire. En outre, des négociations ont été ouvertes sur la publication d'un texte de Ibn al-Mojāwir par M. Löfgren à Upsala.

3. Des dix publications de la Fondation il reste un certain nombre d'exemplaires que sont mis en vente au profit de la Fondation, chez l'éditeur E. J. Brill, aux prix marqués:

- I. The Ḥamāsa of al-Buḥturī. Photographic reproduction of the Ms. . . . with indexes by R. Geyer and D. S. Margoliouth (1909) *f* 96;
- II. The Fākhīr of al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Salama ed. C. A. Storey (1915) *f* 6;
- III. Goldziher, Streitschrift des Ḡazālī gegen die Bāṭinijja-Sekte (1916) *f* 4.50;
- IV. Bar Hebraeus's Book of the Dove transl. by A. J. Wensinck (1919) *f* 4.50;
- V. C. van Arendonk. De opkomst van het Zaidietische Imamaat in Yemen (1919) *f* 6;
- VI. I. Goldziher, Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung (1920) *f* 10;
- VII. Averroes, Die Epitome übersetzt . . . von S. van den Bergh (1924) *f* 7.50;
- VIII. Les „livres des chevaux" de Ḥiṣām b. al-Kalbī et Muh. b. al-A'rābi, publiés par G. Levi Della Vida (1927) *f* 5;
- IX. D. van der Meulen and H. von Wissmann, Hadramaut (1932) *f* 9;
- X. aṭ-Tabarī, Kitāb Iḥtilāf al-Fuqahā'. Das Konstantinopler Fragment herausgegeben von J. Schacht (1933) *f* 4.80.

Leiden, novembre 1935.

PERSONALIA

On October 31, 1935, Professor Syvain Lévi, Indologist, honorary member of the SOCIETY died in Paris.

On December 2, 1935, Professor James H. Breasted, director of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, life member of the SOCIETY, died in New York.

FIRDAUSĪ'S *SHĀHNĀMAH* AND THE *GENEALOGIA*
*REGNI DEI*¹

F. W. BUCKLER

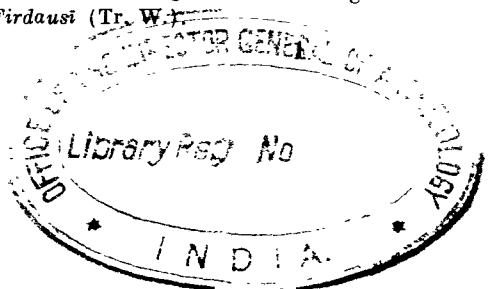
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY,
OBERLIN COLLEGE

"I end the story of Shāh Yazdagird,
And in Sapandārmad, the day of Ard,
The year four hundred of Muhammad's Flight,
The last words of this royal book I write.
For ever flourishing be Shāh Mahmūd,
His head still green, his heart with joy imbued.
I have so lauded him that publicly
And privily my words will never die.
Of praises from the Great I had much store;
The praises that I give to him are more.
May he, the man of wisdom, live for aye,
His doings turn to his content alway.
This tale of sixty thousand couplets I
Have left to him by way of memory.
My life from days of youth to eld hath sped
In talk and hearkening what others said.
When this, my famous tale, was done at last
O'er all the realm my reputation past.
All men of prudence, rede and Faith will give
Applause to me when I have ceased to live,
Yet live I shall; the seeds of words have I
Flung broad-cast and henceforth I shall not die."²

In these words, Firdausī concluded his task of writing the *Shāh-nāmah* or Book of Kings, when in sight of fourscore years on

¹ Presidential Address, delivered at the meeting of the Middle West Branch of the Society, in Ann Arbor, April 25th, 1935, in commemoration of the Millennium of the birth of the poet Firdausi.

² *The Shāhnāmah of Firdausi*, done into English by Arthur George Warner and Edmond Warner, London, 1905-1925, ix, p. 122. I have confined my references and quotations to this edition, as the most accessible that is available. The references to the Persian text are given in the margin. In future references it will be cited *Firdausi* (Tr. W.).



February 25th, A. D. 1010. He was, according to an earlier line, seventy-one years of age, from which it would follow that he was born about the year 940 A. D. but the general view inclines to a much earlier date. Firdausī may have been born anytime between 932 and 941 A. D.³ The date accepted by His Majesty Ridha Shāh Pahlavī is 934 A. D. In the year that is past, probably the most significant event was Persia's celebration of the millennium of her Epic Poet's birth in October last. From the Seven Climes, wherever the *Shāhnāmah* is known, the tributes tendered in his praise have endorsed the pride of his concluding boast.

In the quest for a topic for my Presidential Address, it appeared to be fitting and proper to bow to the all compelling decree of destiny, and to accept the honour, so graciously bestowed by the Members of the Middle-West Branch of this Society, as the opportunity to be the mouthpiece of the Society's tribute of homage, and to attempt an ascription of the glory due to the Poet of the Divine Glory of the King. Others, better fitted than I, have praised his poetic art. To me falls the humbler lot of assessing the place of his Epic in the annals of that earthly manifestation of the Kingdom of God, inherent in the person of the King of Kings, whose *Khilāfat* is alike direct from God, as it extends from remotest antiquity to the present occupant of the Throne of the Glory, the Shadow of God on earth, His Majesty Ridha Shāh Pahlavī.

Before the greatness of the throne and the grandeur of Firdausī's own achievement the mere historian may well stand appalled, and, "conscious of his own defects, sue for mercy at the threshold of the Grace." He can, however, use the opportunity of his *muqaddama* for the appropriate purpose of acknowledging the debt of the West to those scholars whose labours have rendered the Epic accessible and intelligible. Pre-eminent among these stands Theodor Noldeke whose edition of Tabarī and essay *Das Iranische Nationalepos*⁴ lay the foundations of any approach; the editors of the text, Mohl, Vullers, Lumsden and Turner-Macan, and for the

³ *Ibid.*, I, 24; Th. Nöldeke, "Das Iranische National Epos" in *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, herausgegeben v. W. Geiger u. E. Kuhn, Strassburg, 1896-1904 (Cit. *Grundr. Ir. Phil.*), II, 158 ff.; E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, II, 135 ff.; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, II, 110, s. v. Firdausi (Cl. Huart).

⁴ Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte d. Perser u. Araber z. Zeit. d. Sasaniden*, aus d. arab. Chron. d. Tabari übersetzt. Leyden, 1879 and v. *supra*, n. 3.

English speaking world, the translations of Champion, Atkinson and particularly Arthur and Edward Warner.⁵ I would commend the last piece of work as a translation at once faithful and literary, accompanied by invaluable notes and appendices, to any who would attempt to understand the meaning of the Kingdom of God on earth in the kindred *Shāhnāmāh*, which has given rise to the Four Gospels of the Christian Church, and to the Messianic Hope, which they claim to satisfy.⁶

The task before us is to attempt an assessment of Firdausi's place in the Genealogy of the Kingdom of God on earth. It is not quite the same thing as the estimate of Firdausi as the poetic historian of the idea, though some consideration of that question of necessity forms part of the scheme. The real problem is to discover his place in history, rather than his place among historians or his value as an historical authority. I hope to show, in the time available, that it is here that his significance really lies. The *Shāhnāmāh* belongs to the category of works, which mark the foundations of sovereignty and the declaration of the basis of Divine Right by which Kings rule. Its kindred are the *Zamyād Yast*, Deutero-Isaiah, *The Book of Daniel*, the Gospels, S. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*, Marsiglio of Padua's *Defensor Pacis*, and the succession of works to which the *Shāhnāmāh* itself gave rise—the *Zafarnāmāh*, the *Akbarnāmāh* and the monuments of Mughal monarchy. Like the *Akbarnāmāh*, the *Shāhnāmāh* is in reality a Declaration of Independence.⁷ It is Persia's declaration that her Kingship derives its authority not from the comparatively recent *Khilāfatū'rasūlī'llāhi*, but from the immemorial antiquity of the *Khilāfatū'llāh* whose succession dates back to Zartušt and beyond, while its vicegerency is ever present in the possession of the *farr*—the *hvarēnō Kavaēm*, the Divine Glory of the Kayanians.

⁵ V. *supra*, n. 2, *Firdausi* (Tr. W.), I, 76-87; *Grundr. Ir. Phil.*, II, 206 ff.

⁶ Cf. my paper "Regnum et Ecclesia," *Church History*, III (1934), pp. 24 ff.

⁷ For a discussion of the position underlying Abū'l-Fazl's *Akbarnāmāh* v. my paper "A New Interpretation of Akbar's 'Infallibility' Decree of 1579" *J. R. A. S.* (1924), pp. 591-608. Also a discussion by Professor 'Abdu'l-Ghanī in *A History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court* (Allahabad, 1929-), III, 243-46. For reasons which I notice later, I feel his rejection of the *Shāhnāmāh* in favour of the *Zafarnāmāh* as the foundation of the *Akbarnāmāh* is unfortunate.

Both Firdausī and Abū'l-Faẓl had the same task to perform for their respective monarchs and states—their deliverance from the thralldom of an unrecognized Muslim authority by means which would not undermine the authority of the King under whom they lived, and the appeal of both is ultimately to the same source—the Kayan Glory 'that cannot be forcibly seized,' and the victory of Ahūramazda's deputy (*Khalifah*) over Azī Dahhāk, of the Kingdom of the Light over the powers of Darkness. Its power is seen in the title and it pervades the language of Ghulām 'Alī Khān's work, the *Shāh 'Ālamnāmah*, at the end of the eighteenth or the beginning of the nineteenth century, when in face of defeat and usurpation, he portrays Shāh 'Ālam II (1761-1806) as the true vice-gerent of Allāh in the throes of his struggle with Ahrimān and Azī Dahhāk; and in Shāh 'Ālam's own works under the *takhallus*, *Āftāb*.

The subject falls into five main divisions: First, the historical setting of Firdausī's life and work and his attitude to the developments which were taking place in his own lifetime; secondly, the historical, mythological and theological background of Firdausī's argument, together with its principal western offshoots; thirdly, the Sunnī Muslim position, which appears in the traditions of the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate of Bāghdād, and the strength of Persian influence even in Arabic sources; fourthly, the occasion and setting of the *Shāhnāmah*; and fifthly, the significance of the *Shāhnāmah* in subsequent political theory and developments in the Muslim world. Within the limits of this survey, I hope to show the unity of the system of monarchy and consequently the unity of its literary expression not only in the millennium and a half which separates the capture of Babylon by Cyrus and the year of Firdausī's birth, but also in the subsequent millennium in which the Orient has lived and thought in terms of his *Shāhnāmah*, which is the Epic of the manifestation of the Glory of the Kingdom of God on earth.

First, the historical setting of Firdausī's life and work.

Before the middle of the ninth century A. D., the decay of the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate had set in, beyond any hope of stay or check, so that after a century from the battle of the Zāb (750 A. D.), the forces of Persian national life, at first harnessed and then repressed, were free once more to assert themselves. The evidence

of their re-appearance is varied. The ancient Persian families, which had adopted the Muslim faith for political reasons, stood forth as leaders in the houses of Tāhīr and Sāmān. The House of Ghazna claimed descent from Yazdagird III and the Sāmānids from Bahrām Chubān, while the popular movement found its expression in the lead of Ya'qūb the Coppersmith and his dynasty (867-903 A. D.). With the revival of Persian national family life, there emerged from their hiding, the heroic traditions of the Sāsānian nobility, and these appeared not only in a revival of Pahlavī literature, of which the *Dēnkard* is evidence but also in the revival of the *Shī'at-'Alī* in a variety of forms, particularly in the preservation of the marriage of Ḥusain with 'the Gazelle,' a daughter of the Sāsānian House, awarded to the son of 'Alī by 'Umar.⁸ Throughout, the note of the appeal is to the House of

⁸ For the claims to Sāsānid royal ancestry: of the Ghaznavids, from Yazdagird III v. Muhammad Nāzīm, *Sultan Mahmūd of Ghazna* (Cambridge, 1931), p. 34, n. 1; of the Sāmānids from Bahrām Chubān, *ibid.*, pp. 180 ff.; and *Enc. Islam*, IV, s. v. Sāmānid: of the Būwayhids, E. G. Browne, *op. cit.*, I, 364; cf. the descent of Ardashīr Pāpakān from the Kayan Sāsān, v. *Firdausī* (Tr. W.), VI, 197 ff. and refs.; G. Rawlinson, *The Seventh Monarchy* (1876), pp. 32-33 and notes; Cl. Huart, *La Perse Antique* (1925), 147 ff.; *Enc. Brit.* (11th ed.), II, 448. Cf.

"Wilt thou treat Yazdagird, the king of kings,
Worse than malignant Turks . . . ?
 . . . From sire to sire his ancestors
Were mighty men and compassers of wisdom
From Nūshīrwān, the Shāh, back to Ardshīr,
While, seventh backward from Ardshīr, Sāsān
The world-lord, had the crown, for God entrusted
To him the Kaian crown, and all the kings
Were of that glorious race."

Firdausī (Tr. W.), IX, 105, and n. 1.

For the date of the *Dinkard* v. E. W. West in *Grundr. Ir. Phil.*, II, 91,

"According to statements contained in the last section of Book III, its compilation was commenced by Atur-farnbag, son of Farukhzat, a leading high-priest of the Mazda-worshippers, who had a religious disputation with Abalish in the presence of the Khalifah Al-Mamun who reigned in 813-833. And the work was completed by Aturpat, son of Hemet, who is mentioned in the *Iranian Bundahish*, XLV, 11, as a contemporary of Zat-spāram, who is known to have been living in 881, when the third Epistle of Manushtshihar was written."

For the story of Shahrbanu Bēgam v. E. G. Browne, *op. cit.*, I, 130-134. The whole subject of the Persian revival in the tenth century A. D. is treated fully by E. G. Browne, *op. cit.*, I, 339-480.

Sāsān, and the preservation of the line of legitimist right to the throne of Persia by lineal descent, which resides in the hidden succession from the Kayans to the Sāsānids, the succession inherent in the Imāms and the Sayyids, and, finally in 'the Hidden Imām and the doctrine of the *Mahdī*.'

Nor is the legitimist descent, derived from birth, the only way. Persian Kingship is ultimately a mystical concept. It is possible, therefore, for it to lie hidden in mystic orders, whether they be the order of the fire-priests of Persepolis or the Šūfis of Gīlān, whence sprang the Šafawī dynasty.⁹

The victories of the Ghaznawid House had brought to completion the process by which Persia was once more united politically, under a King of her own national stock. Maḥmūd's claim to descent from Yazdagird III is, in itself, sufficient to account for the favourable view of Yazdagird and the air of hostility towards the Arabs, who belong to Turān, whose king is Azī Dahhāk. One reference is sufficient to illustrate this point.¹⁰ When Rustam the son of Hurmuzd, on the eve of Kadīsīyya, his last fight with the Arabs,

"observed the stars and smote
His head because it was a day of bale,"

he wrote to his brother as follows

"When I agnized this secret of the sky—
That it assigneth us but grievous travail—
I wept right sorely for the Iranians
And burned for the Sasanians. Woe is me
For head and crown, for state and throne, and woe
For majesty, for fortune, and for Grace
Because hereafter will defeat betide them
From the Arabians, the stars will not turn
Save to our hurt, and for four hundred years
None of our royal race will rule the world!"¹¹

⁹ For the genealogy of the firepriests of Persepolis and the origins of the Sāsānid claim to Kayan descent v. Cl. Huart, *La Perse Antique*, pp. 147 ff.; *Enc. Brit.* (11th ed.), II, 418; D. D. Peshotan Sanjana, *The Kārnamē i Artakhshīr i Pāpakān*, Bombay, 1896, pp. ii f., viii f., 2, App., p. 6; on the Šūfi dynasty of Gīlān and their claim to Šaiyid descent, E. G. Browne, *Lit. Hist. Persia*, III, 464; also v. *supra*, n. 8.

¹⁰ *Firdausī* (Tr. W.), IX, 73.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, IX, 73-4.

The four centuries reaches its term in Mahmūd of Ghaznī and the completion of the *Shāhnāmah*. The interim

"Hath been the epoch of 'Umar, made known
The Faith, and to a pulpit changed the throne."¹²

It is, in the eyes of Firdausī, a parallel of the Ashkanian (Arsacid) period, when

"Folk called them 'Tribal Kings.' Two centuries passed,
And thou hadst said: 'There is no Shāh.'"¹³

This fact determines the approach of Firdausī to his task. He was probably a *Shī'ah*, and therefore had less sympathy for 'the epoch of 'Umar' than for the preceding royal house of Sāsān. Mahmūd was a *Sunnī*, so that it was necessary to temper the *Shī'ah* antipathy to the second *Khalīfah* and to find the necessary compensation in the words he placed in the mouth of Bahrām, and the other loyal supporters of Yazdagird III. The course he adopted, however, placed him on the horns of a dilemma, for his enemies at the Court of Mahmūd were able to point to both his *Shī'ah* belief and his undue affection for the Fire-worshipper.¹⁴ His satire on Mahmūd contains his reply to these criticisms.

"Ho! Shāh Mahmūd who hast as victor trod
The climes! if man thou fearest not fear God,
For there were many Shāhs ere thou hadst birth
Who all were crownèd monarchs of the earth
And all of them pre-eminent o'er thee
In treasure, host, throne, crown, and dignity.
They did no act that was not good and right,
Went not about to swindle and to spite,
Dealt with their subjects justly and were naught
If not God's worshippers."

And

"But is there, tell me this, one viler yet
Than he whose heart against 'Alī is set?"¹⁵

The appeal of Firdausī, then, is to the Glory of the House of

¹² *Ibid.*, IX, 121, cf. p. 76.

¹³ *Ibid.*, VI, 210.

¹⁴ Th. Nöldeke, "Das Iranische Nationalepos," *Grundr. Ir. Phil.*, II, 153 ff.; E. G. Browne, *op. cit.*, II, 129 ff.; *Firdausi* (Tr. W.), I, 40.

¹⁵ *Firdausi* (Tr. W.), I, 40.

Sāsān, particularly to Nushīrwān, whose justice becomes proverbial even among the Muslimīn, against all invaders. His object is to place its Glory on the background of immemorial right, *sub specie aeternitatis*. Consequently, the pre-Sāsānian history and mythology is forced into the mould of the Sāsānid, while, even the Sāsānian history is subject to that form of compression or synthesis which marks the form of the heroic story or saga. For, it must be remembered that Firdausī's object was not to write a history of the Kings of Persia but rather to produce the King's Book, an *Eikōn Basilikē*,—the *Shāhnāmāh*,—in order to enshrine the memory of the Glory of the Kingdom, at the time when its political realization was rendered imminent by the triumphs of Yazdagird III's descendant Subuktigīn, the father of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī, to whom the poem is dedicated.¹⁶

The result of this treatment shows itself in several ways. First, there is a certain foreshortening of the background. This effect destroys the value of Firdausī as an historian at a variety of points. His tendency to concentrate into the term Tūrān all the Asiatic enemies of Irān is an example. The treatment of the Rūmī feud, along similar lines, is another case in point. They fix, however, the Persian point of view in his own time, but, what is more important, they fit into the traditional Persian heroic scheme of the King and the Enemy, Azī Dahhāk.¹⁷ This form is ultimately Median, Magian and Zoroastrian, and it is given an ultimate theological form in the struggle between Ahūra Mazda and Ahrimān for the possession of the Glory. The *Shāhnāmāh*, indeed, is the most complete account of the struggle in existence. It is, moreover, oriental in its entirety, and free from any serious adulteration from Hellenistic or Arabic sources, for though it is certain that Firdausī was not ignorant of Arabic, yet he appears not to have written in the language, and to have had little sympathy with the spirit of the Arabic interpretations of his theme.¹⁸

¹⁶ On the place of the Kayan Glory or Grace (*hvarenō Kavaēm*), *Firdausī* (Tr. W.), *passim*, particularly Jamshīd (I, 129-140); cf. *Zamyād Yast*, S. B. E., XXIII, 286-309. On Nūshīrwān, v. *Firdausī* (Tr. W.), VIII, *passim*; cf. Rawlinson, *The Seventh Monarchy*, pp. 379 ff. and Sā'adi, *The Scroll of Wisdom*, ed. A. N. Woollaston (*Wisdom of the East Series*).

¹⁷ For an example of Firdausī's treatment of Roman affairs v. *Firdausī* (Tr. W.), VI, 294 ff.

¹⁸ V. E. G. Browne, *Lit. Hist. Pers.*, II, 145 ff.; *Firdausī* (Tr. W.), I, 47.

Out of this consideration emerges perhaps the most important conclusion concerning Firdausi's place in the *Genealogia Regni Dei*. He marks a point of crystallization of the traditions, oriental, in general, and Persian, in particular, concerning the proper embodiment in letters and saga of the reign of the King. The Royal Hero King is faced from his birth with the machinations of Ahrimān, either directly in his diabolic (Firdausi frequently uses Iblīs for Ahrimān) form or indirectly through the mediation of Azī Dahhāk, and on the successful manipulation of the situation depends the rest of the reign. His knowledge of the method of disposing of the Enemy—his wisdom and 'justice'—are the accompaniments and outward manifestations of the possession of the Glory. For that reason Harpagus advised Cyrus to pretend to be lacking in wisdom, because it would throw doubt on the Magian award and, thereby, serve to protect him from Azī Dahhāk (Astyages).¹⁹

The presence of this normal form of 'King Book' or *Shāhnāmah* suggests kinship in the works in which its development appears, and that suggestion, confirmed by other elements, amounts to certainty. This point is best illustrated by the place of Cyrus in Western literature. The royal shepherd *motif* appears in all forms of the Cyrus legends, and it is ultimately merged into the Magian recognition—or its national priestly counterpart—and the proof of wisdom, revealed at the age of ten, twelve or sixteen. Its final proof lies in the complete victory, whereby Azī Dahhāk is overthrown and Babylon—or Bāghdād—is captured. The treatment of Herodotus and Xenophon bears all the marks, not of historical but of *heroic* treatment of Cyrus, and it is as offshoots of the Cyrus *Shāhnāmah* that they should be regarded.²⁰ The same—

¹⁹ *Enc. Brit.* (11th ed.), II, 821a (Astyages), VII, 706b ff. (Cyrus). Both articles are by Eduard Meyer. I suggest that the Armenian identification with Azī Dahhāk, though its appearance in literature is late, reflects Persian opinion and contains the key to the conflict of names. Cyaxares the Mede, as the *enemy* of Persia would be known as Azī Dahhāk in Persia prior to the conquest of Media by Cyrus. For a recent discussion of the question in another connexion v. H. H. Rowley, *Darius the Mede and the Four World Empires in the Book of Daniel*, Cardiff, 1935, pp. 30 ff.

²⁰ *Firdausi* (Tr. W.), II, 328 ff. Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* is, indeed, an excellent account of the consequences of the possession of the Royal Glory (*hvarēnō Kavaēm*) in righteous rule, wisdom, and the ability to interpret the will of the deity.

and more—is true of the passage assigned to deutero-Isaiah, where we find not only the normal Cyrus *motif*, but also the suffering Servant, which in Sīyawūsh is as characteristic of Persian as of Jewish thought. In addition, the assignment of the divine source of the Kingship of Cyrus to Yahwēh is characteristic of the conception of the divine authority of the ‘King of Kings’ represented by Cyrus in contrast with Cambyeses, a fact noticed in the Egyptian source, Pseudo-Callisthenes, in connection with Alexander the Great, and endorsed by Josephus in his—probably apocryphal—story of Alexander’s *proskynēsis* before the High Priest.²¹

The most important western offshoot of this tradition, however, is the *Īsa-nāmāh*—or Jesus Saga—of which the Gospels are offshoots. The Fourth Gospel, in form and content, belongs definitely to the category and family of which Firdausī’s *Shāhnāmāh* is the most illustrious collection. The saga behind the Synoptic Gospels is clearly an offshoot of the form of Cyrus biography and the *Zartušt-nāma*. The revelation of the Glory before birth, at the baptism, on the Mount of Transfiguration and at the Tomb on the Third Morning, combined with the tongues of *flame* descending on the *diadochoi* (*khulafā*) of the Kingdom represent the fundamental element of the Epic form of the *Shāhnāmāh*.²² In addition, we have the varied forms of the attacks of Ahrimān, claiming to control the Glory and to have it in his gift,²³ or, indirectly, through Azī Dahhāk (Astyages) represented by the Edomite Herod or the *Rūmī* Pontius Pilate or the Herodians who combined both the *Tūrānī* and *Rūmī* positions.²⁴ More striking still are the shepherd and Magi, in their recognition of His possession of the Kayan Glory, at a time when according to Persian tradition—also illustrated by Firdausī’s cavalier treatment of the Arsacids—the Glory lay hid.²⁵ The story of the Gospels turns on the attempt to annex ‘the Glory that cannot be forcibly seized,’ and Jesus the

²¹ For the suffering Servant *motif* in the *Shāhnāmāh* see the account of Sīyawūsh. *Firdausī* (Tr. W.), II, 191 ff.; the Jewish assignment of Cyrus’ Kingship to Yahwēh (Is. 41); for the episode of Alexander the Great and the High Priest v. Josephus, *Antiq.*, XI, 8, 5.

²² V. my paper *Regnum et Ecclesia*, particularly pp. 33 ff.

²³ E. g. the Temptations (Lk. IV, 5-7), cf. *Zamyād Yast*, VII, 34 ff.; IX, 57-64, *S. B. E.*, XXIII, 293 ff., 300 ff.).

²⁴ Cf. *Zamyād Yast*, IX, 61 ff., XII-XIII.

²⁵ *Firdausī* (Tr. W.), VI, 210 ff., cf. pp. 193 ff.

Christ is portrayed as one who is wiser than Jamshīd. The wisdom, royal *dikaio sunē*, the organic nature of the Kingdom, delegation of powers and the royal feast and the *anabasis* against the enemy all appear, while in the death on the Cross, we have a suggestion of Afrasiyāb's capture and murder of the King's son Sīyawūsh, from whom came the Glory to Kai Khushrau.²⁶ If this kinship is once recognized, it will be seen that in the Alexander Biographies of the West—the *Sikandarnāmāh*—in the lives of Cyrus (the Great and the Younger)—the works of Dio Cassius, the historian, and the Augustan histories, but particularly in the Gospels, we have a Western branch of the tradition whose Eastern branch is represented by Firdausi's *Shāhnāmāh*. This fact is of the utmost importance for, together with the *Book of Daniel*, which is the *Zamyād Yast* of Hebrew literature, the literature here indicated attests the continuity of the Kingly tradition and Kingly Glory, through the Arsacid period, when it was transmitted from the Kayan Sāsān to Ardashīr by the *arthavans* of Persepolis.²⁷ For the Christian scholar, it transforms Firdausi's *Shāhnāmāh*, from a remote Oriental Epic into a first hand commentary on the Gospels, despite the millennium which separates their *Shāh* from the Epic of the Kayan *Shāhs*. It also serves to explain—as the modern *Formgeschichte* theories fail to do—the *form* of the Christus-saga and its derivatives—the Four Gospels. It assigns to Marcion of Pontus, whose Kings claimed descent from Cyrus and Darius, his proper place in Church History and transforms his 'Gospel' from a mangled version of Saint Luke to a book of the *Shāh-Īsa-nāmāh* opening with the descent of the Kayan Glory, while the Gnostics culminating in Manes represents a Magician or Zoroastrian attempt to assess the theme in terms of the theology of Persia. There we must leave the western offshoot of the Royal Genealogy consummated in the *Shāhnāmāh*, and turn East again.²⁸

²⁶ For the conception of organic unity and function underlying the theory of Eastern Kingship v. my paper "The Oriental Despot," *Ang. Theol. Rev.*, X, (1928), 238-249; for a further example v. my note, "The Human *Khil'at*," *The Near East and India*, XXXIV (1928), 269-270. Since these papers were published, R. Otto has reached the same conclusion, apparently independently, *Reich Gottes und Menschensohn* (Munich, 1934), pp. 9 ff., 74 ff. For the fight against the enemy (Ahrimān or Azī Dahhāk), v. my paper, "The Meaning of the Cross," *Ang. Theol. Rev.*, XII (1930), pp. 411-422 and "Regnum et Ecclesia," p. 31, n. 52.

²⁷ V. *supra*, nn. 8-9.

²⁸ "Regnum et Ecclesia," p. 20, n. 19.

Further East, in Bāghdād, the Muslim Babylon, there is a similar movement visible under 'Abbāsīd rule. The 'Abbāsīds had succeeded in overthrowing the Umayyads by means of Persian support, and their dynasty marks the beginning of the wholesale introduction of Persian officers and institutions into the Caliphate.²⁹ But, the party (*shī'at*) of 'Alī was destined to fare no better than under the preceding dynasty, for when once the 'Abbāsīds had gained their end, they proceeded to repress both the *Shī'ah* and the Persian. The downfall of the Barmakids under Hārūnu'l-Rashīd can be regarded as the final act of this line of policy.³⁰ Nevertheless, the 'Abbāsīds were ready to adopt the same basis of oecumenical authority as that which runs through Hebrew tradition from Cyrus to Jesus of Nazareth, and to annex the Kayan Glory, by virtue of their conquest of Elam. Our evidence for this policy is found in 'Alī Ṭabarī's *The Book of Religion and Empire*, written at the command and with the assistance of the Caliph Mutawakkil (847-861 A. D.).³¹ In this work the claims of past heroes from Cyrus to Alexander and beyond are examined, but in every case the words of the Hebrew Prophet point 'without doubt' to 'the kingdom of the Arabs' 'and more especially to this 'Abbāsīd Kingdom.'³² The work, in fact, is the 'Abbāsīd counterpart of the *Book of Daniel*, and it annexes to Bāghdād, the Glory of Babylon in the same manner and by the very words used by the Hebrew Prophets to annex it to Jerusalem.³³ This work was written probably in 855, eighty years before the birth of Firdausī, on the eve of the overthrow of Mutawakkil, whose fate, in the eyes of Persian, Jew and Christian, must have resembled that of Belshazzar.³⁴ The time was ripe for the fulfilment of the words of the Prophet Muhammad concerning Hasan the son of 'Alī "This my son is a *Sayyid* and God will reconcile through him two Muslim parties."³⁵

In 839 at Āmul was born the historian Al-Ṭabarī, who lived until 923 A. D. His work *Ta'rikh al-Rusūl wa'l-mulūk* was trans-

²⁹ V. my *Hārūnu'l-Rashīd and Charles the Great* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), p. 17, and n. 1.

³⁰ E. G. Browne, *op. cit.*, pp. 252-261.

³¹ Alī Ṭabarī, *Kitābu'l-Dīn wa'l-Dawlat*, ed. A. Mingana (Manchester, 1923), and translated by him under the title *The Book of Religion and Empire* (Manchester, 1922).

³² *Ibid.*, Tr., pp. 45-46, 137-138.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 126-7.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. ix ff.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

lated into Persian in 963 by order of the Sāmānid *wazīr* Abū 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bal'āmī, and supplemented considerably in the earlier period. The part of the Arabic work dealing with the Sāsānid period was translated into German in 1879 by Noeldeke.³⁶ This work, in its Persian form, was either one of Firdausi's sources or derived from the same sources, particularly the Persian *Khudaināma* or *Book of the Kings*. The significance of the work lies in the fact that the historian Ṭabarī gave to the Muslim world the historical vindication of the Sāsānids and their predecessors, which is the counterpart of the theological and apologetic vindication of the 'Abbāsids by the other Ṭabarī. In the writings of his younger contemporary, Ma'sūdī, who died in 956 A. D. after a life spent in travel, we find the same attention paid to the Sāsānids, and a notice of the literary activity, in the *Kitāb al-Tanbih*, summarizes the literary activity of Persian national writers in 956 A. D., when Firdausi was thirty years of age.³⁷

The Persians have a book entitled *Kuhān Nāmah*, in which are related all the dignitaries of the Persian monarchy, to the number of six hundred, classified according to the rank that has been assigned to them. This book is part of the *'Ain Nāmah*, which is a book of (administrative) regulations. It is a volume comprising several thousand pages and complete copies can only be found with the *Mūbād* and other persons invested with some degree of authority. . . . Those occupied with the history of the Kings and the peoples differ in opinion on the origin of the Persians, the names of their Kings and the length of their reigns. We furnish the traditions of the Persians themselves and neglect the information given by other peoples—Israelites, ancient and modern Greeks, since the opinions which they follow are contrary to Persian tradition. It is, indeed, fairer to follow the Persians in this matter, when the distance of time and the multiplicity of events have weakened their traditions, caused the memory of their glories to fail and their institutions to perish.

Ma'sūdī proceeds to indicate the glories of ancient Persia, stating that he had seen at Istakhr, in 916 A. D. a great book contain-

³⁶ Under the title *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, Leyden, 1879. For details v. pp. xiii-xxviii. This work alone, together with its Persian translation is sufficient evidence of the interest in Ancient Persian Kingship at the time when Firdausi took over the task of Daqiqi (c. 976), v. pp. xxiii ff.

³⁷ Ma'sudi, *Kitābu'l-Tanbih wa'l-ishrāf*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (*Bibl. Geog. Arab.* VIII), Leyden 1893, translated under the title *Le Livre d'Avertissement*, pp. 149 f.

ing the lives of the Kings of Persia, their reigns, the accounts of their buildings, and other details, which he had been unable to discover either in the *Khudaināmah*, the *‘Ainnāmah*, the *Kuhān-nāmah* or any other work. It contained portraits of the Sāsānids, twenty-five men and two women, and with each portrait was the biography of the monarch, both of his public and private life, based on documents recovered from the treasure of the Persian Kings. The work was completed in 722 A. D. and translated from Pahlavī into Arabic for the *Khalīfah* Hishām.³⁸

Ma’sūdī, then, gives us both a contemporary statement and a convenient summary of the state of knowledge and the authorities available for the use of Firdausī and his younger contemporary Al-Tha’alibī, whose monumental work *Ghurār al-Siyār* is the Arabic, prose counterpart of the *Shāhnāmah*.³⁹ (The portion referring to the Kings of Persia has been edited and translated into French by Zotenberg, the translator of the Persian Tabarī.) It is probable that Al-Tha’alibī and Firdausī both died in or about the year 1021 A. D.,⁴⁰ and, with this notice of him and of the Baghdadī Ma’sūdī, as the Arabic representatives, respectively, of the Irāqī and Persian strands of Persian traditions, we must pass from the setting of Firdausī’s life to his work. It may, however be pertinent to remark, that Al-Tha’alibī frequently gives the sources used by Firdausī with a greater degree of accuracy than Tabarī.⁴¹

The problems of chronology and myth which beset the content of the *Shāhnāmah* have invaded the story of the life of its Poet, and, however great is the implicit testimony of Persia’s appreciation of Firdausī, it is equally disconcerting to any attempt to determine the main points of his life. It is, however, not necessary here to enter into any detail.

When Firdausī was about forty years of age, the Persian poet Daqīqī was assassinated by one of his slaves. The date is uncertain, and the possibilities range from 952 A. D. (Huart) to 976 A. D. (Warner). Huart’s date is certainly too early, as it is not easily reconciled with the date of the *Shāhnāmah* and its dedica-

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 151 ff.

³⁹ *Histoire des Rois des Perses*, par Al-Thā’alibi, texte arabe publié et traduit par H. Zotenberg, Paris, 1900.

⁴⁰ *Enc. Islam*, s. v. ath-Thā’alibi. Zotenberg in his Preface confuses two entirely different persons named Thā’alibi.

⁴¹ *Enc. Islam*, loc. cit.; v. Zotenberg’s introduction, pp. xviii-xliv.

tion, after thirty five years' work, to Maḥmūd, whose accession took place in 997 A. D., and on the whole a date between 970 and 976 A. D. is preferable.⁴² Daqīqī was, like Firdausī a native of Tūs, which is in the region of the southern coast of the Sea of Qazwīn (the Caspian Sea). This region was, so to speak, an asylum and refuge of Persian nationality from the Arab advance. Four centuries later, after the death of Tīmūr, it was from Gīlān near by, that the Ṣafawī house started on its victorious career, which led to the establishment of the *Shi'ah* form of Islām as the national faith of Persia.⁴³

The records of the Sāsānid House, according to the preface to the *Shāhnāmāh* written by Baisinghar, the grandson of Tīmūr, were captured by the Arabs and a translation of part of them was submitted to 'Umar, who by no means approved of their contents. From Arabia they went to Abyssinia, where by order of King Jasha they were translated. The contents became known in India, whence they were brought by Ya'qūb Lais, who commanded Abū Mansūr to transcribe in Persian, what a learned (*dānishwar*) *dihkān* had written in Pahlavī, and to complete the record to the death of Yazdagird III (652-3 A. D.). Abū Mansūr transmitted the task to Su'ūd, who with four others carried it to its completion. The advent of the Sāmānids, at the end of the ninth century brought encouragement to the work, as they claimed Sāsānid descent, and Nūh II (976-997) commissioned Daqīqī to put the records into Persian verse. He had written a thousand lines when he was assassinated.⁴⁴

It is significant to notice that Firdausī, like Daqīqī and the others who participated in the work, were *dihkāns*—landed proprietors, or perhaps better, members of 'county families,' whose ancestry went back to Sāsānid times and even beyond. Furthermore, the preliminary work, which preceded Firdausī's epic and rendered it possible, reflects the persistence of the Zoroastrian faith and traditions. The term *Shāhnāmāh*, with its kindred terms *Bastānnāmāh*, *Khudaināmāh*, *Kuhannāmāh*, appears to have acquired the technical significance, on which Firdausī's work set the

⁴² E. G. Browne, *op. cit.*, I, 459-462.

⁴³ V. M. Nāzim, *op. cit.*, pp. 21 f.

⁴⁴ *Firdausī* (Tr. W.), I, 67 f.; cf. E. G. Browne, *op. cit.*, I, 461, the stanza opening "O King, recalling Dara's noble line."

seal. The prevailing Sāsānid atmosphere accounts for many of Firdausī's troubles and for the assumption that Daqīqī himself was a Zoroastrian, as is certainly suggested by Daqīqī's own lines:

"Of all of this world's good and ill
Four things Dakīkī chooseth still—
Girl's ruby lips, the sound of lyre,
The blood-red wine, the Faith of Fire."⁴⁵

But the most important consequence is the parallel between Persian and Jewish history, that this situation produces. The kinship of the Jewish Messianic hope with Cyrus the Great is by no means wholly dependent on the Return. The Kayan House of Elam is the oriental counterpart of the Davidic House of Jerusalem, and both are agreed in their antagonism to the political control of Babylon.⁴⁶ Bāghdād was the 'Arab Babylon, and the motive which prompted the Hebrew Prophet to write 'Bel stoopeth, Nebo boweth down' reappears in the Persian Poet to extol the royal pantheon of Zoroastrian Persia and the rights of 'Alī against the Babylonish usurpations of 'Umar and the House of 'Abbās. David and Solomon are replaced by Ardashīr (who was crowned in Bāghdād!), and Nushīrwan, and in the victorious Maḥmūd, the shoot of Yazdagird's rod, is revealed a Persian Messiah.⁴⁷

Maḥmūd's accession in 997 A. D. and his recognition of Firdausī both fall far too late for the occasion and inception of the work. Indeed, both Firdausī and his generation, as well as subsequent generations, have been disposed to assign to the son of Subuktigīn a greater share of the glory than is his due, for it was Subuktigīn who laid the foundations of Maḥmūd's success. He was, moreover, the contemporary of Firdausī, being born in 942 A. D. and ascending the throne of Ghazna in 977 A. D., the year after the death of Daqīqī. Subuktigīn's reign supplied all the necessary elements of the Great King, including the victories over the King of Hind, Jaipal. Maḥmūd merely completed the edifice by the overthrow of the Sāmānids in 999 A. D. and the subjugation of

⁴⁵ *Firdausī* (Tr. W.), p. 69.

⁴⁶ The historical parallel can be carried farther, and I suggest that the thought underlying the rise of the Messianic Hope is that if Anshān could produce a Cyrus to force Bel to stoop, then why should not Jerusalem or Juda?

⁴⁷ V. particularly *Firdausī* (Tr. W.), VI, 207-9.

Northern India as far as Somnāth, whereby he became Lord of Hind.⁴⁸ The recognition of Maḥmūd by the 'Abbāsid *Khalifah*, whereby Maḥmūd received the title of the Right Arm of the Faith and the State, naturally evokes no response from Firdausī to whom Maḥmūd is the King of Kings, and the possession of Bāghdād by the House of 'Abbās is an usurpation of the city of the House of Ardashīr.⁴⁹

It is not only over Hind that the Conqueror of the Two Worlds must rule but over Rūm. Here Persian royal tradition takes its most notable departure from Avestan tradition, which regards Sikandar Rūmī (Alexander the Great) as possessed of the divinity of Ahrimān.⁵⁰ The Persian tradition follows the Egyptian suggestion in Pseudo-Callisthenes and transforms Alexander's ancestry from Greek to Persian, Darab—a purely fictitious King—being his true father, Philip his foster-father and Darius Codomannus his younger, usurping brother. So Alexander is incorporated into the Kayan royal Pantheon.⁵¹ Caesar is descended from Salm, the son of Faridūn, and so he has a status in the divine Kingship, but Firdausī leaves no doubt that it is a vassal status. It is fitting that the Persians rule the Greeks, is the Kayan reply to Euripides, for the Persian King is Lord of the World, and the Great King relinquishes no claim to overlordship that he has ever exercised.⁵² This position in Firdausī and the nation he represents is not a matter of political science or diplomatic theory, but a matter of fact and religion. It is clearly stated in praise of Maḥmūd,

" 'Tis the king of Rūm and Ind,
King from Kannūj e'en to the river Sind,
While in Tūrān and in Irān men give

⁴⁸ Cf. the poem in praise of Sultan Maḥmūd, particularly *Firdausī* (Tr. W.), I, 113.

⁴⁹ *Firdausī* (Tr. W.), VI, 258.

⁵⁰ *Firdausī* (Tr. W.), I, 59-62 where full references will be found.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, I, 55; VI, 11-19, 29 ff.

⁵² Salm was the eldest son of Faridūn (*Firdausī*, Tr. W., I, 187-8); he conspired with Tūr (*ibid.*, 190 f.) after receiving the governorship of Rūm and the West. Therefore, from the beginning, Rūm was part of the territory of the Great King, and the defeat of Salm by Minūchihr (*ibid.*, 220-229), falling as it does in the Pishdadian period, fixes the assumption as a theological and historical ultimate, in the eyes of the Poet; cf. the advice of Lichas to the Spartans, *Thuc.*, VIII, 43, 3-4.

As slaves obedience to his will and live
 Thereby. With justice decked he earth and now,
 That done, hath set the crown upon his brow."⁵³

Firdausī is first and last the Poet of the Kayan Glory or Grace—the *farr* or *hvarēnō kavaēm*, of which the possession marks the Great King and constitutes his right to rule. The determination of the right and the possession rests with the Magi,⁵⁴ for, while others may possess its mark, it is only in the King that it abides in all completeness with its attributes of wisdom, bravery, and justice. It is 'the Glory that cannot be forcibly seized'; it is likewise the Glory that cannot be hid. Turānī maternity does not obscure it,⁵⁵ and Azī Dahhāk is he who strives to gain it by force, whether he be Turk or 'Arab matters not.'⁵⁶ History and legend alike ascribe to Nushīrwān—the Sāsānian who outdid the achievements of Alexander the Great—the virtue of not attempting 'to seize the Glory that cannot be forcibly seized,' and his brother, who made the fatal error, was set aside by the Magi.⁵⁷ It is the struggle for the possession of the Glory and the detection of its divine presence or its elusiveness on which turns the form of each biography from the Pishdādians down to Yazdagird III.⁵⁸ Firdausī's task is to show its continuous incarnation throughout the ages in a royal pantheon, differing from Avestan and post Avestan tradition only in the inclusion of Alexander the Great. The argument implicit in the Epic is that the Glory is eternal and that from age to age it will manifest itself. Even in the dark periods of Turanian triumph, it merely lies concealed, and that it will reappear as it does in Maḥmūd.

The King of Turan—the Enemy—maintains all the outward appearance of its possession, and his benighted followers believe that he is its possessor—as did Pīrān, the faithful follower of

⁵³ *Firdausī* (Tr. W.), I, 113.

⁵⁴ It is impossible to give references to a word which occurs on almost every page. For the right of the Magi to judge the rightful possession of the Glory, cf. Hdt. I, 107; Mt. II, v. also *Firdausī* (Tr. W.), II, 372; cf. I, 60 ff., n. 57 *infra*, and Heb. *kavōd yahvēh*.

⁵⁵ E. g. Kai Khushrau, *Firdausī* (Tr. W.), II, 363-372.

⁵⁶ Cf. *S. B. E.*, XXIII, 297 ff.

⁵⁷ G. Rawlinson, *The Seventh Monarchy*, pp. 379 ff.

⁵⁸ V. E. G. Browne, *op. cit.*, II, 142-144; cf. I, 140-150.

Afrasiyāb, and the house of 'Abbās⁵⁹—but, in that, they are led astray for its home is in the Kayan house. This fact, however, is of considerable importance as it provides a link between the *Shāhnāmāh* and the literature on the theory of the Caliphate. Firdausī's *Shāhnāmāh* supplies the necessary introduction to the work of his younger contemporary Māwardī. The *al-Aḥkāmū'l-Sulṭāniyyah* is a constitutional treatise of the overt working of the theory of monarchy described in heroic strain by Firdausī. As an instance of their proximity may be cited the automatic disqualification of anyone announcing himself to be the *Khalīfah* and so attempting 'to seize the Glory that cannot be forcibly seized.' Their difference appears most strikingly in the stress on the Succession of the Prophet (*Khilāfatū' Rasūli-llāhi*) in Māwardī, at the expense of the eternal presence of divine vicegerency (*Khilāfatū'llāh*) in Firdausī. It is the difference of the 'Arab and the Persian.⁶⁰

Our last task is to show briefly the process by which the *Shāhnāmāh* became the foundation on which future Muslim Kings were to base their right to rule. The custom of writing and retaining the records of the reign was maintained at all courts. It was the duty of the *waqī'a-navīsī*, whose work was simply that of compiling the *ephemerides* of the reign. The duty of putting these records into literary form was assigned to a writer of standing. At the Ottoman court in the sixteenth century, there was a series of these writers who held the title of *Shāhnāmājī*. Their works were called, variously, a *Shāhnāmāh*, a *Fatīḥnāmāh*, or *Zafarnāmāh*. Frequently the name of the sovereign was prefixed to the book particularly that of Alexander the Great, the *Sikandarnāmāh* or *Iskandarnāmāh*.⁶¹ In most cases there was an appeal, by means of a genealogy, to high antiquity and distinguished ancestry. Both poetry and prose were used to set forth the record. These epics were not infrequently avowed continuations of Firdausī. They were all indebted to him for their language and metre, for the *Shāhnāmāh* had, so to speak, established the technique of correct epic writing.⁶²

⁵⁹ Cf. Giv's remarks to the faithful Pīrān. *Firdausī* (Tr. W.), II, 383-4.

⁶⁰ *Enc. Islam*, II, s. v. *Khalīfa*.

⁶¹ H. Ethé, *ap.* (*Grundr. Ir. Phil.*), II, 236-7.

⁶² E. G. Browne, *op. cit.*, III, 95 ff.; cf. *supra*, n. 7; *Grundr. Ir. Phil.*, II, 178 ff. (Noeldeke), 233-239 (Ethé).

The most interesting fact of all, however, is seen in their relation to the political exigencies of the period in which they appear. We have seen already that there is, in Firdausi's *Shāhnāmah*, a definite political *motif*—the re-instatement of the Persian King as the King of Kings, without reference to Muslim authority—particularly the authority of the 'Abbāsīd *Khalifah* at Bāghdād. The *Shāhnāmah* and its descendants became the regular form in which such assertions of sovereign rights were stated. It is neither possible nor necessary here to quote the *catena*, and a few examples must suffice. Hamdu'llāh Mustaufi's *Ẓafarnāmah* (c. 1334 A. D.) forms the link between Firdausi and Sharafu'l-Dīn Yazdī's *Ẓafarnāmah* or *Iskandarnāmah-i-Timūri*. The force of the allusion to Alexander was the declaration of overlordship over the Ottoman (*Rūmī*) Turks. From the *Ẓafarnāmah* spring the Timūrid works by which the descendants of Bābur, particularly Akbar (1556-1605 A. D.), declared their independence alike of Ottoman Turk and Ṣafawī Persian. Of these works, Abū'l-Faẓl's *Akbarnāmah* is the most important, as, together with the *Tarikh-i Alfī*, it gives to Akbar's reign the significance of the millennium achieved.⁶³ At the same time the Ṣafawī poets produced their *Shāhnāmah*, *Isma'īlnāmah*, *Shāhanshāhnāmah*. To continue this enumeration would be but to weary my audience with a series of names,⁶⁴ nevertheless there are two works, written just over a century ago and belonging to the same *literary* category, which cannot be omitted here—the *Jirjis-i Razm* of Safdar 'Alī Shāh Munsif and the *Jarjnāmah* of Firūz ibn Kā'us (1814-1837 A. D.)—the latter a work of forty thousand couplets, in praise of the Four Georges!⁶⁵

In conclusion, it must be noticed that, with the exception of the Mongol Kings, who base their right to rule on equalling or excelling the achievements of Alexander the Great—the significance of the title *Iskandarnāmah*—the claim of the *Shāhnāmah* and its kindred works is that the hero possesses by virtue of his birth and ancestry the *farr* or the Kayan Glory, whose mark is on his body.⁶⁶ It sets out the unity of the body regal from Jamshīd and Farīdūn

⁶³ E. G. Browne, *op. cit.*, III, 95 ff.; *Grundr. Ir. Phil.*, II, 237; 'Abdu'l-Ghanī, *op. cit.*, III, 243 ff. and *supra*, n. 7.

⁶⁴ For a full list v. *Grundr. Ir. Phil.*, II, 235-237.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 238.

⁶⁶ *Firdausi* (Tr. W.), II, 373.

to the King who is the writer's hero. Firdausī's *Shāhnāmah* laid the foundation on which his successors built, and provided the means whereby Muslim monarchy could exist independent of 'Umar's choice of the succession (*Khilāfat*), by resting its claim on the right of 'Umar's contemporary Yazdagird III and the divine *Khilāfat* inherent in the Kayan and Sāsānid monarchies. It is this development which accounts for the tendency of the term, (and the view inherent in the term), *Khalīfatū'llāh* to supersede the term *Khalīfatū Rasūli-llāhi* in political prestige, particularly after the assumption of the rôle of Leader of the Faithful by the Ottoman Sultān in virtue of his possession of the Twin Shrines. From the eighteenth century onwards, moreover, the situation in the Muslim world has been marked by the steady advance of Azī Dahhāk and the forces of Tūrān, in the north, from the expansion of Russia, in the south, from the extension of the power of the East India Companies. In 1857, Bahādur Shāh II, unmindful of his Pīshdādian predecessor, committed the folly of attempting 'to seize the Glory that cannot be forcibly seized,' and

"Pressed by the world's new lord
He fled, surrendering crown, throne and treasure,
Host, power and diadem. The world turned black
To him, he disappeared and yielded all."⁶⁷

Sixty years later, Persia faced her revolution, which was the result of the combined attack of the Azī Dahhāk of Western mercantile companies and the Azī Dahhāk of the North—Russia. The consequence of the Revolution, the War and the great Turanian menace of the North was the deposition of the last Qājār and the elevation of Ridha Pahlavī Shāh to the *maṣnad* in 1926. Both the title he has assumed and his *farmān* ordering the Firdausī celebrations mark an appeal to Persia's past as the means of restoring the Kāyan Glory to its native throne.

⁶⁷ *Firdausī* (Tr. W.), I, 140.

MAIMONIDES AND SPINOZA ON THE INTERPRETATION OF THE BIBLE

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IN NOVEMBER 1932 the tercentennial anniversary of the birth of Spinoza was celebrated throughout the civilized world. In March and April of the present year the octocentenary of Moses Maimonides will be celebrated wherever there are Jews interested in their past.

Spinoza was born a Jew, but unfortunately was excommunicated by the Synagogue because of his independence and freedom of speech. His was an age when theological controversies were taken seriously, and the Jewish community of Amsterdam was even more sensitive than the native Dutch because they were recent immigrants from Spain and Portugal, did not yet feel completely at home in Holland and no doubt feared the consequences of theological odium should it become publicly known that a non-conformist like the young Spinoza, was tolerated in their midst. His exclusion from the society of his own people must have made a great impression upon the sensitive youth which was deep and lasting and contributed to the solitariness of this great thinker whose unpopular ideas must have made his life a lonely one under any circumstances. The few friends he did have were Christians, and Spinoza, always so gentle and unruffled, betrays a trace of bitterness when he speaks of the Jews who had treated him so badly.

In the *Ethics*, Spinoza is the Olympian who envisages eternity, and religion, race and nation are treated as non-existent. Geometry is universal and Spinoza treats of reality and truth *more geometrico*, as befits a philosopher.

In the *Theologico-Political Treatise*, he is concerned with the concrete problem of political freedom. He urges that freedom of thought and expression is not merely not incompatible with public peace and loyalty, but that it can not be suppressed without suppressing peace and loyalty itself. He is speaking here of a subject very near to his heart as a man and not merely as an abstract philosopher. He had suffered and was suffering in his own person from political and religious intolerance. In this work therefore we

find the human side of Spinoza coming out a little more clearly, and we are surprised by the strange phenomenon that while he is dealing in detail with the Old Testament and very cursorily with the New, for as a Jew he had been brought up on the Old Testament and had mastered Hebrew, the language in which it was originally written,—we are met, I say, with the strange phenomenon, that while he writes as only a Jew steeped in Jewish literature can write of the Old Testament, his references to the ancient Hebrews and the Jews breathe a certain aloofness as if he was not one of them, and he does not spare them in his attacks. It grates a little because it seems somewhat untrue to the traditional picture of Spinoza as being always equable and affable and cheerful and never saying an unkind word about anybody. At the same time it is understandable and at the same time gratifying, because it shows that Spinoza was human after all.

Maimonides, on the other hand, had never been disowned by his people despite the fact that he too offended the fundamentalists of his day. But he lived in a different age. The Mohammedans in Spain in the twelfth century until the coming of the Almohades were liberal. Science and Philosophy were respected and cultivated with diligence. Moreover, Maimonides did not publish his philosophical work, the *Guide of the Perplexed*, until he was an old man and had become distinguished as the greatest rabbinical authority of his time. Much could be forgiven the “great luminary of the exile,” who was trying to help the perplexed of his day to solve their perplexities and remain loyal to the teachings of Judaism.

A comparison of these two men as interpreters of holy writ is therefore both timely and instructive.

Unlike other books, the Old Testament, as soon as the canon was closed assumed a unique position among the Jews. It was the word and the law of God revealed to Moses and the prophets. It was complete and perfect, nothing could be added to it or taken away. As the Jews lost their state and were dispersed among the nations, the only thing that held them together was this book, as they refused to be lost in their dispersion. Hence it was necessary for them to draw their intellectual and spiritual sustenance from the Bible. This involved the interpretation of the book, particularly of its laws, so as to adopt them to new conditions of life.

This phenomenon is not unique so far as law is concerned. The Romans had an analogous experience with the law of the XII

Tables, which was called by Livy (III, 34, 7) "*fons omnis publici privatique iuris*," although in Justinian's time nothing was left of the original legislation. The difference, however, is that the Romans had their own state and were free to make new laws whenever they chose. Moreover they had already made a distinction between *ius* and *fas*, human law and divine, i. e., law concerning human relations and ceremonial law having to do with man's relation to the gods. As the Jews, however, lost their state, they became a Church and the Church absorbed all law, human as well as divine.

The first stage of biblical interpretation is to be found in the Mishna and the Gemara or in the Talmud and the Midrashim. It is for the most part an interpretation of the civil and ritual law of the Pentateuch. It corresponds to what is called the *Interpretatio* in Roman law, the extension of the law of the XII tables by means of fictions. The only difference is that the fictitious character of the rabbinical interpretation is more drastic, owing to the fact that in post-Biblical times the Jews had no legislative body and hence had to make interpretation do the work of legislation.

Thus the first stage or period of Jewish interpretation of the Bible was principally legalistic (including the ceremonial law) and was mostly concerned with the Pentateuchal codes. As thus interpreted the Pentateuchal law, in theory, embraced the whole life of the Jew, his relations to his fellow Jews and his relations to his God in the broadest sense. The literary products of this interpretation are to be found in the two monuments of rabbinical Judaism, the Mishna (ab. 200 A. D.) and the Gemara or Talmud (Babylonian and Palestinian—ab. 500 A. D.), as well as the Midrashim (of different dates). These became authoritative, and formed the bases of the various codifications from Jehudai Gaon (760) to Joseph Caro (16th century).

In the Alexandrian period, during the first two centuries B. C., when the Jews were under Greek rule, they acquired new interests. Living in a hellenistic atmosphere they absorbed something of the scientific and philosophic ideas of their political masters, which broadened their outlook. Once more they found the Biblical writings in need of interpretation, but of a different kind. Hence it was not only the legal codes, but even more so the narrative portions of the Pentateuch, which were subjected to interpretation,

and by introducing the allegorical method, they were able to find in the Pentateuch not merely practical teachings but also theoretical, such as they found in Platonism and Stoicism. This kind of interpretation can be seen in the work of Philo (b. ab. 25 B. C.).

So far as the literary documents are concerned, the Alexandrian literature seems to antedate the Palestinian and the Babylonian, but there is no doubt that legalistic interpretation was carried on a long time before it was put down in definitive literary form. Moreover the Alexandrian movement came to an end shortly after the days of Philo, and its medieval analogue did not begin until about the ninth century.

In the early middle ages the mantle of the Greeks, whose philosophical schools were closed by Emperor Justinian in 529, fell upon the Arabs. To be sure, the Nestorian and Jacobite Christians in Syria and Mesopotamia founded theological schools in the fourth century in which Greek science and philosophy were also cultivated, but they did not carry these activities very far, and their importance in this respect is rather that of mediators between the Greeks and the Arabs. The latter owed their first knowledge of Greek science and philosophy to the Syrian Christians whom they employed as translators. The Arabs, then, were the real successors of the Greeks and, as is well known, cultivated philosophy and the sciences very seriously from the 8th to the 12th centuries.

The Jews followed in the wake of the Arabs and like them, both in the East and in Spain, devoted a great deal of their energies to science and philosophy. Again the Bible perforce had to be subjected to another effort of interpretation, for as the word of God and the sole expression thereof it must contain all that is found to be true regarding God, the universe and the soul of man, in short all those matters which a cultivated Jew in those days found important for a complete life.

Maimonides was the greatest exponent of this movement. He did not, so far as we know, write a commentary on the Bible, but in his *Guide of the Perplexed* we find a good deal of interpretation of biblical texts and, what is more important, a complete theory of interpretation.

He tells us in the Introduction why he called his book the *Guide of the Perplexed*. The Perplexed are those persons who are devout students of the Bible and believers in the truth of its teachings,

who have also familiarized themselves with the science of the philosophers and find discrepancies between the two. They are confronted with two alternatives. They must either accept the biblical statements and reject the conclusions of reason as taught by the philosophers, or they accept the teachings of reason and reject the statements of the Bible. As rational beings and believers in the Bible, they can not do either, hence their perplexity. And Maimonides undertakes to guide these persons in their difficulty.

His theory is as follows: There can be no disagreement between reason and revelation, for truth is one; rational truth and revealed truth must coincide. Philosophy is rational truth, the Bible is revealed truth. Not everything taught by a philosopher is necessarily true, but the teachings of philosophy are true. As to the Bible, everything in it is true, but one must understand what it says. If a given interpretation clashes with reason, that alone is proof that the interpretation is wrong. If you ask: But why was the Bible written so obscurely that the ordinary reader can not understand it? Was it not intended precisely for the ordinary reader? If you ask this question, Maimonides's answer is: Yes, the Bible was written for all kinds of readers. It was written for the wise and the simple, for the young and the old. And precisely because it was intended to be some things to all men, it is in need of interpretation.

The source of error may be twofold, one may fail to understand the import of a biblical passage or one may misunderstand it and gather an erroneous doctrine. The first is not serious. The Bible contains certain doctrines which an untrained person can not understand either because he has not the preliminary knowledge which requires years of steady application to obtain, or he may by reason of his inherent intellectual weakness be unable to grasp profound metaphysical concepts. In a case like this he can see only the surface meaning of the biblical text and that is enough for him. Every one is not bound to be a philosopher.

However, there are certain passages in the Bible which if one understands literally he will have an erroneous conception of God. These are the anthropomorphic expressions of which the Bible is full, and to think of God as corporeal in form or endowed with faculties and emotions akin to those of man is a very serious error and tantamount to idolatry. It is not incumbent upon every man, woman and child to be able to prove scientifically the exis-

tence, unity and incorporeality of God, but if one believes that God is multiple or corporeal, he is guilty of a serious offence, which may exclude him from the community of Israel.

Accordingly Maimonides undertakes to enlighten the sophisticated reader for whom his work is intended on both these aspects of biblical interpretation. So far as the anthropomorphic expressions are concerned, he says that they are to be understood as metaphors. Hand of God, mouth of God, feet of God, face of God, etc., are expressions intended for the simple reader, to whom the reality and activity of God can not be brought home in any other way. With respect to the esoteric part of biblical doctrine, Maimonides identifies it with the physics and metaphysics of Aristotle and interprets the creation story in Genesis in the sense of Aristotle's physics, and the first chapter of Ezekiel describing the divine chariot as an allegory teaching doctrines of metaphysics akin to those of Aristotle.

Maimonides's theory of biblical interpretation is not incompatible with the traditional rabbinical interpretation, for in the first place the passages which lend themselves to metaphysical interpretation are not the laws but the narratives, and secondly, Maimonides does not deny the historical truth of the narratives, he merely superposes the deeper philosophical interpretation upon the literal. It is only in reference to the anthropomorphic expressions that he rejects entirely the literal interpretation.

His standard of interpretation is, as can easily be seen, an external one, the one of rational truth. The assumption—an *a priori* assumption—is that the Bible must accord with reason, i. e., with what Maimonides was convinced was the teaching of true science and philosophy. Any apparent discrepancy must therefore be explained away by interpretation. And this was bound to lead to all sorts of artificial devices.

Textual criticism did not exist in Maimonides's day. The variants in the Masoretic text were regarded as genuine and original and there was no study of the Greek version, as Greek was an unknown language to Maimonides and his Jewish contemporaries. The Aramaic version of Onkelos was carefully considered. Maimonides, in fact, refers to it in support of his interpretation of the anthropomorphic passages, but the genuineness and accuracy of the Masoretic text were never doubted.

Inconsistencies in the Bible itself did not escape Maimonides or his rabbinic predecessors, the sages of the Talmud, but with the exception of a lone figure, Hivi al Balki, a contemporary of Saadia (9th century), all smoothed them over by interpretation. The unity of the Pentateuch was never doubted for a moment, nor was the Mosaic authorship. The last twelve verses of Deuteronomy recording the death and burial of Moses did indeed seem incompatible with Moses's authorship of every single word in the Pentateuch, as the Talmud had already noted, and one Rabbi said that those verses must have been added by Joshua, while another Rabbi would not concede even this much and found satisfaction in the theory that God dictated those verses to Moses as he dictated all the rest. Indeed, why not? God can dictate the future as well as the past.

The foundations of Hebrew grammar were laid down long before Maimonides and the science of grammar was carefully studied by Saadia and the famous grammarians Menahem ben Saruk, Hayyuj and Ibn Janah, and was applied to the study of the Bible. The cognate languages, too, especially Arabic, were brought to bear upon the interpretation of difficult Hebrew words and phrases in the Bible. But all this did not affect the doctrinal and tendentious exegesis of the philosophers. Once grant the multiple meaning of the sacred text, exoteric and esoteric, and all difficulties vanish.

Strangely enough, Maimonides may be said to have inaugurated the study of comparative religion as an aid to the study of the biblical institutions. He did this as he did the rest in aid of his rationalistic hypothesis. If the Bible must accord with reason and its teaching of God must be in agreement with the conception of God attained by philosophy, the institution of sacrifices is an anomaly. To be sure, Maimonides could have read some esoteric doctrine in Leviticus as he did in Genesis and Ezekiel, but he could not break with the historical tradition which was continuous and showed beyond any doubt that the sacrifices were taken very seriously, that there was a Temple and a priestly and levitical caste. The Talmud devotes several treatises to the services in the Temple, the prayer book is full of references to the sacrifices, and the messianic hope is associated with the rebuilding of the temple and the restoration of the sacrifices. There must be some explanation

for this peculiar institution, which can not be allegorized. The creation story and the description of the divine chariot are just stories, they do not involve any practical institution. Here we are dealing with laws prescribing a very complicated ritual which occupied a central position in ancient Hebrew worship, a position incompatible with Maimonides's conception of God.

A similar difficulty arises in connection with the explanation of certain prohibitions in the Pentateuch, such as the wearing of garments of wool and flax mixed (*sha'atnez*), of shaving the corner of the beard, of seething a kid in its mother's milk, of sowing mixed seeds (*kil'aim*), and so on. What is the reason for these?

It is in order to explain these peculiar laws and institutions that Maimonides has recourse to comparative religion. He read, he tells us, all the works of the Sabeans, idolaters who lived in the time of Abraham, so far as these works were extant in Arabic. These Sabeans were star worshippers and practiced certain ceremonies analogous to those forbidden in the Bible to appease the stars and induce them to prosper their agricultural activities. The Sabeans also offered sacrifices to the stars. Moses desired to wean the Israelites away from idolatrous practices and lead them to the worship of the true God. With this object in view he followed a twofold method. Some of the rites he prohibited outright, the practice of offering sacrifices was regarded by the people as the very essence of religious worship. It would have been bad policy to prohibit it, as it would have involved a complete break with traditional custom. The Israelites would have refused to follow. As a clever statesman, Moses let them have their beloved sacrifices with all their pomp and ceremony, but with one proviso—they must sacrifice to the true God and not to the stars. Gradually, he hoped, as they came to understand the nature of the true God they would discontinue the sacrifices of their own accord (III, 29-32).

There is one important exception to the statement made above that in the time of Maimonides no one had undertaken any kind of historical or literary criticism of the Pentateuch. That exception is no less than the famous commentator Abraham ibn Ezra (1092-1167). But this very instance shows how rare such criticism was and how dangerous it was to speak of it plainly. It shows also

that historical and grammatical exegesis was not regarded as in any manner incompatible with the allegorical interpretation that was otherwise prevalent. For Ibn Ezra uses both. His comment on Ecclesiastes 5: 7 is a good example of the current method of interpretation. The text reads:

אִם-עֲשֶׂה רָשׁ וְגִנֹּל מִשְׁפָּט וְצָדִיק תִּרְאֶה בַּמִּדְיָנָה אֶל תִּתְמָה עַל
 הַחֲפֶז בִּי גְבוּהַ מַעַל גְּבוּהַ שְׁמֵר וְגִבְהִים עֲלֵיהֶם:

"If thou seest the oppression of the poor, and the violent perverting of justice and righteousness in the state, marvel not at the matter, for one higher than the high watcheth, and there are higher than they."

There would seem to be no difficulty in this passage that should call for an extraordinary comment. Ibn Ezra, however, says:

דַּע כִּי יֵשׁ שׁוֹמֵר שְׂרֹוּאָה זֶה הַחֲמַס, וְאֵינְנוּ אֶחָד רַק הֵם רַבִּים,
 וְכָל אֶחָד גְּבוּהַ מַעַל גְּבוּהַ, וְשׁוֹמְרִים רַבִּים לֹא יָדַע אִישׁ מִסְפָּרָם,
 כִּי הֵם גְּבוּהִים עַל אֱלֹהִים שֶׁמַּעֲלָהֵם אֵינְנָה שׁוֹהֵה, וְהַיּוֹדֵעַ סוּר הַשֵּׁם יָדַע
 כִּי גְבוּהַ מַעַל גְּבוּהַ הֵם חֲמָשִׁים וְהַמְשָׁה, וְלֹא אוֹכֵל לַפֶּרֶשׁ

"Know that there is a watcher who sees this violence. He is not one, but there are many, and one is higher than the other. No one knows the number of the many watchers, for there are higher ones than these, and they are of different rank. He who knows the mystery of God knows that 'higher than the high' means fifty-five, but I cannot explain."

Obviously Ibn Ezra is not thinking of human watchers but of divine, and of a sort of hierarchy, and he ends up mysteriously, "He who knows the mystery of the Name, knows that 'higher than the high' are fifty-five."

What is all his mystery about? I have not seen any explanation of this cryptic remark anywhere, but the solution seems clear. According to Aristotle in the *Metaphysics* XII, 8, there are according to one theory fifty-five celestial spheres. The spheres were believed to be endowed with life and were moved by separate Intelligences or Spirits, each sphere having its own Intelligence. These Intelligences of Aristotle were identified by the Jewish Aristotelians with the biblical angels. As movers of the spheres they controlled also the terrestrial (sublunar) world, though the specific Intelligence in charge of sublunar existence was called the

Active Intellect. Thus fifty-five spheres were moved by fifty-five Intelligences or angels, who represented the celestial hierarchy in charge of mundane happenings.

At the same time the mystic and astrologer Ibn Ezra was a very keen grammarian and exegete. And if a comment like the one just mentioned could not be stated plainly (ולא איכל לפרש) for fear of imparting esoteric doctrine to the uninitiated, the precaution must be still greater when suspicion is cast upon the authenticity of certain passages in the Pentateuch.

Ibn Ezra does not doubt the divine authority of the Pentateuch and he attacks unsparingly a certain Isaac ben Suleiman (d. 940) who denied the authority of the first chapter of Genesis, but certain passages in the Pentateuch troubled him, and his comment on Deut. 1:5:

בְּעֵבֶר הַיַּרְדֵּן בְּאֶרֶץ מוֹאָב הוֹאִיל מֹשֶׁה בְּאֶרֶץ אֶת־הַתּוֹרָה הַזֹּאת

"beyond the Jordan, in the land of Moab, took Moses upon him to expound this law . . ." is as follows:

בְּעֵבֶר הַיַּרְדֵּן . . . וְאִם תִּבְנֶה סוּד הַשָּׁנִים עֶשֶׂר, גַּם וַיִּכְתֹּב מֹשֶׁה, הוֹכֵנְעִי אֹז בְּאֶרֶץ, בְּהַר ה' יִרְאֶה, גַּם הִנֵּה עֲרָשׁוֹ עֲרֵשׁ בְּרוֹל, תִּכְיֹר הָאֵמֶת.

"Beyond Jordan . . . If you understand the mystery of the twelve, 'And Moses wrote,' 'And the Canaanite was then in the land,' 'In the mountain of the Lord it shall be seen,' 'Behold his bed is a bed of iron,' you will know the truth." I do not know whether Spinoza was the first to penetrate Ibn Ezra's secret, but there can be no doubt that his solution is correct.

The expression "beyond Jordan" to designate the east side of the river indicates that the passage must have been written on the west side, i. e., in Palestine. But Moses never was in Palestine, hence the verse was not written by Moses. In his remark on this passage Ibn Ezra indicates cryptically that this is not the only passage which must have been written later than the time of Moses. The last twelve verses of Deuteronomy recording the death of Moses could not have been written by Moses. The verse: "And Moses wrote this law. . ." (Deut. 31:9), speaks of Moses in the third person, hence it was written by someone else. If this is what Ibn Ezra meant, the argument is very weak, for with few

exceptions Moses is referred to in the third person throughout the Pentateuch and there was no need of singling out this particular passage. Moreover the *Gallic War* always speaks of Caesar in the third person. Possibly Ibn Ezra had something else in mind. Gen. 12:6, describing Abram's passage through Canaan and arriving in Shechem, notes that the "Canaanite was then in the land," thus implying that in the time of the writer the Canaanite was no longer in the land. Hence it must have been written after the Israelitish conquest. It is possible, indeed, that the remark means: "the Canaanite was then *already* in the land," as compared with a time anterior to Moses when some other people occupied the land. And, in fact, Ibn Ezra's comment on the passage is: "It is possible that Canaan took the land away from some one else; but if this is not the meaning, then there is a mystery here, and the wise will keep silent." Again a mystery. Spinoza, however, points out that in Gen. 10:19, which names the original inhabitants of the land, we are told that "the border of the Canaanite was from Sidon, as thou goest toward Gerar, unto Gazah; as thou goest toward Sodom and Gomorrah and Admah and Zeboim unto Lasha." Hence the Canaanites were the original inhabitants, and the word "then" can not mean "then already," but then still in the land, as compared with the time of the writer, when the Canaanites were no longer there. In Gen. 22:14, Mount Moriah is called the mount of God, but it did not become the mount of God until it was chosen as the site of the temple. Finally in Deut. 3:11, speaking of Og King of Bashan, the text says: "Only Og King of Bashan remained of the remnant of the Rephaim; behold, his bedstead was a bedstead of iron; is it not in Rabbah of the children of Ammon?" This reference to his bedstead was clearly written long after the time of Og, who was a contemporary of Moses and whose defeat Moses describes to his own generation.

Precisely what Ibn Ezra had in mind as an explanation of these mysteries, it is hard to tell. Probably nothing more serious than the suggestion that the verses in question are interpolations. But in Ibn Ezra's day that was serious enough. It is to be hardly assumed that Ibn Ezra meant to deny the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch as a whole.

Spinoza found a kindred spirit in Ibn Ezra. But he was free.

He cast off the traditional shackles and spoke his mind. And in so doing, he laid the foundations of biblical criticism.

Spinoza's fame as a philosopher so overshadowed his achievement as a biblical critic that among the voluminous writings on Spinoza there is scarcely anything that deals with his critical exegesis.¹

For the first time in history Spinoza lays down the axiom that to understand the Bible we must approach it without prejudice or preconceptions. The Bible must be treated like any other ancient book. Or, in his own words, "The method of interpreting Scripture does not widely differ from the method of interpreting nature—in fact it is almost the same. For as the interpretation of nature consists in the examination of the history of nature and therefrom, as from established data, deducing definitions of natural phenomena, so Scriptural interpretation ought to proceed by the examination of Scripture and therefrom, as from established principles and data, deducing the intention of its authors in the proper manner" (VII, 6-7, ed. Bruder).²

The divine origin of the Bible must be a conclusion and not a premise. And as far as possible we must get the meaning of Scripture from Scripture itself.

All this sounds obvious to us now. In Spinoza's day it required all the courage of the lonely and independent thinker to suggest so simple an idea. The accepted view was that of Maimonides which we discussed before.

Spinoza was aware that he was making a revolutionary suggestion, and the author whom he expressly opposes is Maimonides, whose statement he quotes. "The opinion of Maimonides," he says, "was widely different. He asserted that each passage in Scripture admits of various, nay, contrary meanings; but that we could never be certain of any particular interpretation until we knew that the passage, as we interpreted it, contained nothing con-

¹ See Karppe, *Essais de Critique et d'Histoire de Philosophie*, Paris, 1902, p. 143. Cf., however, Leo Strauss, "Cohens Analyse der Bibelwissenschaft Spinozas" in *Der Jude*, VIII, 1924, pp. 295-314.

² Spinoza's biblical criticism is contained in his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*. The translations are taken from R. H. M. Elwes in Bohn's Libraries though he is not always accurate. The English reader need not confine himself to the passages quoted, but for the benefit of the student, who may desire to verify the quotations in the original Latin, I have indicated the references to Bruder's edition, by chapter and section.

trary or repugnant to reason. If the literal interpretation clashes with reason, then though the passage seems perfectly clear, it must be interpreted differently" (*ibid.*, 75).

As an instance of this canon of interpretation Spinoza mentions the passage in Maimonides's *Guide of the Perplexed*, which has been quoted so often that it almost seems a commonplace, namely the statement of Maimonides in Ch. 25 of the Second Part of the *Guide*, which he makes in connection with his discussion of the origin of the world.

Aristotle believed in the eternity of the world and gave certain proofs in support of his opinion. Maimonides is bold enough to disagree with Aristotle and rejects eternity in favor of creation in time. Fearing that his motive might be misunderstood and that he might be charged with theological prejudice unbecoming in a scientific philosopher, Maimonides says: "Know that the reason we reject the doctrine of eternity of the world is not because of the biblical texts which say that the world originated in time. For the texts concerning the origin of the world are no more numerous than those which speak of God in corporeal terms. Moreover, the gates of interpretation are not closed or impassible in the matter of the origin of the world. We could interpret them metaphorically as we interpreted metaphorically those passages which ascribe corporeality to God. In fact, it would be much easier to do this here than in the other case. But there are two reasons why we do not do so in this case. One is that the incorporeality of God is clearly proved by reason and hence it was necessary to interpret metaphorically those passages which literally understood, clash with reason. But the eternity of the world has not been proved, and hence there is no need of doing violence to the text and explaining it allegorically in favor of an unproved opinion. The second reason is this: Belief in the incorporeality of God is not opposed to the fundamental principles of our religion, whereas to believe in the eternity of the world would upset the basis of religion. . . ."

"Such are the words of Maimonides," says Spinoza, in commenting on the passage just quoted, "and they are evidently sufficient to establish our point. For if he had been convinced by reason that the world is eternal, he would not have hesitated to twist and explain away the words of Scripture till he made them appear to teach this doctrine. He would have felt quite sure that

Scripture, though everywhere plainly denying the eternity of the world, really intends to teach it. So that, however clear the meaning of Scripture may be, he would not feel certain of having grasped it, so long as he remained doubtful of the truth of what was written.

"... If such a theory as this were sound, I would certainly grant that some faculty beyond the natural reason is required for interpreting Scripture. For nearly all things that we find in Scripture cannot be inferred from known principles of natural reason, and, therefore, we should be unable to come to any conclusion about their truth, or about the real meaning and intention of Scripture, but should stand in need of some further assistance.

"Further, the truth of this theory would involve that the masses, having generally no comprehension of, nor leisure for, detailed proofs, would be reduced to receiving all their knowledge of Scripture on the authority and testimony of philosophers, and consequently, would be compelled to suppose that the interpretations given by philosophers were infallible.

"Truly this would be a new form of ecclesiastical authority, and a new sort of priests or pontiffs, more likely to excite men's ridicule than their veneration" (*ibid.*, 77-79).

Spinoza continues in the same vein in criticism of Maimonides, ending up with the following scathing remark: "Therefore, the method of Maimonides is clearly useless; to which we may add that it does away with all the certainty which the masses acquire by candid reading, or which is gained by any other persons in any other way. In conclusion, then, we dismiss Maimonides' theory as harmful, useless, and absurd" (*ibid.*, 86-87).

From Spinoza's fundamental principle that the method of interpreting Scripture is similar to the method of interpreting nature, he draws the following corollaries.

1. We must know "the nature and properties of the language in which the books of the Bible were written, and in which their authors were accustomed to speak."

2. We must make "an analysis of each book and an arrangement of its contents under heads. We should also note all the passages which are ambiguous or obscure, or which seem mutually contradictory."

3. We should investigate the "environment of all the prophetic

books extant; that is, the life, the conduct, and the studies of the author of each book, who he was, what was the occasion and the epoch of his writing, whom did he write for, and in what language. Further we should inquire into the fate of each book: how it was first received, into whose hands it fell, how many different versions there were of it, by whose advice was it received into the Bible, and, lastly, how all the books now universally accepted as sacred, were united into a single whole" (*ibid.*, 15-25).

Spinoza is aware that it is easier to lay down the prerequisites for an understanding of Scripture than to follow them out in practice. He enumerates the difficulties attaching to language, in the case of the O. T. the Hebrew language. We know it imperfectly by reason of historical accident, such as the loss of all ancient Hebrew literature except a small fraction thereof contained in the Hebrew Bible; then there are the difficulties and ambiguities inherent in the structure of the language itself, such as the lack of vowels, the incomplete character of Hebrew moods and tenses, and so on.

To get a complete history of the books of the Bible and its authors is now impossible. And so Spinoza concludes his enumeration of the difficulties as follows:

"The foregoing difficulties in this method of interpreting Scripture from its own history, I conceive to be so great that I do not hesitate to say that the true meaning of Scripture is in many places inexplicable, or at best mere subject for guesswork." However, he does not despair, because these difficulties apply only to certain parts of the Bible, "when we endeavor to follow the meaning of a prophet in matters which can not be perceived, but only imagined." There is enough left that we can understand. "The precepts of true piety are expressed in very ordinary language, and are equally simple and easily understood." . . . "Therefore we need not be much troubled about what remains; such matters, inasmuch as we generally can not grasp them with our reason and understanding, are more curious than profitable" (*ibid.*, 65-69).

Spinoza did not content himself with laying down rules for the study of the Bible, he made use of them himself in his investigation and obtained certain interesting results, some of which I shall now briefly indicate.

In his discussion of prophecy he says: "Our conclusions on the

subject must be drawn solely from Scripture; for what can we affirm about matters transcending our knowledge except what is told us by the words or writings of prophets? And since there are, so far as I know, no prophets now alive, we have no alternative but to read the books of prophets departed, taking care the while not to reason from metaphor or to ascribe anything to our authors which they do not themselves distinctly state" (*ibid.*, I, 7).

"A perusal of the sacred books will show us that all God's revelations to the prophets were made through words or appearances, or a combination of the two. These words and appearances were of two kinds: 1. *real*, when external to the mind of the prophet who heard or saw them. 2. *imaginary*, when the imagination of the prophet was in a state which led him distinctly to suppose that he heard or saw them" (*ibid.*, 9).

Referring to the Sinaitic revelation, he says: "Scripture seems clearly to point to the belief that God spoke himself, having descended from heaven to Mt. Sinai for the purpose. . . . Further, the law of Moses . . . nowhere prescribed the belief that God is without body, or even without form or figure . . . it forbade the Jews to invent or fashion any likeness of the Deity, but this was to insure purity of service. . . . Nevertheless the Bible clearly implies that God has a form" (*ibid.*, 17).

"Revelation may be through figures only, as in I Chronicles, 22, where God displays his anger to David by means of an angel bearing a sword, and also in the story of Balaam" (*ibid.*, 19).

Here again he pays his respects to Maimonides very frankly.

"Maimonides and others," he says, "do indeed maintain that these and every other instance of angelic apparitions . . . occurred during sleep, for that no one with his eyes open ever could see an angel, but this is mere nonsense. The sole object of such commentators seems to be to extort from Scripture confirmations of Aristotelian quibbles and their own inventions, a proceeding which I regard as the acme of absurdity" (*ibid.*).

He (Spinoza) further concludes from his examination of the prophetic books that "the prophets were endowed with unusually vivid imaginations, and not with unusually perfect minds (Solomon was the wisest of all men, but had no special faculty of prophecy)" . . . "To suppose that knowledge of natural and spiritual phenomena can be gained from the prophetic books, is an utter mis-

take." "Prophecies varied not only according to the imagination and physical temperament of the prophet, but also according to his particular opinions; and prophecy never rendered the prophet wiser than he was before" (II, 1-3). Prophetic knowledge is inferior to natural knowledge, for the prophets required a sign to assure them of the truth of the revelation, whereas natural knowledge, like mathematical, carries its own certitude with it.

"Everyone," he says, "has been strangely hasty in affirming that the prophets knew everything within the scope of human intellect; and although certain passages of Scripture plainly affirm that the prophets were in certain respects ignorant, such persons would rather say that they do not understand the passages than admit that there was anything which the prophets did not know; or else they try to wrest the Scriptural words away from their evident meaning. . . . If either of these proceedings is allowable, we may as well shut our Bibles, for vainly shall we attempt to prove anything from them if their plainest passages may be classed among obscure and impenetrable mysteries, or if we may put any interpretation on them which we fancy" (*ibid.*, 25).

Spinoza concludes therefore that "in matters of theory without bearing on charity or morality the prophets could be, and in fact were, ignorant and held conflicting opinions. It therefore follows that we must by no means go to the prophets for knowledge either of natural or of spiritual phenomena" (*ibid.*, 52).

In his discussion of miracles, Spinoza virtually abandons his own canons of interpretation. Spinoza's conception of God and nature leads to a definite rejection of miracles in the sense of a breach in natural law brought about by an intervention of the Deity for a certain purpose. Spinoza states this very plainly. Instead, however, of following his own rule and proceeding to an impartial examination of Scripture, which would of course show that the authors of the biblical narratives believed miracles possible, Spinoza in this case, it would seem, is either not quite honest with himself or was really misled into adopting a method of interpretation which is not so different from that he so execrates in Maimonides. He actually attempts to show that the Bible itself taught a belief in the inviolability of natural law. He cites such passages as that "there is nothing new under the sun" (Eccl. 1:10), or "He hath also established them [the heavens] for ever and ever;

He hath made a decree which shall not be transgressed" (Ps. 148:6); or the passage in Jeremiah (31:36): "If these ordinances [i. e., of the moon and the stars] depart from before me, saith the Lord, then the seed of Israel also shall cease from being a nation before me forever." As if the authors of the Bible were familiar with the philosophy of Spinoza, and as if a few poetical expressions can be used to countervail all the accounts of miracles in the narrative portions of the Pentateuch. These, he explains, have been misunderstood because "Scripture does not explain things by their secondary causes, but only narrates them in the order and the style which has most power to move men, and especially, uneducated men, to devotion; and therefore it speaks inaccurately of God and of events, seeing that its object is not to convince the reason, but to attract and lay hold of the imagination" (VI, 49). He goes into certain detailed explanations, he tells us, "lest anyone should, by wrongly interpreting a miracle, rashly suspect that he has found something in Scripture contrary to human reason" (*ibid.*, 52). But this latter motive was precisely what led Maimonides to his interpretations, which Spinoza thinks so absurd.

Likewise Spinoza gets into difficulties when he discusses the meaning of the Divine Law (ch. IV). Here again Spinoza, to be consistent with his metaphysical system, can not admit that God can be conceived as a law-giver or potentate ordaining laws for men. God is identical with the universe, and the laws of God are the laws of nature, necessary, universal and unchangeable.

However, instead of admitting that the authors of the biblical books had a different opinion and did conceive of God as a "potentate ordaining laws for men," Spinoza attempts to show that the Bible agrees with his philosophy, as Maimonides tried to show that the Bible agrees with Aristotle's philosophy. To prove his point, he again has recourse to the poetic books of the Bible, thus: "Happy is the man that findeth wisdom, and the man that getteth understanding," for "wisdom gives length of days, and riches and honour; her ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace" (Prov. 3:16, 17), and other similar passages. This, says Spinoza, teaches that salvation is dependent upon knowledge, which of course includes the knowledge that all things are governed by necessity and that God does not give commandments to man,

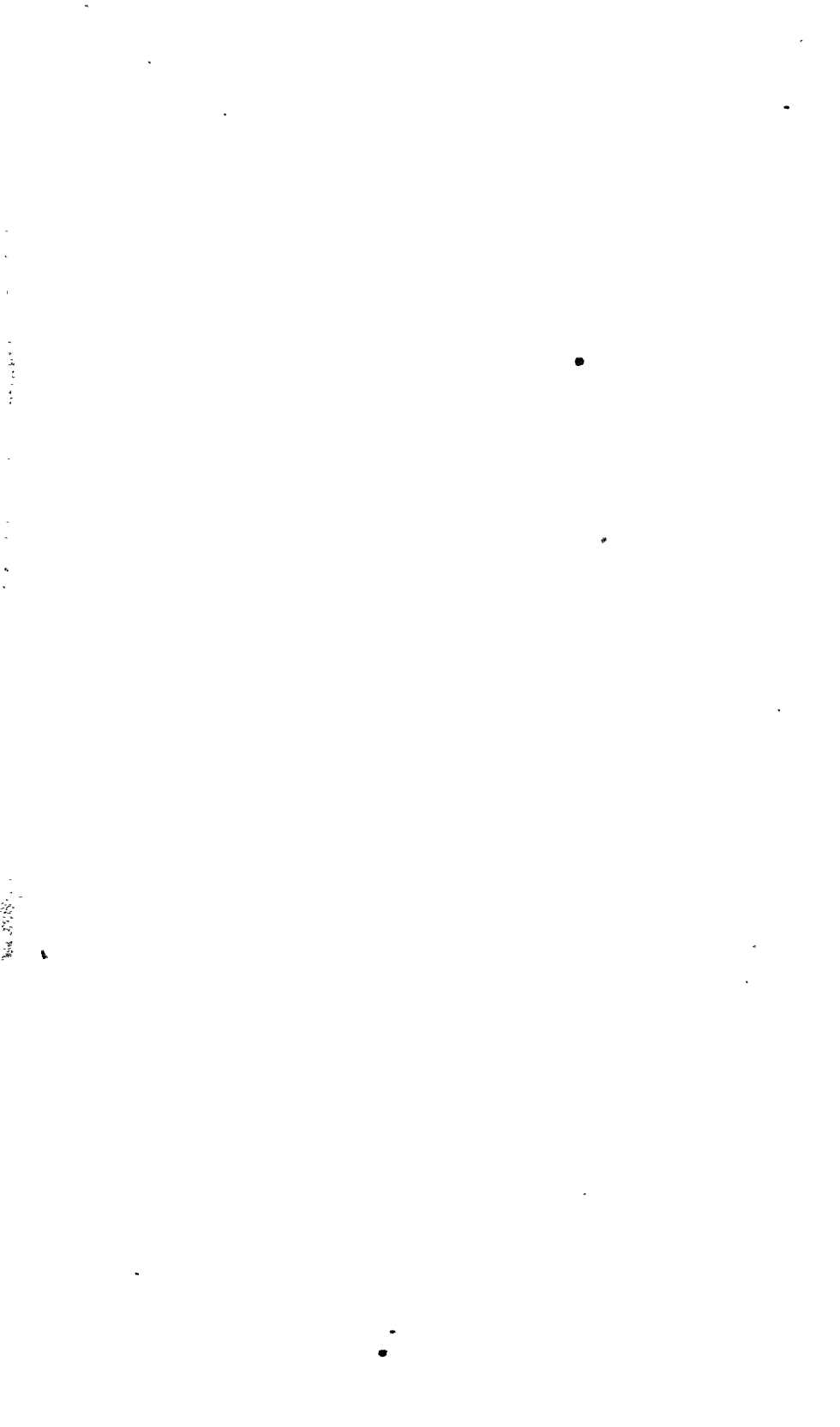
rewarding him for obedience and punishing him for disobedience irrespective of the natural result of his conduct.

But the ceremonial law is a stumbling block in Spinoza's path as it was in that of Maimonides. What does he do with it? He tries to make it out that Isaiah and Jeremiah and the Psalmist did not take the ceremonial law seriously. The passages he quotes are the well-known ones—Isaiah 1:10; Ps. 40:7-9; Jer. 9:23. All this in spite of Leviticus. And he sums up the matter by saying that the object of the ceremonial law was to perpetuate the State, "that men should do nothing of their own free will, but should always act under external authority, and should continually confess by their actions and thoughts that they were not their own masters, but were entirely under the control of others. From all these considerations it is clearer than day that ceremonies have nothing to do with a state of blessedness, and that those mentioned in the Old Testament, i. e., the whole Mosaic law, had reference merely to the Government of the Jews, and merely temporal advantages" (*ibid.*, V, 31).

I confess that if I had to choose between Maimonides and Spinoza in this particular point, I should prefer Maimonides. Happily I am not forced to either.

The real contribution of Spinoza to biblical criticism, apart from the canons of interpretation, which he did not, as we have seen, follow successfully himself in certain cases, are the chapters on the authorship of the Pentateuch and the historical and prophetic books (VIII-X). Whatever we may say about the specific conclusions, his method is that of modern textual, historical and literary criticism, and many of the points he made are now commonplaces of Biblical criticism. He argues against the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, though he is not yet familiar with the documentary hypothesis, and conjectures that Ezra was the author of the Pentateuch. "Ezra," he says, "did not put the finishing touches to the narratives contained therein, but merely collected the histories from various writers, and sometimes simply set them down, leaving their examination and arrangement to posterity."

These chapters in the *Theological-Political Tractate* are full of interesting details, and the interested student is advised to read them for himself.



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